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EARLY ENGLISH CHURCH HISTORY

BRIGHT

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.

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CHAPTERS

OF

EARLY ENGLISH CHURCH HISTORY

BY

WILLIAM BRIGHT, D.D.

REGIUS PROFESSOR OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

AND CANON OF CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD

THIRD EDITION

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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

The following Chapters are an expansion of Lectures which have been delivered to my Class, while we had Bede's 'History' before us with a view to the Theological Final School. Wishing to connect them, in their present form, with their original purpose, I have retained a few colloquial phrases, and a few local allusions, which seemed natural in addressing a number of Oxford students, of whom several were personally well known to me.

The first or introductory Chapter is devoted to the history of the ancient British Church. The general subject of the rest of the volume is the Age of the Conversion of the Old-English people to Christianity: a great, though comparatively a brief period, extending but little beyond a century, and closing naturally with the death, in 709, of their greatest native Bishop, himself the evangelizer of those among them who, from a peculiar isolation, were the last to receive the Faith.

My obligations to the 'Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents,' edited by the late Mr. Haddan and by Professor Stubbs, will be apparent throughout these pages. But I have enjoyed the special advantage of repeatedly consulting the Professor himself, who, with characteristic kindness, found time to read through the larger portion

of what follows before it was offered to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press; to whom also my thanks are due for their ready acceptance of it in order to publication.

It is a pleasure to associate this book with the remembrance of those many attendants at my Lectures, on this and other subjects, who, by their intelligent and sympathetic interest, have again and again rendered me assistance at once more welcome and more effective than at the time they could understand.

CHRIST CHURCH:
Dec. 20, 1877.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

In sending forth this enlarged edition during the 'thirteenth centenary' of the arrival of St. Augustine in England, and therefore of the foundation of 'the Church of the English,' I may well congratulate all who are interested in our national Church history on the appearance of an edition of Bede's 'Historia Ecclesiastica,' together with his 'Historia Abbatum' and his 'Epistola ad Ecgbertum,' by the Rev. Charles Plummer, Fellow of Corpus Christi College. His two volumes will be found indispensable for the serious study of these 'fontal' documents; and one may perhaps wish that he could have included the 'Vita Cuthberti' within the scope of his most opportune publication.

It is a pleasure to express my obligation to Mr. Charles Oman, Fellow and Librarian of All Souls College, author of 'Europe, 476–918,' 'A History of England,' &c., for assistance in the preparation of a map intended to represent the English dioceses at the close of the seventh century; and to my friend the Rev. R. G. Fookes, Rector of Lea, Lincolnshire, a devoted student of Bede, for the reconstruction of the index, which has been to him, as I well know, a veritable 'labour of love.'

Another word or two by way of tribute to a memory worthy of all honour. The phrase, 'the present Bishop of St. David's' (p. 35), is now no longer applicable to

Bishop Basil Jones. One who was formerly associated with him as a brother-Fellow in University College may be permitted to recall, with grateful respect, the signal combination of the unfailing kindness of a friend with the full and exact knowledge of a great archaeological scholar. Forty-one years have passed since, in co-operation with Edward Augustus Freeman, he published a quarto volume on 'The History and Antiquities of St. David's'—a work which gave abundant promise of that habitual accuracy in statement and steady balance of judgement which were inseparable from his deep affection for the ancient Church of the Cymry. Few men ever had such aptitude for bringing English and Welsh Churchmen to understand and sympathize with each other; and no man ever did more for that good end than he during his long tenure of the primary Welsh bishopric.

CHRIST CHURCH:
May 22, 1897.

NOTE TO PREFACE.

SINCE the following pages were sent to the press, I have had the advantage of reading some of the proof-sheets of the volume on 'The Mission of St. Augustine to England,' which, according to the late Archbishop Benson's desire, is being edited by Canon Mason. One of the essays contained in it is on 'The Landing-place of St. Augustine.' The author, Professor Hughes of Cambridge, discusses the question from a geographical and geological, as well as from an historical standpoint; and while admitting that 'if the missionaries landed at all upon the right-hand side of the main channel of the Wantsome,' a spot 'west of the promontory of Ebbsfleet would doubtless be a good place . . .,' he adds, 'yet the pleadings on behalf of Ebbsfleet are not entirely convincing;' and he practically adheres to 'the Canterbury tradition' that Rutupiae, or Richborough, was in fact the landing-place. But then comes the difficulty, that according to the 'plain words' of Bede, whose 'authority' is 'unexceptionable,' Augustine and his companions landed in the Isle of Thanet, whereas Richborough is not in Thanet. Professor Hughes would meet this by the suggestion that Thorn, the chronicler of St. Augustine's Abbey, says expressly, 'Applicuerunt vero in insula de Taneth in loco qui dicitur Retesbourgh;' and that Richborough was for many centuries partially insulated, and might be accounted by Canterbury monks as in fact belonging to Thanet. Here it should be remembered that Thorn wrote in the latter part of the fourteenth century; and it does not seem impossible that by that time an incorrect tradition should have attached itself to a venerable locality.

At any rate, neither the statement that Augustine landed at Richborough nor the statement that he there had the conference with Ethelbert can be easily reconciled with Bede's language, unless we suppose that in Bede's time the course of the Wantsome—which, as he says, divides 'Tanatos' from the mainland—had actually run *westward* of Richborough, and so, of course, had included Richborough within Thanet. In default of such a supposition it seems safer to acquiesce in some form of the Ebbsfleet theory for the landing-place, and to accept Minster as the scene of the ever-memorable meeting.

In the same volume, Mr. H. A. Wilson, Fellow of Magdalen College, a well-known authority on ritual and liturgical questions, suggests as a *possible* account of the baptismal peculiarities of the British rite that the Britons, at least 'occasionally,' baptized 'without the invocation of the Trinity'—an omission which, according to a long-subsequent letter of Pope Zacharias to St. Boniface, was pronounced by an 'English synod' to make such baptism null. But I cannot think that this synod is implicitly dated by Zacharias in the archiepiscopate of Augustine; for the sentence in question names four of his successors, including Theodore. And if so grave an omission had come under discussion at 'Augustine's Oak,' we can hardly suppose that he would have contented himself with requiring conformity to the 'mos sanctae Romanae et apostolicae ecclesiae,' when he could have taken so much stronger ground by exhorting the British ecclesiastics to adhere to the form expressly prescribed by Christ (Matt. xxviii. 19). Nor would 'compleatis' have been a term appropriate if such a negligence had been the point requiring correction.

2. I have also seen a paper entitled 'The Abbess Hilda's First Religious House,' by the Rev. H. C. Savage, Vicar of St. Hilda's, South Shields, in which my rendering of 'ad septentrionalem plagam Viuri fluminis,' in Bede iv. 23, is very courteously questioned. Mr. Savage would take the words in a more general sense as referring to 'the district north of the river Wear,' and he pleads for his own locality as representing the 'locus unius familiae' where Hilda dwelt 'for one year with a very few companions.' Now, no use of 'plaga' by Bede otherwise than in connexion with a river can be deemed

relevant. There are three such passages: in ii. 5, 9, the Humber is mentioned as the southern boundary of a great kingdom, which confessedly stretched far away to the north; in ii. 12, some place near the river Idle is clearly indicated as the scene of Redwald's victory, and Mr. Savage himself speaks of 'the battle of Retford.' But the point is, that if Hilda's first settlement had *not* been near the Wear northward, Bede would have had no occasion for mentioning that river in connexion with it; especially when we find that he repeatedly speaks (Vit. Cuthb. 3, 35) of a religious house which had once been occupied by monks, but had become a nunnery under Abbess Verca (and which, Mr. Savage contends, is represented by his own church), as 'not far from the mouth of the river Tyne southward.' If the settlement in question had been *there*, would not Bede have localized it thus, and not with a reference to the north side of another river? And as it is clear from Bede that Hilda's first 'house,' which she occupied in 648–9, was *not* a 'double monastery,' but a very small nunnery, whereas the 'house' not far from Tynemouth was occupied by 'a distinguished company of monks' some time before St. Aidan's death in 651, and not by nuns until afterwards, the identification proposed appears also chronologically untenable.

3. Once more, I have seen, in a private letter kindly addressed to me, a plea for the identification of the 'civitas' of 'Tiovulfingacæstir,' near which Paulinus baptized many converts 'in fluvio Treenta' (Bede, ii. 16), not with Littleborough, but with Torksey, a few miles further south. Now it is certain that the formidably polysyllabic name in question means 'the stronghold of the sons of Tiowulf.' What has this to do with Torksey, which evidently means 'Tork's isle'? There seems to be no evidence for saying that the river Till was once called the 'Tiovul'; and it has no other connexion with the Trent at Torksey than by the Fossdyke Water—a canal which, whatever be its age, would be out of Paulinus' way. Again, in the Chronicle for A.D. 873 we find Torksey clearly named as 'Tureces-iege,' whereas in 'Alfred's version' of Bede, ii. 16, we have 'Teolfinga-ceastre' plainly enough, and, as Mr. Plummer points out (vol. ii. p. 109), '873 is a date earlier than that at which the Anglo-Saxon version

of Bede was made.' On the other hand, Littleborough, which, as Mr. James Parker kindly informs me, still bears traces of a fortification or 'castrum,' is identified with Segelocum (Mon. H. Brit. pp. cxxxix, cxliv), which is the only station between Lindum and Danum in the fifth Iter of Antoninus. It was natural that such a 'cæster' (or 'cæstir') as the Tiowulf family possessed should, after it had fallen into decay, become known as 'the Little Burh' or castle. And it stands to reason that Paulinus would take the Roman road when going to or returning from Lincoln; and the late Precentor Venables of Lincoln, who was at once a local antiquary and an historical scholar, wrote to Mr. Parker in terms which I am permitted to quote: 'Your identification of Tiovulfingacæster with Littleborough, I think, carries conviction with it. It is just the place where Paulinus, travelling from York *viâ* Doncaster, would first strike the Trent.'

4. The Rev. F. B. A. Williams, Vicar of Hipswell, Richmond, kindly informs me that the place which Gale calls 'Ackburgh,' and Raine (as referred to below, p. 150) 'Akeburgh,' is known to the inhabitants only as 'Akebar'; and this seems to be confirmed by Whitaker in his account of Fingall; but in his account of Catterick he apparently recognizes 'Aikburgh' as the older form, though he rejects peremptorily Gale's derivation of the name for 'Jacobus' (the deacon), and says that '*Aik* is obviously meant for Oak' (Hist. Richm. ii. 21). Anyhow, 'Aikburgh' or 'Akeburgh' might easily be corrupted into 'Akebar.' Mr. Williams thinks that the scene of the baptisms by Paulinus (below, p. 137) was 'just above Thornborough on the south bank of the Swale,' where, says Whitaker, 'the Roman *trajectus* over the Swale appears.'

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CHAPTERS OF EARLY ENGLISH CHURCH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

(Introductory.)

When was the Christian Faith first preached in Britain? The question is one which it is impossible not to ask, but which it is also impossible to answer. Answers, no doubt, have been suggested, with more or less of definiteness and confidence: but they appear to possess no trustworthy foundation[1]. The pious fancy which led some of our ecclesiastical antiquaries[2] to think that St. Paul, between his first and second imprisonments, had made his way to the great north-western island, the southern part of which had been recently 'pacified' by the stern hand of Suetonius Paulinus, appealed for its chief, if not its only, support to a single sentence of St. Clement of Rome[3], in which Paul is said to 'have come to the boundary of the west,'—a phrase most naturally

The beginning unknown.

[1] 'We see the light of the Word shined here, but see not who kindled it.' Fuller, Ch. Hist. p. 5.

[2] Soames favours the notion, and cites Bishop Burgess's positive language in support of it: Angl.-Sax. Ch. p. 22. But 'our native documents,' says the enthusiastic author of the 'Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Cymry,' 'are silent respecting the alleged arrival of St. Paul in Britain' (p. 60).

[3] S. Clem. Ep. ad Cor. 5: ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθών.

CHAP. I. interpreted of Spain[1]. Eusebius, it is true, speaks as if some of the Twelve or of the Seventy had 'crossed the Ocean to the isles called British[2];' but he is here rhetorically mixing up the work of all ancient missionaries with that of the original disciples of Christ; and when in his 'History' he speaks distinctly, in reliance on Origen, of the mission-fields of the Apostles, he omits Britain altogether[3]. Some language of Theodoret, which combines St. Paul with the other Apostles, speaks of them as having evangelized the Britons; but this must be taken along with his after-statement, that it was 'after the Apostles' death that the laws of the Crucified penetrated to Persians, Scythians, and the other barbarous nations[4].' The precarious identification of the Pudens and Claudia of St. Paul's last Epistle with the Pudens and the British-born Claudia whose marriage Martial greeted in verses published some twenty years after St. Paul's death[5], would prove nothing, were it made good, as to a Church in Britain at that time: and the like may

[1] Bishop Lightfoot, St. Clement of Rome, ii. 30; but he thinks it 'not improbable that this western journey of St. Paul included a visit to Gaul (2 Tim. iv. 10).'

[2] Euseb. Dem. Ev. iii. 5, p. 112.

[3] Euseb. H. E. iii. 1. See Lingard, Angl.-Sax. Ch. i. 349.

[4] Theodoret, Gr. Aff. Cur. disp. 9 (Schulze, vol. iv. p. 929). Hilary, in Tract. in Ps. xiv. 3, says that 'the Apostles prepared very many habitations for God even in the isles of the ocean;' but this implies no more than the wide spread of their teaching and influence. So Venantius Fortunatus, in a poem on the Life of St. Martin, b. 3. l. 494, says that the same 'trumpet' of St. Paul's written teaching 'rung through the lands of the Briton and of utmost Thule.' See Lingard, i. 355.

[5] See Martial, Epigr. iv. 13. 1, 'Claudia, Rufe, meo nubit peregrina Pudenti,' &c.; and xi. 53. 1, 'Claudia caeruleis cum sit Rufina Britannis Edita,' &c. This latter epigram refers to the birth of her children. It has been observed that the apparent dates of Martial's life are against the identification in question: he seems not to have come to Rome before A. D. 66, and would hardly have kept back such a poem as iv. 13, by accident or design, till 81. For samples of arguments used by British lovers of ecclesiastical romance, see Church Quarterly Review, vol. xiii. p. 27, and Guest, Origines Celticae, p. 130. The latter attempts to meet the objection from Pudens' intimacy with Martial, and from the gift by Pudens of a site for a temple at Chichester (attested by the inscribed slab found in 1723), by the bold suggestion that the Pudens whom St. Paul mentions among 'the brethren' in 2 Tim. iv. 21 was not as yet a Christian. On the whole subject see Bishop Lightfoot, St. Clement of Rome, i. 77.

be said as to the Christianity of Pomponia Graecina, whose husband Aulus Plautius left Britain as early as A. D. 47. In short, we may pass by all attempts at discovery of an apostolic foundation for the British Church[1]: the theories which modern enthusiasm has created are as shadowy as the Greek fiction about Aristobulus, ordained by St. Paul as a bishop for Britain[2],—or the Welsh story of Bran the Blessed, father of Caractacus, who brought to Britain the faith he had learned in Rome[3],—or that beautiful mediaeval romance which brought St. Joseph of Arimathaea with twelve companions to Avalon or Glastonbury, and made his staff take root in the earth, and grow into the famous 'Holy Thorn[4].' CHAP. I.

But what are we to say of the narrative which Bede inserts into his Church History[5], and which tells how Lucius, a British king, sent to Eleutherus, Bishop of Rome, a letter, entreating 'that by his commission he might be made a Christian, and presently obtained the fulfilment of his pious request; after which the Britons retained the faith, thus received, inviolate and in tranquil peace, until the times of the Emperor Diocletian'? This is Bede's statement: looking at it as it stands, and ignoring the pretended reply of Eleutherus to Lucius[6], and the later embellishments as to Story of Lucius.

[1] It is true that Gildas, after describing the process by which Britain became Roman, says, '*Interea*, . . . the Sun of righteousness first imparts His beams, i. e. Christ His precepts, which, although they were languidly received by the inhabitants,' &c. Hist. 6. But Lingard contends that his words are as applicable to any year before the fourth century as to the time of Boadicea's defeat. Angl.-Sax. Ch. i. 347.

[2] Whom the Welsh legends called Arwystli Hen.

[3] See Williams, Eccl. Antiq. of the Cymry, p. 54 ff. Archd. Pryce, Ang.-Brit. Ch. p. 42.

[4] Malmesbury gives the story of Joseph of Arimathaea with an 'ut ferunt': as he knew it, we find that it presupposed an apostolic visit of St. Philip to the 'regio Francorum' (Prol. de Antiq. Glaston. Eccl.). The legend has been gracefully versified by Dean Alford in his 'Ballad of Glastonbury' (Poems, i. 16). But, although Glastonbury was a Christian sanctuary before the Saxons conquered the district, the tale about St. Joseph is not older than the eleventh century; see Pryce, p. 35.

[5] Bede, i. 4. 'Gildas is significantly silent,' Pryce, p. 4.

[6] Not cited by Geoffrey of Monmouth: first printed in the twelfth year of Henry VIII. See Collier (who believes the general statement), i. 35.

CHAP. I. the employment of Fagan and Dyvan[1], and Elvan and Medwin[2], and still more, as to the substitution of twenty-eight bishops for twenty-eight flamens[3], and the association of Winchester, Gloucester, and St. Peter's Cornhill, with the name of Lucius or 'Lleuer Mawr[4],' and the varieties of statement as to the king's latter days, which, by one story, were spent in a missionary episcopate, and closed by martyrdom, in Switzerland[5], are we to give any credence to as much as we find in Bede? The answer seems to be, that Bede derived the account of Lucius' message to Eleutherus, but not the statement as to its success, from the second of the two Catalogues, so called, of Roman Bishops, in which 'Eleutherius' is said to have received a letter from Lucius, 'ut Christianus efficeretur per ejus mandatum[6].' The words 'were written in the time and tone[7]' of Prosper, although the Catalogue containing them was not framed till about a century later, in 530. The statement, then, about Lucius' request is traceable to Rome, and to Rome in the fifth century: the request, if made, was made in the latter part of the second,—the accession of Eleutherus being commonly dated A.D. 177. There would be no intrinsic improbability in the supposition that a native prince in 'the Roman island' had requested instruction from the Roman Church

[1] See Geoffrey of Monmouth, ii. 1. So Malmesbury: see Gale, i. 293.

[2] Named by other Welsh authorities. See the Llandaff account in Monast. Anglic. vi. part 3, p. 1218, and Chronicles of the Ancient British Church, p. 45. Williams (p. 67) tells us that the king sent his request by these two, and the Pope sent his answer by Dyvan and Fagan, who were probably sprung from 'royal captives taken to Rome with Caradog.' Of course there may have been actual persons bearing the names of Fagan and the rest, who were afterwards mixed up with the Lucius story. A village near Llandaff is called St. Fagan's; and four churches within the jurisdiction of Llandaff are called after him, Lucius, Dyvan, and Medwin (Williams, p. 72; Chron. Brit. Ch. p. 49).

[3] Geoffrey, l. c. Elmham, in Hist. Monast. S. Aug. Cant. p. 134, speaks of the 'abrogation' of three flamens and the substitution of three archbishops.

[4] That is, 'Great Light:' Nennius, 18. (The book ascribed to 'Nennius' is of the ninth century.) Williams names him Lleirwg.

[5] Usher, Ant. 71. Geoffrey says that Lucius died at Gloucester. But the worth of his authority is *nil*.

[6] Liber Pontificalis, ed. Duchesne, i. pp. cii, 136.

[7] Haddan and Stubbs, Councils, i. 25; Haddan's Remains, p. 227.

CHAP. I.

in Christian belief; but the lack of earlier authority has induced most modern writers to reject the whole story: even Burton, though habitually moderate in his language, denounces it as a 'fable[1],' although he adds that 'perhaps there was some circumstance about that time, which was favourable to the spreading of the Gospel in Britain:' and it is certain that not many years after the accession of Eleutherus,—probably, indeed, between A.D. 196 and 201,—Tertullian[2] exultingly declares 'that places in Britain not yet reached by Romans were subjected to Christ.' We must allow for his fervid readiness to believe any story or rumour which enhanced the success of Christianity; and a high authority would explain the word 'inaccessa' as referring simply to Roman movements at that time against a British revolt[3],—but this is rather like explaining it away[4]. At any rate, there is Tertullian's statement, and he must have had some reason for making it. Indeed, although we are informed by Sulpicius Severus[5] that Christianity was 'somewhat late in crossing the Alps,' and Irenaeus seems to have known of no Church in Britain, nor indeed in Northern Gaul[6], we cannot reasonably doubt that some Christians did cross the Channel to our shore during the second century, if not earlier, and planted here and there some settlements of the Church. It was 'almost certainly from Gaul[7]'—certainly not, as far as we can

Statement of Tertullian.

[1] Burton, Eccl. Hist. ii. 206. Milman says briefly, 'The conversion of King Lucius is a legend;' but he adds that 'Britain gradually received the faith during the *second* and third centuries:' Lat. Chr. ii. 226.

[2] Tertull. adv. Jud. 7. According to Bishop Kaye (On Tertullian, p. 61), the tract 'Against the Jews' was probably written before Tertullian became a Montanist. That event is dated by Dr. Pusey not later than A.D. 201. Haddan dates the tract A.D. 208, the year in which Severus visited Britain (Remains, p. 223); yet see Bishop Kaye, p. 50.

[3] Haddan, l. c., and Councils, i. 2.

[4] Bishop Kaye, on Tertullian, p. 94, understands the passage as referring to the farthest extremities of Britain. So Burton, ii. 207, 'parts of the island which had not been visited by the Romans.' So Alb. Butler, for Sept. 16; Robertson, Hist. Ch. i. 218; Bishop Forbes, Pref. to Arbuthnott Missal, p. iii.

[5] Sulp. Sev. ii. 32. He thus explains the fact that the first martyrdoms in Gaul were those under M. Aurelius (Euseb. v. 1).

[6] S. Iren. i. 3 (circ. A.D. 180).

[7] Haddan's Remains, p. 216. See Folcard's Life of St. John of Beverley, i.

CHAP. I. Britain probably evangelized from Gaul.

judge, directly from the East[1]—that these outposts, so to speak, of the advancing spiritual kingdom were sent forth among the Roman provincials of Britain. Their arrival may with much probability be dated shortly before[2], or more probably shortly after[3] the persecution at Lyons and Vienne; and the Church thus formed was 'confined mainly' (in the face of Tertullian's words, we can hardly say 'exclusively') to 'Romanized natives[4]' and to the Roman residents and 'struck, in consequence, but feeble roots in the land[5].' More of this hereafter: at present we pass on, in all but total dearth of information about the British Church in the third century[6], to the grand and touching scene which meets us at the opening of the fourth, and in which the heroism of generous self-devotedness is so beautifully blended with that early-ripened faith, which transfigured a neophyte into a martyr:—

> Self-offered victim, for his friend he died,
> And for the Faith[7]!

St. Alban.

The story of St. Alban, as given by Bede[8], is briefly this. During the persecution of Diocletian and Maximian,

(Raine's Historians of the Church of York, i. 242), 'Ut enim fideli patrum traditum est relatione, jamdudum fide illuminatis finibus totius Galliae, serius perlatum est verbum Dei in hanc insulam Britanniae.'

[1] The popular notion that the British Easter-rule points to such a directly Eastern origin of the British Church is based on a mistake as to that rule. Warren argues for an 'indirect' Eastern influence, through the Gallic Church, on the British and Irish Churches; Liturgy and Ritual of Celtic Church, pp. 47–57. But see Engl. Hist. Rev. for July, 1896.

[2] Pryce's Ancient British Church, p. 61 ff. He meets the difficulty of Irenaeus' silence by observing that his argument was concerned with settled churches, whose tradition could be of weight.

[3] Warren, p. 58. Comp. Acts xi. 19. [4] Haddan, l. c.

[5] Origen speaks of converted Britons in Hom. 6 in Luc. 'The power of our Lord and Saviour is both with those who in Britain are divided from our world,' &c. (ed. Lommatzsch, t. v. p. 106); and more rhetorically of a conversion of *Britain*, in Ezech. Hom. 4 (xiv. 59). Yet, in Matt. Comment. s. 39, he says that of the Britons, or the Germans who are near the ocean, &c., 'plurimi' have *not yet* heard the word of the Gospel (iv. 271). These passages were written towards the middle of the third century.

[6] The story of the British-born St. Mellon, first bishop of Rouen in 256, represents him as converted from Paganism at Rome. See Usher, Ant. p. 75; Tillemont, Mem. iv. 487.

[7] Wordsworth, Eccl. Sonnets, No. 6.

[8] Bede, i. 7, and his Martyrology. See Alb. Butler, Lives of Saints,

Alban, being then a Pagan, gave shelter to a Christian cleric flying from persecution. He watched his guest's habits, was struck with his perseverance in prayer 'by day and night,' gradually accepted his instructions, embraced the faith, and doubtless was baptized. Some days were spent in this companionship: then the 'wicked prince' heard that the fugitive was in Alban's cottage, and sent soldiers to arrest him. Alban put on his teacher's cassock[1], met the soldiers, gave himself into their hands, declaring himself to be a Christian, and was at once carried before a magistrate, who was then engaged in sacrificing, and who, indignant at his having thus shielded a 'sacrilegious rebel,' ordered him to be dragged up to the images of the gods, and gave him the choice between sacrificing and suffering the doom which the fugitive would have incurred. Alban replied that he would not sacrifice. Being asked of what family he was, he answered, 'What does that matter? As for my religion, I am now a Christian, and bound to act as a Christian.' He was asked his name, and gave it; was again ordered to sacrifice; answered, in the usual tone of Christian confessors, that the worship of 'demons' would lead to eternal perdition; was scourged by torturers, and, being still steadfast, was led to execution, across the river[2] which ran by the great city of Verulamium[3], where his CHAP. I

June 22. In the later middle ages the nationality of Alban was forgotten: he was hailed in a rude hymn (reproducing a famous pun) as 'pro*tho*-martyr Anglorum, miles Regis Angelorum.'

[1] 'Caracalla;' the name of that hooded coat stretching to the feet which the son and successor of Severus brought into fashion, and from which he took his nickname (Spart. Vit. Carac. 9), and which afterwards became a dress of clerics or monks. Jerome says that the high-priestly ephod was like a caracalla without a hood (Ep. 64. 15); but the ephod was a sort of amice, while the caracalla was akin to a 'cappa'; Ducange in v. Geoffrey names the cleric 'Amphibalus' (de Gest. Reg. Brit. ii. 3). This is probably a confusion between the man and his garment; we find an 'amphibalus' worn by St. Columba in Adamn. Vit. Col. i. 5; and see Gildas, Epist. 2. Later stories made 'Amphibalus' himself suffer martyrdom near Verulam, after baptizing many converts. See Usher, Antiq. pp. 78, 84, on this name, and the legend of the death, as to which, he says, the martyrologists observe 'altum silentium.'

[2] The Ver. See Clutterbuck's Hertfordshire, i. 5.

[3] Verulamium is mentioned as a municipium by Tacitus, Ann. xiv. 33.

CHAP. I. trial had taken place. A vast crowd followed the prisoner and his guards, so that the magistrate was left with none to wait on him. The bridge being thus thronged,—so the story proceeds,—Alban by prayer obtained a dry passage over the river-bed: the executioner himself, astounded, and inwardly stirred by grace, threw away his sword, and flung himself at Alban's feet, desiring to suffer with, or, if possible, instead of him: meantime Alban and the crowd ascended a beautiful flower-clad eminence[1], where at his prayer a spring of water burst forth to satisfy his thirst. Here he was beheaded: the man who gave the stroke miraculously lost his eyes, and he whose substitute he was received in his turn the death-blow, being thus, in the ancient Church language[2], 'baptized in his own blood.' The day was the 22nd of June; the magistrate, overawed by what had happened, ordered the persecution to cease: but about the same time there were martyred Aaron and Julius, two citizens of 'the City of Legions[3],'—and many others, men and women, in divers places, after they had been 'lacerated' by hideous torments. This is the tale as it stands: if we put aside the three marvellous incidents, as probably an after-growth, and also allow for the inventiveness which, in default of official records, has described the dialogue between Alban and his judge,—is the rest to be accepted, or treated as mythical? There is no evidence that it was known earlier than the first part of the fifth century; but

Cunobelin had transferred the Trinobantian capital from Verulamium to Camulodunum (Merivale, vi. 225). Under the Romans it became 'a grand municipal city, the fashionable town of the south-east' (Wright's Celt, Roman, and Saxon, p. 123), where 'the chief lines of communication intersected one another' (Merivale, vi. 248). See Turner, Angl. Sax. i. 197. Its site is S.W. of St. Albans.

[1] Here stands the vast minster, now the cathedral.

[2] Tertull. de Bapt. 16; St. Cyprian, Ep. 73. 18, 19, &c. Comp. Euseb. vi. 4.

[3] Although Chester, the seat of the twentieth legion, was so named, as in Bede, ii. 2, yet in this passage Caerleon-on-Usk, or Isca Silurum, the headquarters of the second legion, is meant (see Merivale, Hist. Rom. vi. 248). So in Liber Landavensis, ed. Rees, p. 27, as to these martyrdoms at 'civitatem Legionum super Huisc dictam;' and Geoffrey says (vii. 4) that churches of SS. Aaron and Julius existed there. Bede says that when persecution ceased, a church was built on the spot of Alban's martyrdom.

in 429 it was fully believed at Verulamium. In the sixth century it is narrated by Gildas[1], and alluded to in a line of Venantius Fortunatus[2], quoted by Bede. The time is disputed: Gildas and Bede refer it to the last great persecution which began in 303, while the Saxon Chronicle dates it in 283: if the former date is correct, the difficulty arises as to the possibility of a persecution in Britain while Constantius, whom Eusebius eulogizes as most kindly disposed towards Christianity[3] and markedly tolerant of Christians, held authority as Caesar over the island. But, previous to the abdication of Maximian in the May of 305, the benevolent prince who owned the superior authority of a coarse and merciless tyrant, 'implacably' hostile 'to the name and religion of the Christians[4],' might be unable to restrain subordinate local persecutors: and on the whole we may say with Milman, that 'there seems no reason to doubt' the historic reality of the British Protomartyr[5], nor, we may add, of those other Christian sufferers whose names are associated with his, and for whom Gildas is the earliest authority[6]. CHAP. I.

The restoration of peace to the Christian body was too soon followed by the troubles of the Donatist schism, which led to the meeting of the great Council of Arles, in A.D. 314. Its records show, among the bishops present, the names of three from Britain: Eborius of York, Restitutus of Council of Arles.

[1] Gild. Hist. 8.

[2] In his poem on Virginity, Miscell. viii. c. 6. He puts Alban after Vincent.

[3] Euseb. H. E. viii. 13; Vit. C. i. 16. Sozomen, i. 6, says that under him 'it was not thought unlawful for . . . Britons . . . to profess Christianity.' Lactantius says that he permitted Christian churches 'to be pulled down, but preserved unhurt that true temple of God which exists in men;' Mort. Pers. 15. This corrects Eusebius' assertion that under him churches were safe, but appears to need some modification as to men.

[4] Gibbon, ii. 267. Compare Smith, App. 4. to Bede, that Constantius could not, and did not, prevent all persecution in Gaul and Spain: 'he dared not refuse to publish the edicts.'

[5] Lat. Chr. ii. 226. That the number of the martyrs of Britain at this time has been exaggerated (e.g. Bede's Martyrology gives 888) is obvious.

[6] Martyrologists also name a St. Augulus, bishop, in Augusta, i.e. London (in Bede's Martyrology, Augustus): see Haddan and Stubbs, i. 29. Nothing is known of him. Alb. Butler (Feb. 7) thinks that he suffered soon after Alban.

CHAP. I. London, and Adelphius 'de civitate Colonia Londinensium[1],' together with Sacerdos, a presbyter, and Arminius, a deacon. 'Eborius of Eboracum' is rather suspicious (as is 'Sacerdos'), but the name may be some British name misread[2]. But what was the word which has been corrupted into 'Londinensium'? It has been proposed to read 'Camulodunensium,'—the men of that typical Roman colony which has given its name to Colchester,—*the* Colonia of the fifth 'iter,' which has been ranked as the third town in Britain during the Roman period[3]. But two other opinions are now more popular: one is, that the original reading was 'Lindensium[4],' and then Adelfius would appear as bishop of the 'Colony of Lindum' or Lincoln. Another would read 'Legionensium[5],' and place his see in 'the famous city of Caerleon, the camp of the Legion[6],' the great stronghold of Roman power in 'Britannia Secunda,' where even now the amphitheatre and the collection of Roman remains render the little village on the bank of the Usk one of the most impressive scenes in South Wales. For this theory it may be said that Caerleon, the traditional

[1] Mansi, Conc. ii. 476.

[2] Haddan and Stubbs, i. 7. *Ivor* is an old British name; see Annal. Camb. a. 501, 'Ebur (al. Ywor) episcopus pausat.' Geoffrey mentions an Ivor in his 'History,' ix. 6; see too Giraldus on 'Ivor the Little' (Itin. Camb. i. 6). Pryce gives Efrog as the Welsh equivalent to Eburius (Brit. Ch. p. 88). But see also Raine, Fast. Ebor. i. 9. Adelfius and 'Hibernius' are among the signataries of the synodal letter to Pope Silvester. Is Hibernius another form of Eborius?

[3] York and London being first and second: Guest, Orig. Celt. ii. 284. Yet see Cutts, 'Colchester,' p. 39: 'Colonia was never . . . even the permanent headquarters of a legion,' &c.

[4] Bingham, b. ix. c. 6. s. 20; Lingard, A.-S. Ch. i. 6; Routh, Rell. Sac. iv. 296; Lappenberg, Hist. Eng. (E. Tr.) i. 50; Robertson, i. 218. Compare 'Lindocolina' in Bede, ii. 16. See Freeman, Engl. Towns, &c. p. 192.

[5] Stillingfleet, Orig. Brit. p. 78; Haddan and Stubbs, i. 7. There is no good evidence for any Archbishopric in Wales; Pryce, p. 89.

[6] Merivale, vi. 248. Geoffrey's imagination endows it, in Arthurian days, with royal palaces, 'ita ut aureis tectorum fastigiis Romam imitaretur,' vii. 4. Somewhat later, Giraldus wrote, 'Videas hic multa pristinae nobilitatis adhuc vestigia et palatia immensa, . . . thermas insignes, templorum reliquias, et loca theatralia . . . egregiis muris partim adhuc exstantibus' (fragments of them are still extant) 'omnia clausa,' &c. Itin. Camb. i. c. 5 (vol. vi. p. 55). See Palgrave, Engl. Comm. p. 323; Lappenberg, i. 52.

home of the martyrs Aaron and Julius, and the traditional seat of an ancient British bishopric, appears more naturally to associate itself with the third delegate to Arles than a town within a short distance of York, and in the province[1] whose capital was London. But the scribe or the copyist would hardly have turned 'Legionensium' into 'Londinensium,' whereas 'Lindensium' might easily be thus misread; and the objection that Caerleon was not a colony[2] is decisive. The choice, then, lies between Colchester and Lincoln; and probabilities appear to incline towards the latter.

Roman-British Church; little known of it.

During the rest of the 'Roman period,' the Church of Britain shows like a valley wrapt in mists, across which some fitful lights irregularly gleam. We know nothing of its episcopal succession, very little of its internal life, or of its efforts at self-extension. We read of some of its buildings as having been known to exist at Canterbury, Caerleon, Verulam, and, we may add, on one most interesting spot, then girdled in by waters and known as Ynys-vitrin, usually rendered 'the Glassy Isle,' or Avallon or Avalon, 'the Isle of Apples,' our present Glastonbury, where the tall green peak of the Tor of St. Michael looks down on the stately ruins of the great abbey which succeeded to 'the old church' made originally of twisted wands, the earliest sanctuary on that venerable ground, of which Christianity has held uninterrupted possession[3]. Traces of some ecclesiastical

[1] I. e. Flavia Caesariensis. Maxima Caesariensis stretched from the Humber to the southern wall, that of Hadrian; Valentia, from thence to the wall of Antoninus. Britannia Prima included all south of Thames and Severn; Britannia Secunda was our Wales.

[2] Hübner, Inscr. Brit. Chr., praef. p. vii.

[3] Haddan and Stubbs, i. 37. For Glastonbury or Avalon in particular see Freeman, Norm. Conq. i. 439, English Towns and Districts, p. 76 ff. He derives its English name from 'the family of Glæsting,' and suggests that the interpretation, 'glassy isle,' put upon 'Ynysvitrin,' may have been a mere play on words. Setting aside mere fables, the church of Glastonbury might be what Malmesbury calls it, 'the oldest church, as far as he knew, in England.' But its 'great temporal position' may probably date from 601, when a king of Dumnonia (which 'stretched from Malmesbury to the Land's End') 'granted the land called Ynysvitrin to the old church which was situated there, at the request of Worgret the abbot' (Malmesb. de Antiq. Glast. Guest identifies this royal founder

CHAP. I. Roman work have been discerned here and there, as at Canterbury, Lyminge, and Brixworth; but amid the crowd of monuments, and other relics of Roman dominion[1],—among which occur not only altars to Roman gods, properly so called, including Rome herself, the manes of the dead, and the Genius of Fortune, but also names of barbaric deities, and tokens of the wide diffusion of the strangely fascinating worship of Mithras[2],—antiquarians have found but scanty memorials of Roman-British Christianity,—the cross, or the 'Chi-Rho,' here and there, on a ring, a stone, a vessel, or a tesselated pavement,—or a grave-stone, alluding to 'peace,' or 'rest,' or 'life', or recording that a 'Christian man' slept below[3]. To some extent, this disappointing lack of evidence may be accounted for by the devastating fury of Saxon heathenism: but it seems impossible to doubt that the Church which has left so few visible marks of its presence and activity was not strong in numbers, or influence, or wealth[4], and that it had not, in fact, 'inherited the land.' In regard to its relations with the Churches of Europe, we find it adhering to the orthodox side in the great Arian struggle: not only does Constantine, in his extant letter, include the Britons among those who accepted the ruling of the Nicene Council as to the calculation of Easter[5], but St. Athanasius ranks the British

with a king named Gwrgan Varvtrwch, Orig. Celt. ii. 270: see Bonifac. Ep. 70, the letter of Wetbert to the monks of 'Glestingaburg.' Freeman. p. 86).

[1] See the 'Collection of Roman Inscriptions and Sculptures' in Horsley's Britannia Romana, p. 192 ff.

[2] E. g. a large altar 'Sancto Mithrae' at Caerleon; and two inscriptions 'Deo Belatucadro,' given by Horsley.

[3] See Haddan and Stubbs, i. 39, 162; Hübner, nos. i, 7, 31, 131; Allen's Monumental Hist. of Early British Church, p. 29 ff. He says that 'the Christian formula *Vivas in Deo* occurs on two Roman gold rings . . . found at Brancaster, in Norfolk, in 1829, and at Silchester in 1786.' On the list is H. and S., and on inscriptions implying zeal for the 'old' gods, see F. Haverfield in the 'Engl. Hist. Review' of July, 1896. A small basilican building discovered at Silchester in 1892 is thought to be a small church. See the 'Guardian' of Sept. 21, 1892.

[4] Haddan, Remains, p. 332.

[5] Eus. Vit. Con. iii. 19. No British bishops went to Nicaea. Only one bishop went from Gaul.

bishops with prelates of various provinces[1] who adhered to the decision of the Sardican Council, against those who had libelled his character by way of striking at the faith which he upheld. Hilary of Poitiers, in 358–9, congratulated his British brethren on their 'freedom from all contagion of the detestable heresy[2]:' and in the next summer some British bishops took part in the Council of Ariminum. Sulpicius Severus[3] expressly tells us that three only from Britain, being unable to pay their own expenses, would not receive contributions from other prelates, but accepted an allowance from Constantius, 'thinking it more consistent with duty to burden the treasury than individuals[4].' No doubt, the British delegates compromised their brethren at home by being cajoled or harassed into accepting the uncatholic formulary which made the name of Ariminum a by-word: but, like the great mass of those who then showed weakness, they appear to have returned to the Nicene position: for in 363 Athanasius could reckon the Britons among those who were loyal to the Catholic faith[5]. It is evident, therefore, that Gildas, and Bede following him, have greatly exaggerated the influence of Arianism in Britain[6]. Eminent doctors of unquestioned

CHAP. I.

Council of Ariminum.

British orthodoxy.

[1] Ath. Apol. c. Ari. 1, Hist. Ari. 28 (yet see Apol. 50). It has often been said that British bishops actually sat in the Sardican Council. But that Council's letter, Apol. c. Ari. 36, reciting the countries there and then represented, names Spain and Gaul, and omits Britain: and Athanasius himself in the first passage speaks of 'more than 300' bishops, whereas he reckons the bishops present at Sardica as 170; Hist. Ari. 15.

[2] 'Dilectissimis et beatissimis patribus et coepiscopis' of Germany and of Gaul, 'et provinciarum Britanniarum episcopis.' De Synodis.

[3] Sulp. ii. 41. See Gibbon, iv. 134. He thinks that the British Church might have thirty or forty bishops. This seems an over-estimate.

[4] Sulpicius adds, 'I have often heard Gavidius our bishop mention this in a tone of censure. But I should regard it quite otherwise; and I praise the bishops for having been so poor as to have nothing of their own, and for accepting supplies from no others, but only from the treasury, ubi neminem gravabant; . . . ita in utrisque egregium exemplum.' The words in a preceding sentence, 'id est Aquitanis, Gallis, ac Britannis,' which imply that the 'three' were only a minority of the British delegates, appear to be a gloss.

[5] Ath. Ep. ad Jovian. 2.

[6] Gild. Hist. 9; Bede, i. 8.

CHAP. I. orthodoxy, in the period following the Athanasian, speak as if the distant islanders were one in faith with themselves. Chrysostom says that 'even the British isles'—(observe the plural)—'have felt the power of the Word, for there too churches and altars have been erected:' there too, as in the extreme East, or beside the Euxine, or in the South, 'men may be heard discussing points in Scripture, with differing voices, but not with differing belief[1].' Jerome is not less emphatic: Britain, he affirms, 'worships the same Christ, observes the same rule of truth,' with other Christian countries: more than this, the enthusiasm for pilgrimages to Palestine had touched even Britons, as well as 'the swarms of the East,' and it seemed opportune to remark that 'the road to the heavenly hall stood open from Britain as well as from Jerusalem[2].' On one occasion we find that a discord had arisen among British Christians, the exact nature of which cannot be learned from the rhetorical generalities in which Victricius, bishop of Rouen, tells how, at the request of his 'fellow-bishops' in Britain, he had gone over thither to restore religious peace[3]. Our subject does not include the history of Christianity in North Britain: but we hear of Calpurnius, a deacon as well as a 'decurio,' or town-councillor, resident probably at or near Dunbarton, whose father Potitus was a presbyter, and whose son Succat became the great St. Patrick[4]: nor can we forget how the northern extremity of England must
St. Ninian. have profited by the homeward journey of Ninian, a native of the Cumbrian district[5], who, having studied at Rome, and received episcopal consecration from Pope Siricius, returned to Britain[6], established a missionary bishopric on

[1] Chrys. Quod Chr. sit Deus, 12; Hom. in Princip. Act. 3. 1.

[2] Jerome, Ep. 146. 1; Ep. 46. 10; Ep. 58. 3. The last of these three sentences was written about 395. Cp. Prudentius, Peristeph. xiii. 103.

[3] Victric. de Laude Sanctorum, 1 (Galland. Bibl. Patr. vii. 228). This journey would be after A. D. 390.

[4] See Dict. Chr. Biogr. iv. 203. On the ascertained facts about Patrick I may refer to 'The Roman See in the Early Church,' &c., p. 370 ff.

[5] See Bede, iii. 4: A.-S. Chron. a. 565; Bp. Forbes, Kalendars of Scottish Saints, p. 422, and Lives of SS. Ninian and Kentigern, p. 257.

[6] On his way home he became acquainted with, and was profoundly

a promontory of Wigtownshire, and built a church, not, as was usual among Britons, of wood, but, in the Roman fashion, of stone,—on account of which, as Bede tells us, the place was called the White House, 'Candida Casa[1],' otherwise Whithern,—where now a ruined cathedral, crowning a wooded mound, represents what was once emphatically named 'the Great Monastery[2],' and known as a centre of religious light and strength for all who dwelt along the Solway and between the two Roman 'walls,' and even for those 'Southern Picts[3]' whose proper district extended from the Forth to the great range of hills called the Mounth, which crosses our present Scotland between Ben Nevis and Stonehaven. So it was that in after-ages St. Ninian was commemorated as the instrument by whom the 'Picts and Britons' had been 'converted to the knowledge of the faith[4].' CHAP. I.

Those early years of the fifth century, during which Ninian was in his prime of work[5], witnessed the origin of a momentous controversy which went far to impair, in the eyes of zealous continental theologians, the reputation of the British Church for simple-hearted orthodoxy. When Pelagius became obnoxious by speculations offensive to Christian piety, he was generally known as 'the Briton[6],' Pelagianism.

impressed by, the great missionary bishop of Gaul, St. Martin of Tours,—and in his memory the 'white' church was hallowed; Bede, l. c.

[1] Bede, iii. 4. Comp. v. 21; Hist. Abb. 5. Whithern, however, was perhaps the Leucopibia (probably Leukoikidia) of Ptolemy. 'Hwit ærn' = 'white cell.' Guest, Orig. Celt. ii. 302. It was also called Futerna and Rosnat. On the sculptures at Kirkmadrine in Wigtownshire—two stones with the Christian monogram, one having also the names of 'the priests Viventius and Mavorius' (or 'Majorius'), the other of 'Florentius'—see Haddan and Stubbs, ii. 51; Hübner, no. 205; Bishop Dowden, Celtic Church in Scotland, p. 16. They were probably priests under Ninian. The widespread reverence for Ninian (popularly called Ringan) extended to Shetland.

[2] Bp. Forbes, Lives, &c., pp. xlii, 292; Haddan and Stubbs, i. 120.

[3] Bede, iii. 4. See Skene, Celtic Scotl. i. 230. Haddan and Stubbs, ii. 105; Arbuthnott Missal, p. 369.

[4] Collect in an office for his festival. So in a hymn: 'Dat vitam pastor incolis Pictis junctis Britonibus.'

[5] Legend dated his death on Sept. 16, 432. 'Many saints' were believed to rest beside him: Bede, iii. 4.

[6] Augustine, Ep. 186. 1. So Bede here calls him, i. 10, and cites

CHAP. I. and was, indeed, characterized by Jerome, in his coarse way, as 'that big dog of Albion[1].' It is right to remember that he had, in his own way, 'a zeal for God,' a grave indignation against the inertness of many professing Christians, who pleaded their weakness as an excuse for not striving after sanctity[2]. But he went astray through an exaggeration of human capacities for moral attainment[3]; he over-rated the power of the will, and denied the necessity of internal grace; and he grounded this denial on the rejection of that view of the Fall, as a source of inherited corruption and debasement, which is technically called the doctrine of 'original sin[4].' He had left Britain in early life, and does not seem to have returned; but a bishop, Severianus, who adopted his opinions, had a son named Agricola[5], who devoted himself with passionate ardour to the work of spreading the prescribed theory in the country of its author, so that, in Prosper's words, 'enemies of grace took possession of the heresiarch's native soil[6].' The British clergy were generally faithful to the received

Prosper's lines, alluding to him as nourished by 'aequorei Britanni' (in one of Prosper's Epigrams). Compare his De Ingratis, i. 13 :—

'Dogma quod antiqui satiatum felle draconis
Pestifero vomuit coluber sermone Britannus.'

Comp. Prosper, Chron. A.D. 416, 'Pelagius Brito;' Orosius, Apol. 12, 'Britannicus noster;' and Marius Mercator, p. 2, 'a Briton.' It is a mere guess that Pelagius is 'Morgan' Grecized.

[1] In Jerem. l. 3. praef. (A.D. 419). The devil, he says, 'latrat per Albinum (a correction from "Alpinum") canem grandem et corpulentum, et qui calcibus magis possit saevire quam dentibus.' The next sentence, 'Habet enim progeniem Scoticae gentis, de Britannorum vicinia,' naturally suggests that Jerome supposed Pelagius, although popularly called a Briton, or native of 'Albion,' to be in fact an Irishman. Comp. Jerome, prolog. in Jerem.: 'stolidissimus, *et Scotorum pultibus praegravatus.*' And see Tillemont, xiii. 562. Others suppose Jerome to refer to Coelestius as Irish, e. g. Haddan and Stubbs, Councils, ii. 290. There was a considerable Gaelic or Irish element in South Wales until the 'Brythonic' invasion under Cunedda in the beginning of the fifth century.

[2] See St. Augustine, de Dono Persev. s. 53. Cp. the writer's 'Lessons from Lives of Three Great Fathers,' p. 165.

[3] See Guizot, Civil. in France, lect. 5; Mozley on Doctrine of Predestination, pp. 58-64, 102; Dict. Chr. Biogr. iv. 283.

[4] See the writer's Introd. to 'Select Anti-Pelagian Treatises of St. Augustine,' pp. vii–xii.

[5] Bede, i. 17.

[6] C. Collatorem, s. 58.

doctrines, although a severe interpretation might find a Pelagian leaven in a practical treatise written by a British prelate of this period, named Fastidius[1]. But some laymen of wealth and importance were attracted by a system which tended to resolve Christianity into a philosophy[2], and to explain away those mysterious announcements, as to transmitted sinfulness and the absolute need of grace, which demanded the humiliation of the soul. Britain, it seems, had no divines competent to resist it; and an appeal was therefore made to the Church, one might say the mother-Church, in Gaul,—the Church of Hilary and of Martin,—which was both able and ready to assist out of its abundance the theological poverty of Britain. Two Gallic bishops were commissioned to visit the island: but there is a discrepancy between our authorities as to the circumstances of their appointment. According to Constantius of Lyons[3], who wrote some sixty years later, with full access to local information, and whose account is copied by Bede, the prelates, Germanus of Auxerre and Lupus of Troyes, were sent over by 'a numerous synod[4]' to 'uphold in Britain the belief in Divine grace.' According to Prosper of Aquitaine, the admiring defender of St. Augustine, Celestine bishop of Rome is said to have sent

CHAP. I.

Visit of St. German and Lupus.

[1] 'Fastidius, Britannorum episcopus;' Gennadius de Vir. Illustr. 56. See Galland. Bibl. Patr. ix. p. xxx. In the 11th chapter of his 'De Vita Christiana' Fastidius approves of such a prayer as was made a matter of complaint against Pelagius ('Thou knowest, Lord, that these hands which I lift up are holy,' &c.; comp. Jerome, Dial. c. Pelag. iii. 14). See Tillemont, Mem. xv. 17, who adds that his language on the effect of the Fall is inadequate: it is, 'omnes suo damnantur *exemplo*;' c. 13. Stillingfleet defends him, Orig. Brit. p. 200.

[2] Michelet, Hist. Fr. bk. i. c. 3. That, at the same time, Pelagianism was 'raised on a basis philosophically' as well as 'religiously false,' see Mozley, Aug. Doctr. Predest. pp. 102-104.

[3] See Constantius' Vit. S. Germ., c. 19, in Surius, de Probatis Sanctorum Historiis, vol. iv. p. 416; Life of St. German (in Lives of English Saints), p. 122. Constantius dedicates this 'Life' to Patiens, bishop of Lyons, who had often urged him to write it. Bede copies largely from this part of it, making some verbal alterations, as 'magna' for 'numerosa synodus,' occasionally adding, but usually abbreviating by the omission of some mere verbiage, and frequently smoothing out the Latin.

[4] That the Council was held at Troyes, see Life of St. German, p. 122.

CHAP. I. German 'as his representative[1],' by which means Celestine 'took pains to keep the Roman island Catholic[2].' Prosper has the advantage over Constantius in being a contemporary writer[3]; and he visited Rome in 431 to lodge a complaint before this Pope[4]. The two statements have been harmonized by supposing that Celestine recommended German to the Council[5]; or that after the Council had chosen its two envoys, German also 'received the Pope's sanction' for his journey[6]; or else, that Constantius' statement is true only of Lupus, and that German's commission was simply from Rome[7]. But who were German and Lupus? The former was by much the greater personage of the two. Bede's statement that the Pelagian difficulty in Britain was 'a few years prior to the coming of the Saxons,' which he dates about 446–7. must be loosely interpreted if he is understood as accepting the chronology of Prosper.

[1] Prosp. Chron. Integr. par. 2, 'Florentio et Dionysio Coss. (i. e. 429): Ad actionem Palladii diaconi, papa Coelestinus Germanum ..... vice sua mittit.' (Migne, Patr. Lat. ii. 594.)

[2] Prosp. c. Collat. c. 21, s. 58: 'Nec vero segniore cura ab hoc eodem morbo Britannias liberavit, quando quosdam inimicos gratiae solum suae originis occupantes etiam ab illo secreto exclusit Oceani, et ordinato Scotis episcopo (i. e. Palladius), dum Romanam insulam studet servare catholicam, fecit etiam barbaram Christianam.' Palladius was sent in 431 as bishop to the 'Scots (Irish) who believed in Christ' (Prosp. Chron.), the scattered believers among the Irish; see Todd's St. Patrick, p. 284. Whether he afterwards visited North Britain is at least very doubtful; Skene takes the negative view, Celtic Scotl. ii. 27. Bishop Dowden thinks that the Scottish tradition may have some truth in it; Celt. Ch. in Sc. p. 41. Cp. Stephen, Hist. Sc. Ch. i. 23.

[3] He wrote in support of St. Augustine about 428. The Carmen de Ingratis is dated about 429–430, the Contra Collatorem after 432; the Chronicle comes down to 455.

[4] His complaint was against Gallic 'Semi-Pelagians.' See Tillemont, xvi. 14, and my Introd. to Anti-Pelagian Treat. p. lv.

[5] Life of St. German, p. 122: cp. Fleury, b. 25. c. 15.

[6] Tillemont, xv. 15; Dict. Chr. Biogr. ii. 655.

[7] Lingard, Anglo.-Sax. Ch. i. 8. To this Bishop Dowden inclines, p. 210; but it is hardly probable. Constantius must have had reason for connecting the mission of his hero with the national episcopate: and Prosper on his side must have known whether or no Celestine took action in the matter; although, from his point of view, he may have over-estimated such action. Probably the truth lies in a combination of both accounts. Celestine may have expressed an approval of the selection of German, or may have given him a special commission; Tillemont, xv. 15. The Benedictine Life of Gregory the Great simply follows Constantius, bk. iii. 4. 2.

from whom he has evidently taken his account of Agricola's propaganda, and who dates the mission in 429, when German had then been eleven years bishop of his native city. He had seen much of the world[1]; had studied at Rome, not for the priesthood, but for the bar; had held the high place of 'duke' of a wide district[2]; and had been suddenly, and as it were forcibly, ordained a cleric by Amator bishop of Auxerre[3], and soon afterwards succeeded him at his death, A. D. 418. He had forthwith adopted, with all his heart and without reserve, the strictest standard of episcopal conduct[4]. Lupus was a few years younger,—a friend of Sidonius Apollinaris, who addresses him in a letter[5] as 'bishop of bishops': two letters of his are preserved[6].

Discomfiture of Pelagians.

The Gallic prelates landed in Britain after a stormy voyage, the perils of which, says Constantius, were averted by the prayers of German[7]. 'They preached in churches, and even in streets and fields and in the open country[8],' to

[1] Constantius, i. 1. He attended the Gallic schools before he went to Rome. On these schools cp. Jerome, Ep. 125. 6; Bede, iii. 18.

[2] Armorica and Nervia, i. e. the first and second Aquitania, the Senonensis, the first and second Lugdunensis. He retained to the last his 'dignity of countenance'; Constant. ii. 10.

[3] See the scene described in the English Life of St. German, p. 37, from Constantius, i. 4.

[4] Tillemont, xv. 13, from Constant. i. 8–10. Austerities did not make German hard: see the beautiful anecdote in Constantius, ii. 9, that when he was seventy, on his journey across the Alps, he fell in with an old lame labourer, on the edge of a torrent crossed by slippery stones, and carried over first the man's burden, and then the man himself. Hereric, who wrote a metrical biography of German in the ninth century, after enumerating various virtues of his, adds, 'Quodque est praecipuum, *dilectio plurima fratrum.*' (In Act. SS., July 31.)

[5] Sidon. Ep. vi. 1. The letter accumulates expressions of reverence. In another, Ep. vi. 4, he speaks to Lupus as 'apostolatui tuo.'

[6] Sirmond. i. 573; Galland. Bibl. ix. 516; Migne, Patr. Lat. lviii. 63. In one of these letters he says to Sidonius, 'Gaudeo exui, postquam ecclesiam induisti.' He lived till 479.

[7] Constantius, i. 22; Bede, i. 17. The incident is also referred to by Adamnan, Vit. Col. ii. 34. Constantius, however, makes German pour oil on the waves: Bede omits 'oleo,' and turns 'levi aspergine' into 'levi aquae spargine.' Dr. Todd thinks it not unlikely that German took with him Palladius as his archdeacon (St. Patrick, p. 318).

[8] 'Per trivia, per rura, per devia;' Constant. i. 23. Bede omits 'per devia.'

CHAP. I. the great encouragement of the faithful: their teaching was generally accepted[1]: at last, however, the Pelagians, who had previously avoided a debate, took the resolution to confront the foreign bishops[2], apparently at Verulam. 'They came forward in all the pride of wealth, and richly attired,' amid a circle of dependants or disciples: a multitude of men, with women and children, assembled to hear the discussion. 'On one side,' says Constantius, 'was Divine authority, on the other was human assurance.' 'On one side,' Bede adds, 'was piety, on the other pride[3].' The Pelagians spoke first, with that fluency[4] which seems often to have distinguished the advocates of their system. Then the bishops replied, with arguments from 'the Apostles and Evangelists[5],' adding their own comments, adducing authorities in support of 'weighty propositions,' and urging objections against the whole Pelagian theory. The adversaries, we are told, were reduced to silence: the people exulted in their defeat[6]. Then follows an account of a blind girl who recovered her sight by aid of German's prayers[7], and after the application of a casket of relics which he always wore suspended from his neck[8]: after which Bede tells us, still following his Gallic authority, that the bishops visited the tomb of St. Alban, over which, as he had already said, 'a church of admirable workmanship had been reared' after the close of the persecution. German took away with him a mass of the earth, which was imagined

[1] 'Itaque regionis universitas in eorum sententiam prompta transierat;' Const., Bede. This implies that many had, till then, inclined to Pelagianism.

[2] 'Diuturna meditatione concepta;' Const., Bede.

[3] Bede's antithesis, 'inde Pelagius auctor, hinc Christus,' is adopted from Constantius.

[4] 'Sola nuditate verborum diu inaniter;' Bede. Comp. S. Aug. c. Julianum, ii. 16, 'tanta loquacitate,' and iv. 38.

[5] Probably Ps. li. 5; Rom. v. 12 ff.; 1 Cor. iv. 7, xv. 21; Eph. ii. 3, 8; Phil. ii. 13; 1 John i. 8, &c.

[6] It is added that the people could hardly keep their hands off them.

[7] At first the bishops challenged the Pelagians to 'cure her'; but they 'joined the parents in praying that the bishops would do so.'

[8] Constant. i. 24, comp. ib. 10. See Greg. Turon. H. Fr. viii. 15,—dust from St. Martin's grave, in a casket, hung round the neck of Wulfilac. Gregory the Great sent to a Gallic 'patrician' a small cross made from 'St. Peter's chains,' to be worn round the neck; Ep. iii. 33.

The Alleluia Victory.

still to bear traces of the blood of the martyr[1]. Passing by another story of German's preservation from fire when lame through an accident, we come to the grand tale of the Alleluia Victory[2]. A combination of Picts and Saxons menaced the British: German and Lupus encouraged them to resistance, joined them in their march, and in the Lent of 430 induced the majority, who were still heathens,—the British clergy having made no impression upon them[3],—to accept daily instructions, and to ask for baptism. On Easter Eve the baptisms were administered[4], the great festival was celebrated, in a 'church' formed out of boughs of trees: the British 'host' then advanced, the greater part of it fresh 'from the laver,' and under the generalship of the sometime 'duke of Armorica,' who showed his ability in the disposal of his inferior forces. He drew them up, as if in ambush, under the rocks of a narrow glen, which he had ascertained to lie full in the path of the enemy: as the first ranks of the heathen drew near, expecting an easy triumph, German bade the Britons repeat after him the one sacred, joyous word which they had so lately uttered in their Paschal solemnities[5]. Three times he and Lupus intoned it, 'Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia!' Their followers, with 'one voice,' made the sound echo through

[1] This is from Constant. i. 25, and it is the first known instance of any acquaintance with the story of St. Alban. Compare, as to the virtue ascribed to such 'dust,' Bede, iii. 10, 11. German built a church at Auxerre, and there deposited the dust. Observe the strange 'conceit,' that 'a martyr's slaughter stills keeps red when the persecutor is pale' (in death).

[2] Constant. i. 28; Bede, i. 20; and see Chron. a. 459. The story is not given in the original text of Nennius. Bede's silence about Patrick is less strange than that of Gildas about German, on which see Life of St. German, p. 159. Possibly he alludes to the 'victory' in Hist. 18, on a British victory obtained by trusting in God; but this he dates after A.D. 446.

[3] Pearson, in his Early and Middle Ages of Engl., p. 46, adds that there is some evidence for a revival of British Paganism in the fifth century.

[4] See the form in Forbes's Gallican Liturgies, p. 191. The words at the administration were, 'Baptizo te credentem in nomine Patris, &c., ut habeas vitam aeternam in saecula saeculorum.'

[5] See St. Augustine's Easter sermons on Alleluia, 255, 256. 'Et ipsum Alleluia quotidie dicimus, et quotidie delectamur . . . Si rorem sic amatis, fontem ipsum quomodo amabitis! . . . O felix Alleluia in coelo!' See Neale, Essays on Liturgiology, p. 65.

CHAP. I. the valley: it rang from cliff to cliff, it struck the invaders with panic,—they fled as if the very skies were crashing over them, and many leapt headlong into the river which intercepted their retreat: the Britons, successful without 'striking a blow,' exulted in a 'victory won by faith and clear of bloodshed[1].' The scene of this flight is laid by Welsh tradition at Maes-Garmon, 'German's Field,' a mile from Mold, in Flintshire[2]. He and Lupus returned home, after the island, as Constantius expresses it, had thus been freed from 'foes spiritual and corporeal.' A second journey of German to Britain, in order to complete the overthrow of heresy, is referred to A. D. 447: he was attended, this time, by a disciple of Lupus, Severus bishop of Treves[3]. A few, it was found, had relapsed into Pelagianism: they were reclaimed, and the false teachers expelled from Britain, but settled in places on the continent where they might unlearn their misbelief[4]. A miracle, as usual, is recorded in connexion with this visit; from that time forth, says a later writer, the Britons never harboured any heresy[5]; and German's name continued to be held in honour among the people whom he had instructed[6], and was attached

Second visit of German with Severus.

[1] It has been thought that the words of Gregory the Great, 'Behold, the tongue of Britain . . . has long ago begun to resound the Hebrew Alleluia in the praises of God,' Moral. in Job xxvii. 21, may refer to this event: so Usher, Antiq. p. 179, who remarks that this work was finished before the mission of Augustine. Bede, ii. 2, and Paul. Diac. refer them to the conversion of Kent; and they may have been added by Gregory in a revision of the 'Morals.' But would he have said 'jamdudum'?

[2] Lingard, Anglo-Sax. Ch. i. 11, objects that Saxons would not be likely to penetrate into North Wales. But the description of the scenery points to some such scenery as that of Wales or Derbyshire. The river near Maesgarmon is the Alyn. The next parish to Mold is Llan-*armon*; Rees, Welsh Saints, p. 125.

[3] Constantius, ii. 2; Bede, i. 21; 'Severo, totius sanctitatis viro.'

[4] 'That the country might get quit of them, and they of their errors,'—so we might render the words of Constantius.

[5] Giraldus Cambrensis, Descr. Camb. i. 18.

[6] See Bp. Jones and Freeman, Hist. of St. David's, p. 257. Nennius' History has various stories about German's proceedings, e.g. his attempt to convert a wicked king of Powys, 31; his intercessions for the guilty Vortigern, 50, &c. Of his anti-Pelagian activities it only says that he came to preach, and 'multi per eum salvi facti sunt: increduli perierunt;' c. 30. Some eminent Welsh bishops are erroneously described as his disciples.

to various places in Wales and Cornwall[1]. It is well to repeat the summary of his character, as contained in the Liturgy of his native Church: the 'Missa Sancti Germani' for July 31,—the day on which, as Bede expresses it, he 'migrated to Christ' in 448,—after mentioning his apostolic activity as extending to Britain, affirmed that 'he so began as to increase, and so contended as to conquer[2].'

Saxon invasions.

We have heard of his confronting a combination of Picts with *Saxons*. That name, for ages so hateful to the representatives of the British race, had been a sound of terror along the island coast even in the third century[3]. Part of that coast, from the Wash to Southampton, had been known as 'the Saxon Shore[4]': Claudian had depicted 'the Saxon' as wafted by winds towards Britain, and sung of a defeat of Saxons in distant Orkney[5]: but after many

[1] Life of St. German, p. 1. Several ecclesiastical colleges in Wales were said to have been founded by him; and although this may be legendary (Haddan and Stubbs, i. 21), he was not unlikely to 'advise the establishment of such institutions' as might guard the British Church against heresy in the future; Pryce, Anc. Br. Ch. p. 134. A 'Missa S. Germani,' cited in Bp. Forbes's Pref. to the Arbuthnott Missal, p. lii, and Haddan and Stubbs, i. 696, affirms in its Praefatio that German, 'sent by Saint Gregory, shone forth as a lantern and pillar to Cornwall, and bloomed like roses and lilies in the meadow of the church of Aledh' (=St. German's). It is possible that in one or other of his visits he did more for the British Church than had any interest for his Gallic biographer. Giraldus traces to his influence several Welsh customs, e. g. giving to the poor the first corner of every loaf, sitting by threes at dinner, asking the blessing of any religious man; Descr. Camb. i. 18. The legend of a Germanus, bishop of Man, has grown out of the dedication of its cathedral to St. German; Lanigan, Eccl. Hist. Irel. i. 306. Man doubtless derived its Christianity from Ireland. The similar dedication of Selby Abbey was due to the legend of his appearance to a French monk, who brought one of his relics into Yorkshire.

[2] Forbes and Neale, Anc. Gall. Liturgies, p. 152. Among his last words were, 'Well know I what country that is which God promises to His servants.' This was in reference to a dream in which he seemed to see the Lord giving him provision for a journey to 'his own country'; Constant. ii. 19. He died at Ravenna, whither he had gone as an envoy from the Armorican insurgents to Valentinian III. See Life of St. German, p. 258.

[3] The Saxons are first mentioned in the second century. For their early connexion with Britain, see Gibbon, iv. 388, note; ii. 70, note; iii. 262.

[4] I. e. the shore most exposed to Saxon invasion; Freeman, Norm. Conq. i. 11; Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 67; Green, Making of England, p. 20.

[5] De 4° cons. Honor. 31: 'Maduerunt Saxone fuso Orcades.' Gibbon

†

CHAP. I. raids on their part had harassed Southern Britain and given them a foothold on its soil, they appear about the middle of the fifth century as entering on a more regular plan of conquest. It is one thing to form settlements, another to found kingdoms. And this 'series of constant, systematic, successful' occupations of British soil was, in the words of the historian of the 'Norman Conquest,' one of the most 'fearful blows' that ever fell on any nation[1]. In order to appreciate it, we must remember that it descended on a people whom the indignant rhetoric of Gildas depicts as divided against themselves[2], incapable of any noble national life[3], abandoned, within memory, by their Roman protectors to their Pictish tormentors[4], and rather weakened than disciplined by their experience of Roman civilization[5]: a people, too, described by the same authority as so prone to cruelty and falsehood that any one who showed any gentleness or any love of truth was denounced as an enemy of the country, and became a mark for his neighbours' darts[6]. And the blow was struck, at intervals throughout

admits 'some degree of truth' in this poetical tribute to the elder Theodosius; iii. 271. For Stilicho's like achievements, see Claudian, de laud. Stil. ii. 253:—

'Illius effectum curis . . . ne littore tuto
Prospicerem dubiis venturum Saxona ventis.'

(This is put into the mouth of Britain.) See Gibbon, iv. 53. For the Saxon inroads under Valentinian I, when Theodosius was employed, see also Ammianus, xxvi. 4, 5, 'Picti Saxonesque . . . . . Britannos aerumnis vexavere continuis.'

[1] Freeman, i. 13, 20.

[2] Gildas, de Exc. 19. We have to remember the enmity between the Goidhelic, Gaedhelic, or Gaelic tribes who had held a large part, especially the south, of Wales, and the 'Brythonic' invaders who prevailed over them in the early part of the fifth century. Cunedda, the great 'Brython' from South-West Scotland, who established the 'Brythonic' supremacy, had assumed the position formerly held by the Roman 'dux Britanniarum.' The Welsh explained the denunciations of Gildas by saying that he had a grudge against Arthur for killing his brother; Giraldus, Descr. i. 2. Guest says that he had 'strong Roman prejudices,' Orig. Celt. ii. 174: Rhys, that he was 'a Brython of the Brythons' (Celtic Britain, p. 258), hostile to the Goidels or Gael of South Wales.

[3] Gild. freq.; Gibbon, iv. 390.

[4] Bede, i. 12; Gibbon, iv. 131, A. D. 409. See too the Saxon Chron. for 418.

[5] 'Desidiosorum,' Gild. praef.; Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 68.

[6] Gild. 21; followed by Bede, i. 14: 'Crudelitas praecipue, et odium veritatis,' &c.

a century, by invaders as ferocious as they were energetic, of whom a contemporary Gallic bishop says that the Saxon pirates were 'the most truculent of all enemies,' and that they made it a point of religion 'to torture their captives rather than put them to ransom,' and to sacrifice the tenth part of them to their gods[1]. An idolatry which had its centre in the worship of Woden and of Thunor[2] was sure to render its votaries doubly terrible to a Christian population. Hence it is that we have to read of devastations which Gildas[3] cannot narrate without being reminded of the Psalms of the Captivity. In his declamatory verbiage we see, clearly enough, a grim picture of 'flashing swords and crackling flame,' of ruined walls, fallen towers, altars shattered, priests and bishops and people slain 'in the midst of the streets,' and corpses clotted with blood and left without burial[4]: of the 'miserable remnant,' slaughtered in the mountains, or selling themselves as slaves to the invader, or flying beyond sea, or finding a precarious shelter in the forests[5]. He wrote about the middle of the next century, and at a time when the 'foreign wars' appeared to have ceased[6]: but must have conversed in his youth with those who had witnessed the devastation in the south-east of what we now call England: and Bede almost transcribes him, although simplifying his turgid phraseology[7]. Thus we are enabled to feel, as it were, CHAP. I.

[1] Sidonius Apollinaris, Ep. viii. 6. So Salvian, De Gubern. Dei, vii. 15: 'Gens Saxonum crudelitate efferi, sed castitate mirandi.' See Milman, Lat. Chr. i. 332; Lingard, Angl.-Sax. Ch. i. 45. Yet they were not cruel in cold blood.

[2] See Green's Making of England, p. 164; Taylor's Words and Places, p. 321, for these gods, and for 'Tiw' (whence 'Tuesday').

[3] Gild. 24 (Galland. Bibl. xii. 198). He quotes 'Incenderunt igni sanctuarium tuum,' and 'Deus, venerunt,' &c.

[4] Welsh legends speak of members of the pious 'family of Brychan' who were 'martyred' by the Heathen, as Cynog at Merthyr Cynog, and Tydvyl, a woman, at the better-known Merthyr Tydvil. See Williams, Eccl. Ant. Cymry, p. 115; Rees, Welsh Saints, p. 151. On the other two holy 'families,' see Pryce, p. 43.

[5] Gild. 25. Cp. Green, p. 67.

[6] He speaks of the present tranquillity, the unexpected help given to Britons, &c., 26.

[7] Bede, i. 15. Wendover adds details about the burning of the Scriptures, and heaping earth up to conceal the tombs of martyrs; Flor. Hist. 19.

CHAP. I. with the British Christians of the age of the conquest, while their brethren in Kent, after the defeat at Crayford, 'fled in terror to London[1],' and the native forces, sixteen years later, 'fled from the Angles like fire[2];' while, about the time of the fall of 'Augustulus,' Ella was taking possession of Sussex; while Anderida—now Pevensey—was being taken, and not a Briton left alive[3]; while the kingdom which was to absorb all the rest was being formed by the victories of Cerdic the West-Saxon, in 508 and 519[4]. Then came something like a definite rally of the natives[5]: the name of Arthur, shining through a golden mist of fable, may represent a historic West-British prince, who did much, though in a limited area,

To break the heathen and uphold the Christ[6].

That fight on 'Badon Hill,' in which, according to a vivid Welsh legend, 'Arthur bore the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ three days and three nights on his shield, and the Britons were conquerors[7],' and which the wild exaggera-

[1] Chron. a. 457; Green, Making of England, p. 37.

[2] Chron. a. 473.

[3] Chron. a. 491. See Gibbon, iv. 394. Henry of Huntingdon says, 'Locus tantum, quasi nobilissimae urbis, transeuntibus ostenditur *desolatus*.' The Roman walls and towers enclose the ruins of a mediaeval castle, and form a parallelogram of three sides. See Freeman, iii. 401; Green, p. 43.

[4] Chron. a. 491. In 508 Cerdic slew the British king Natanleod. The second battle was at Cerdicsford or Charford in 519. Cerdic appears in the Chronicle as an ealdorman from 495 to 519, when he is described as having won the kingdom.

[5] On the character of the British 'resistance,' see Church, Beginning of Middle Ages, p. 76.

[6] Tennyson, Poems, p. 463. 'A *genuine* record of Arthur would be precious beyond words. . . . Arthur is a real man; but, whatever were his acts, they could not have been the acts attributed to him in the legends;' Freeman, v. 584. 'In our Chronicle there is nothing about Arthur;' Freeman, Old-Eng. Hist. p. 35. Yet the Chron. names Natanleod. We may observe Giraldus Cambrensis' phrase, 'Arturi nostri famosi, ne dicam fabulosi,' Descr. Camb. ii. 2. 'History only knows him as the petty prince of a Devonian principality. . . . The modern conception of him appears first in Nennius;' Pearson, Early and Middle Ages of England, p. 57. Cp. Rhys, Celt. Brit. p. 234.

[7] Annales Cambriae, a. 516. See pref. p. xxiv. A clause of dubious genuineness in Gildas, 26, 'qui prope Sabrinum ostium habetur,' has led to the identification of Mons Badonicus with a hill above Bath. But Freeman (l.c.) and Green (Making of England, p. 89), following Guest

tions of the History ascribed to Nennius rank as the twelfth of his victories[1], has been assigned to 493, to 516, and to 520[2]; and appears to have been 'followed by a general pause in the English advance[3].' But while the tide of Teuton triumph was thus far stayed in the south, a new body of Saxons was beginning the foundation of the little realm of Essex, destined to include London[4], and other invaders of properly *Anglian* race were taking hold of the eastern district which was to be divided between them as Northfolk and Southfolk[5], extending their grasp over Lindsey or North Lincolnshire, and so completing the conquest of the long coast-line of 'the Saxon Shore.' Other Anglians next invaded Yorkshire; and the 'imperial city' on the Ouse, which had seen the deaths of Severus and Constantius, became the prey of the barbarian, probably about the beginning of the sixth century[6]. Still the destroying storm rolled northward; and at length, in 547, as the Chronicler tells us with emphatic simplicity, 'Ida began to reign, from whom arose the royal race of Northumbria.' The base of his operations was grandly chosen. High on

(Orig. Celt. ii. 189), place it at Badbury in Dorset. Skene places it in Scotland, Celt. Scotl. i. 153.

[1] 'Nennius' says that 840 men, in that one day, fell by the king's single hand. The Historia Britonum is ascribed to 'Nennius,' a disciple of Elbod (bishop of Bangor, who died in 809), and is dated in A. D. 858. But this date is only in one MS., and the shorter prologue which names the author without giving the date is only in five out of thirty. See Mon. Hist. Brit. i. 63. The work is a compilation, of various dates; see Stevenson's Nennius, p. xv; Dict. Chr. Biogr. iv. 17; Whitley Stokes on Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, i. p. cxvii.

[2] The Annales Cambriae say 516. Gildas, c. 26, seems to say that he is writing in the 44th year from this battle: Bede understood him to reckon it as the 44th year from the first invasion, i. 16; and Rhys so takes it, placing the battle in 493; Celt. Britain, p. 108. Plummer accepts 493, but reckons the '44th year' from it, as if Gildas wrote 'c. 537.' But had Bede any reason for 493, other than his own 'forced' construction? The Ann. Cambr. say 516. For the date 520, see Guest, Orig. Celt. ii. 187. Green, Making of England, p. 89; Palgrave, Engl. Commonwealth, p. 397.

[3] Green, l.c. See Gildas, l.c.

[4] Erkenwin, the first East-Saxon king, is dated in 526 or 530. Essex was never an independent kingdom; Palgrave, Anglo-Sax. p. 40.

[5] Green, p. 51. It was then that the great Roman fort of Garianonum or Burghcastle, near Yarmouth, became a ruin, which afterwards sheltered an Irish missionary saint, Fursey.

[6] See Raine, Historians of Church of York, i. p. xviii; Green, p. 63.

CHAP. I. the coast of our present Northumberland, towers up a rock which might seem marked out by nature for the stronghold and palace of a conqueror: it had been called Dingueirin, and took the name of Bamborough, or Bebba's burgh, from the wife of a later Anglian prince[1], some thirty years after it had been roughly fortified[2] by King Ida. The Britons, who trembled[3] as they heard of his progress through Bryneich, Berneth, or Bernicia, the region between the Tees[4] and the Firth of Forth,—lying north of that district of Deifyr, Deur, or Deira, which after his death obeyed the strong rule of another Anglian, Ælla or Ella,—would hardly have believed a prophet who should have told them that within about eighty years from Ida's arrival, his royal seat would be occupied by a far mightier prince, devoted heart and soul to Christianity. A fresh impulse now stirred among the West-Saxons, and Cynric, son of Cerdic, defeated the Britons at Sarum and Barbury[5]: his successor Ceawlin, after defeating at Wimbledon a young Kentish king named Ethelbert[6], acquired our own

[1] Ethelfrid, according to the 'appendix' to Nennius. See Mon. Hist. Brit. pp. 74, 76. Bede says, 'a regina quondam vocabulo Bebba,' iii. 6; cp. 16. Alcuin calls the city Bebba, De Pontif. Ebor. 305. See Freeman, Engl. Towns and Districts, p. 273.

[2] A.-S. Chr. a. 547: 'At first enclosed by a hedge, afterwards by a wall.' For the later castle, see Marmion, ii. 8.

[3] Palgrave, Anglo-Sax. p. 43; Green, Making of England, p. 72. Burton says that he seems to have ruled northwards to the Tay; Hist. Scotl. i. 278. It is commonly said that the Britons called him the 'Flamebearer.' But Skene says that it was Theodric, the sixth Bernician king, for whose name they substituted that epithet; Celtic Scotland, i. 159. Prof. Rhys traces 'Bernicians' up to 'Brigantes,' the old 'Brython' or British inhabitants of the North-country, and 'Deirans' to the British name 'Deivr'; Celtic Britain, p. 112.

[4] Lingard makes the Tees the northern limit of Deira, i. 69. So Freeman, Old-Engl. Hist. p. 38; Raine, Historians of Ch. of York, i. p. xvii. Palgrave says that the land between Tees and Tyne, at first neutral, was ultimately included in Deira; Anglo-Sax. p. 43. It must be observed that Reged, a district placed by Palgrave and Freeman on the north of the Solway, offered fierce resistance to the Angles; and Elmete, a part of the West Riding, was not conquered until the reign of Edwin; Nennius, 63, (66).

[5] Sax. Chron. a. 552, 556; see Gibbon, iv. 391; Green, p. 94. Barbury Camp is near Swindon.

[6] 'Æthelbriht,' Chron. 568.

Oxfordshire country through his brother's victory at Bedford in 571[1]; and after slaying three British kings at the battle of Deorham in 577, became master of their three cities, Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath[2]. Six years later he penetrated to the borders of Cheshire, and took two towns belonging to the Mid-Welsh kingdom of Powys[3]: and though he sustained a severe check, which forced him to retire southwards, his name must have represented to the Britons that force and fury of 'Heathen' aggression which they might now have come to regard as irresistible. Large masses of their race had been simply slaughtered[4]: many had become slaves, or passed into a 'half-servile condition': it seemed to be only a question of time when the work of conquest should be perfected: but there was still a large tract, the whole west, independent of the invader. The kingdom of Cumbria, or, in a widened sense, Strathclyde[5], extending from the Firth of Clyde to the

[1] Chron. 571. Cuthwulf took Bensington, Aylesbury, Eynsham, and Leighton Buzzard; Green. p. 123.

[2] Chron. 577. This victory cut off British communication between Wales and the south-west; Green, p. 128. A long strip of territory extending southward to the Axe became Saxon, the Britons being cooped up between the forests of Bradon and Selwood. Deorham is a village to the north of Bath, and west of the Fosse-road.

[3] See Guest, Orig. Celt. ii. 288 ff., for the destruction of Pengwern (Shrewsbury) and Uriconium at the base of the Wrekin, by the West Saxons, and their subsequent defeat at Fethanleagh (Faddiley). The Welsh elegy on 'Kyndylan,' Prince of Powys, tells how he was defeated and slain by the Loegyrwys (Saxons), how his 'hall' at Pengwern (Shrewsbury) was burnt, and he was buried at 'Bassa's churches,' probably Baschurch near Shrewsbury. The White Town involved in this disaster is supposed to be Uriconium.

[4] See Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 69; Freeman, i. 18, and Four Oxford Lectures, p. 75. The 'extermination,' where it took place, was such as to be compatible with the continuance of many Britons as slaves or as 'impoverished peasants' (Gneist, Hist. Engl. Constit. i. 2), while one race, as such, 'displaced' another in possession of the territory. Late in the seventh century, Ine's laws recognize a number of free as well as of enthralled 'Welsh.'

[5] Freeman, i. 14. The close connexion of Strathclyde with 'Wales' appears in the Life of St. Kentigern. Persecuted at Glasgow in 540, he retires into Wales, until recalled in 573 by a truly Christian king of Strathclyde, Rederech or Rhyddere, 'the Generous'; Bishop Forbes, Kal. p. 369. Palgrave divides the Regnum Cumbrense into Strathclyde proper. Reged, and Cumberland with Westmoreland and Lancashire, the extent

CHAP. I.

Derwent, and the district between the Derwent and the Dee, sometimes included within Strathclyde, was purely British: the region which the English gradually came to look upon as 'Wales,' the land of the 'foreigners[1],' and 'West Wales,' or Devon and Cornwall and part of Somerset, including the sacred 'Avalon[2],' were still, in British eyes, unpolluted by the barbarian's tread. Cornwall had been for many years receiving and honouring a succession of missionaries from Ireland, including some women, whose pious toil has dotted the county with places bearing a saintly name[3]. But what of the Kymrians generally? If we put the date of Gildas' work, the 'History,' so called, and the Epistle, or Admonition, either somewhat before or somewhat after the middle of this century, we find the condition of his countrymen at that period described in lurid colours[4]. The vague charges against the Britons of the fifth century reappear as detailed indictments against those of the sixth. The first shock of invasion had awed the nation into repentance; but with quieter times the old sins came back[5]. The 'kings' or princes of the purely British districts were 'tyrants' who acted as if almsgiving would compensate for any sin. One of them, in contempt of his solemn oath, had slain two royal youths whom an

Gildas on the Britons.

of Strathclyde under Rhydderc. The capital of the kingdom was Alcluid, or Dunbritton, now Dunbarton. The name of 'Cumbri' was not used by its inhabitants until the tenth century. In the twelfth the country was called both 'Cumbria' and 'Cambria.' Skene, ap. Bp. Forbes, Lives of Ninian and Kentigern, p. 331. See Rhys, Celtic Britain, p. 143; Haddan and Stubbs, ii. 4.

[1] Cp. 'Walling-ford,' 'Walla'-ford in Devon, and 'Corn-wall.'

[2] The land between the Mendips and the Parret became Saxon in 658.

[3] E. g. SS. Piran, Sennen, Feock, Germoc, Rumon or Ruan, and the virgin saints Breaca, Burian, and Ia, the last of whom is said to have been martyred, with her brother Uni and with Gwythian, near St. Ives Bay. On Piran, see Borlase, Age of the Saints, p 22.

[4] See above, p. 24. For Gildas, see Lingard, A.-S. Ch. i. 356; Lappenberg, i. 123; Haddan and Stubbs, i. 156; also Pearson, Vindic. Ignat. i. 79. He is called Gildas the Wise, or Gildas Badonicus; see Alb. Butler, Jan. 29, and Dict. Chr. Biogr. ii. 671.

[5] Gild. 26; Bede, i. 22. 'Attamen recente adhuc memoria,' &c. Compare St. Patrick's denunciation of Coroticus (Keredig, a son of Cunedda, who gave his name to Cardigan); a Christian by profession, he had committed unchristian cruelties in Ireland, and might be supposed to despise Irish Christianity (Ep. ad Christianos Corotici tyranni subditos).

abbot strove to protect by throwing his cloak around them[1]: another 'thirsted for civil war and spoil[2]': a third[3] and a fourth[4] were the slaves of sensuality: a fifth, Maelgwyn, chief among British kings, after overthrowing his predecessor had in compunction taken the vows of a monk, and then relapsed into worse than his former excesses[5]. The clergy were debased by secular and even vicious habits[6], and neglectful of sacred duties, and of pastoral exhortation, and even of the decencies of priestly life; simony was rife among priests and bishops[7] (it is evident that a bishopric was still a well-endowed office[8]); and even those who lived respectably were careless or cowardly in regard to rebuking sin[9]. Gildas clearly carries the vehement 'reproaches,' which characterize his

CHAP. I.

[1] Constantine (Cystennyn) of Devon and Cornwall. Gild. 28. Yet he became 'St. Constantine,' having 'turned to the Lord' in 589. i.e. entered a monastery. Ann. Camb., and see Bp. Forbes, Kalendars, p. 312; Guest, Orig. Celt. ii. 196, 261; and Bp. Jones and Freeman, p. 244.

[2] Aurelius Conanus, of Powys; Gild. 30. Probably a descendant of that Ambrosius Aurelianus whom Gildas and Bede describe as of Roman family, and who after the Romans' departure had succeeded to the chief command in south-east Britain with the title of 'Gwledig' (ruler).

[3] Vortipor of Demetia, or Dyved, the west part of South Wales; Gild. 31. He was already elderly.

[4] Cuneglas; Gild. 32.

[5] King of Gywnedd or North Wales, otherwise called Venedot (his abode being in Anglesey). He was, perhaps, the leader of the Britons when defeated at Barbury in 556; Guest, p. 197; a man of great force, and the head of the house of Cunedda (Rhys, Celt. Brit. p. 123, who doubts Gildas' charges). He seems to have combined sensuality and tyranny with moods of fervid devotion, being recorded among the benefactors of Llandaff as well as of Bangor. He died of a pestilence in 547.

[6] Gildas begins this 'increpatio,' 'Britain has priests, but they are foolish.' See Lingard, A.-S. Ch. i. 13, 359. Gildas owns that there are a few good pastors, 110, and that he prefers their lives 'cunctis mundi opibus'; 65.

[7] He speaks of bad men attempting to cover their evil reputation by thus purchasing ecclesiastical dignity. Some, if public opinion condemned them, would travel abroad, and return in stately array; 67. Columban refers to this language of 'Giltas,' ap. Greg. Ep. ix. 127.

[8] 'Vos episcopatum . . . . avaritiae gratia . . . cupitis;' Gild. 108; see ib. 67, 'tam pretiosum quaestum.'

[9] He cites Eli; 'Quid profuit Heli sacerdoti,' &c., 69.

CHAP. I. 'book of Complaints[1],' to a point beyond equitable and discriminating rebuke; they provoke our incredulity by their very violence; but they cannot be without some serious foundation. We learn from him incidentally, not only that the hierarchy was regularly organized, that the 'priests' claimed power to bind and to loose, and that bishops were believed to succeed the Apostles[2], and indeed to sit in the chair of Peter[3] (a significant phrase when used for *any* bishop's office), but that the hands of priests and inferior ministers were anointed[4], and certain lessons, from the Epistles and from the Acts, were read at ordination[5]. That the British ritual had a special character, distinct not only from the Roman, but also from the Gallican, has been inferred from a curious document of the eighth century, which traces the 'Scotic' Liturgy through German and Lupus to St. Mark, the Gallic through St. Irenaeus to St. John[6]. But the statement, which has

[1] De Excidio Britanniae Liber Querulus. Comp. Bede, i. 22, 'flebilis sermo.' He says that he had refrained for ten years from writing, but his indignation at the sins of his countrymen could no longer be suppressed. It is divided into the 'Historia' and the 'Epistola' (Mon. H. Brit.), which is subdivided into the 'Increpatio in reges' (described by Gallandius, Bibl. Patr. xii. 200, as the 'Epistola' proper) and that 'in clerum.'

[2] Increp. in Cler. 66, 92, 108, 109.

[3] 'Sedem Petri Apostoli immundis pedibus usurpantes;' 66. Compare Lib. Landav. p. 18. This way of speaking carries out the old idea that St. Peter was (not the ruler, but) the representative, of the other Apostles, and in them of their successors the bishops. See Transl. of St. Cyprian, Lib. Fath. vol. i. p. 150. Gildas also takes Matt. xvi. 18 as 'said to the true priest.'

[4] Gild., 106, 'initiantur sacerdotum vel ministrorum manus.' See Haddan and Stubbs, Councils, i. 141; Warren, Lit. and Rit. p. 70.

[5] 1 Peter i. 3–5, 13–16, 22, 23, ii. 1–3, 9; Acts i. 15 ff.; 1 Tim. iii. 1 ff.

[6] This document affirms that (1) John the Evangelist first sang the 'Cursus Gallorum': from him it came to Lyons: in time it was enlarged and widely diffused: (2) according to St. Jerome, St. Mark first sang the 'cursus' now called Scotic,—and after him Gregory Nazianzen (!), then Cassian, and Honoratus of Lerins, and German and Lupus, who preached in Britain and appointed Patrick archbishop in Britain and Ireland, who sang the same course,—as did Comgall and Columban; 'and if you do not believe us, search in the life of blessed Columban.' See Haddan and Stubbs, i. 139. Palmer thinks that the writer is not referring to the *British* Liturgy as such; that that Liturgy was essentially Gallican; that, before Patrick's time, Irish Christians had a similar use; that for some

some wild errors of detail, really says nothing about the original British use, which was apparently identical with the Gallican; nor is it probable that German materially altered the use which he found in Britain. The peculiarities of the British and Irish—then called Scottish—Churches, in regard to the calculation of Easter and one or two points of ceremonial, will come before us hereafter.

Admitting a considerable element of exaggeration in Gildas' invectives, we still need to remember the incoherencies of Celtic character in order to understand how there could be, at the same period, a burst of religious activity in the Welsh Church, although that activity did not involve any attempt to evangelize the detested and dreaded Saxons[1]. Colleges or monasteries did much for study and devotion,— often bearing the name of *Bangor*[2], that is 'high choir' or 'circle,' or eminent community. One of these was the famous Bangor 'Iscoed,' founded by Dunawd, or Dunod, and his three sons, in the south-east corner of Flintshire, for a community which was said to contain more than two thousand monks at the time of its sudden and total destruction[3]. Another was the Bangor still known as

Welsh Colleges and Saints.

time after Patrick, the Roman use prevailed in Ireland, but that a different use was introduced by means of David, Gildas, and Cadoc; Orig. Lit. i. 178 ff. Bp. Forbes infers from early Irish liturgical remains that, so far as we can learn, the earliest Liturgy 'used in these islands was Ephesine,' i. e. Gallican; Preface to Arbuthnott Missal, p. x. Cp. Warren, Liturgy and Ritual of Celtic Church, p. 61; and Duchesne, Origines du Culte, p. 148, who says that of the ancient liturgical MSS. of Britain only one, the antiphonary of Bangor, is purely non-Roman;—the rest exhibit a Roman rite with Gallican elements.

[1] Bede, i. 22; 'addebant . . . ut nunquam genti Saxonum . . . verbum fidei praedicando committerent.' See Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 252. Archdeacon Pryce pleads that 'the merciless policy of the invaders' would have made such an enterprise hopeless; Anc. Brit. Ch. p. 113. Yet see Green, Making of England, p. 90, on the long 'inaction' of the West Saxons after their defeat at Badbury, A. D. 520-552. The point is, not that much was not done, but that (from whatever motive) nothing was attempted.

[2] For the great Irish 'Bangor,' near Carrickfergus, founded by St. Comgall about 559, see Lanigan, Eccl. Hist. Irel. ii. 62. Glastonbury was sometimes called Bangor Wydrin; Williams, Eccl. Ant. Cym. p. 212.

[3] Bede, ii. 2. Iscoed = underwood. This house was called also 'the great Bangor in' (the district of) 'Maclor.' See Chron. Anc. Brit. Ch. p. 162; Rees, Welsh Saints, pp. 206, 256. It was said to be occupied by seven

CHAP. I. such, of which Daniel was the first head[1], at once abbot and bishop, a combination not unfrequent in Celtic churches[2]. Another Bangor was our St. Asaph, or Llan Elwy, said to have been founded under the direction of Kentigern[3], the famous bishop of Glasgow, surnamed Munghu (kind and dear), the teacher and friend of Asaph[4]. Another celebrated house, to which a fabulous antiquity was ascribed[5], flourished at Caer Worgorn, and had for its president Illtyd, who is said to have taught his scholars 'all the arts' then current, and from whom the place takes its present name of Llantwit Major. Besides these there were St. Cadoc's[6] college at Llancarfan, also a dependency of Llandaff,—the White House, or Whitland, in Carmarthenshire, founded by Paulinus or Paul Hèn[7]:—and the great college of

classes of monks, each containing 300 men. See Raine, Fast. Ebor. i. 13; Pryce, Anc. Brit. Ch. pp. 176, 184.

[1] He is said to have died in 584 (Annal. Camb.). His house was called 'the great Bangor over Conway'. He ranks as 'one of the three blessed youth-trainers of Britain.' See Pryce, p. 146.

[2] Haddan and Stubbs, i. 142; Chron. of Brit. Ch. pp. 83, 127; Todd. St. Patrick, p. 27.

[3] According to the legend, a North Welsh king, probably Maelgwyn, gave Kentigern the ground by the Elwy. 'Men of all ages and ranks pressed into the monastery, to the number of 965;' Bishop Forbes, Kalendars of Scottish Saints, p. 368. Kentigern, on his way into Wales, appears to have 'turned aside' to evangelize parts of Cumberland where heathenism still lingered, and to have erected a cross at 'Crosfeld' or Crosthwaite. Bp. Forbes, Lives of SS. Ninian and Kentigern, p. lxxxiii. names eight Cumbrian churches as dedicated to him.

[4] 'They who withstand God's word,' said Asaph, 'envy man's salvation.' Like some great Irish monasteries, their house had nearly 1,000 inmates. Kentigern was favoured by a Cadwallon, king of Gwynedd.

[5] It was called Cor Tewdws, as founded by Theodosius I or II (?). See Rees, p. 128. On Iltutus, 'the knight,' 'the excellent master,' see Alb. Butler, Nov. 6; Smith's Bede, p. 724; Rees, p. 180; Williams, p. 132; Pryce, Anc. Brit. Ch. p. 182. He was a Glamorganshire saint, and a church at Ilston in Gower is dedicated to him.

[6] Rees, p. 142; Chron. Anc. Brit. Ch. p. 81; Williams, p. 219; Pryce, p. 182. Cadoc, or Cattwg, called the Wise, is said to have resigned a princely heritage for the sake of a religious life. Rhys calls him a rival of David; Celt. Britain, p. 258.

[7] Bangor y Ty-Gwyn; 'Alba Domus,' Girald. Itin. Camb. i. 10; Pryce, p. 181. David, and Teilo the second bishop of Llandaff, are said to have studied under Paulinus. The latter's epitaph exists in Carmarthenshire: Haddan and Stubbs, i. 164; Hübner, No. 82 ('Servator fidei . . cultor pientissimus aequi,' &c.). He was 'a bishop, but without a see.'

Llanbadarn-faur, founded by a Breton named Padarn, the first of a line of bishops that sat within its precinct [1], where one of the most venerable churches in the Principality still attracts English visitors from the neighbouring Aberystwyth. We also read of Welsh synods; one at Llanddewi-Brefi, in Cardiganshire, which has been erroneously supposed to have renewed the defeat of Pelagianism [2]; another, which from a similar error was called 'the Synod of Victory [3],' and is dated by the Cambrian Annals in 569; it was properly the Synod of the *Wood* of Victory, being held on the site of a battle in which Britons had been successful. Canons 'preserved in the north of France, obviously through Brittany,'—the old Armorica now acquiring that name as the refuge of Britons [4],—are probably to be assigned to these assemblies: one of these enactments is suggestive, for it fixes the penance of 'a Christian who has acted as guide to the barbarians [5].' We find the Welsh Church

[1] He sat there for twenty-one years, and afterwards returned to Armorica; thence went to the Franks, among whom he died. He is said to have twice excommunicated the king of Gwent; Pryce, p. 165. See Haddan and Stubbs, i. 145. One of his disciples was Avan, who was bishop of Llanafan-faur; ib. 146, 166. On that church see Girald. Itin. Camb. i. 1. The last bishop of Llanbadarn-faur, Idnerth, was slain by his people (Bp. Jones and Freeman, p. 266) in the eighth century.

[2] This is obviously a 'reverberation' of the proceedings of German. (I owe this expression to the present Bishop of St. David's, formerly its historian.) The date sometimes given, 519, is much too early: see it in Mansi, viii. 583, where Giraldus' account is cited—how Daniel and Dubricius induced David to attend the synod, when attempts to convert the Pelagians had failed; how David, though standing on level ground, made himself heard by the whole assembly; how the ground beneath him rose into a hill, on which afterwards a church was built in his honour; how the heresy utterly vanished; how David succeeded Dubricius as archbishop of all Cambria (having been previously consecrated at Jerusalem), and removed the archbishopric to Menevia. Giraldus (Rolls Series), iii. 399, &c.

[3] Giraldus, De Vit. Dav. 9 (iii. 401), and Itin. Camb. ii. 4 (vi. 120). He calls it a synod of bishops, abbots, and all the clergy, 'una cum populo.'

[4] Among the Britons who became saints of Armorica were Maclovius or 'St. Malo,' the Machutus of our calendar, and Sampson of Dol.

[5] Haddan and Stubbs, i. 116–118. It was long afterwards assumed that these synods must have been held by authority of the Roman see, an 'assertion obviously absurd as applied to the Welsh Church of the sixth century.'

CHAP. I. receiving Irish disciples, such as Finnian of Clonard[1], and thus promoting a revival of religious devotion in their country. Gildas himself crossed the Irish sea in order to aid in this work, and died in Ireland in 570[2]: and the great Irish-born missionary St. Columba directed a criminal who professed contrition to spend twelve years in penance among the Britons[3]. Finally, among the eminent Cymric bishops[4] of this period, beside those who have been mentioned, two stand out as typical, Dubricius or Dyfrig, whom the church of Llandaff, in its renovated beauty, owns as its first bishop[5],—who lived on through twelve years of the seventh century and died in retirement in the sacred isle of Bardsey[6]: and he whose late and extravagant legend[7] is in such strange contrast to the little that can be ascertained about his life,—the national
St. David. saint of Wales, Dewi or David. His time, like that of Dubricius and others, has been antedated, for the sake

[1] One of the two Finnians under whom Columba studied. This Finnian had twelve disciples, 'called the twelve apostles of Erin.' His namesake was of Moville.

[2] The Irish saints who had come under the influence of David, Cadoc, and Gildas, were called those of 'the second order'; Haddan and Stubbs, i. 115.

[3] Adamnan, Vit. S. Columb. i. 22.

[4] The reverence of the Welsh for their sainted bishops appeared, as otherwise, so in their regarding an oath on a saint's handbell, or pastoral staff, as more sacred than on the Gospels; Girald. Itin. Camb. i. 2.

[5] See Monast. Angl. vi. p. 1217 ff.; Haddan and Stubbs, i. 158; Pryce, Anc. Brit. Ch. p. 160. The second bishop, after his resignation, was Teliau or Teilo, who, according to the legend, was the pupil of Dyfrig and the friend of David, and, after sitting as bishop at Llandaff, spent some years in Armorica, and then returning, held Menevia with Llandaff (see Lib. Landav. p. 92). The third was Oudoceus, said to have excommunicated King Mouric for perjury and murder, in a synod of all his clergy, including three abbots; Mon. Ang. vi. 1223. Such synods are repeatedly mentioned in these documents. St. Teilo's shrine remains near the sedilia at Llandaff.

[6] Annal. Camb. a. 612. Benedict of Gloucester, his biographer, dates his death Nov. 14, 612; Wharton, Ang. Sac. ii. 661. But the Llandaff story was that his body was removed to Llandaff in 1120. In Bardsey, or Ynys Enlli, says Giraldus, 'ut fertur, infinita sanctorum sepulta sunt corpora'; Itin. Camb. ii. c. 6. Legend reckoned them as 20,000; Liber Landav. p. 2. It was called the Rome of Wales; ib. p. 1; cp. Pryce, p. 181.

[7] See it in Bp. Jones and Freeman, p. 241; Rees, Welsh Saints, p. 194; Pryce, p. 129.

of connecting him with the days of King Arthur[1]: he seems to have taken part in the synod of Llanddewi, and certainly established an episcopal seat at Kilmuine or Mynyw, better known as Menevia, that remotest extremity of South Wales where now the cathedral that bears his name presents so unique and pathetic a combination of indefeasible majesty and irreversible decay. He appears to have died in 601[2]. The stories about a regular Welsh archbishopric, held at first by Dubricius, and then transferred by David to Menevia, are without foundation: the Welsh Church of that age had no metropolitans[3], and the tale about St. Sampson of Dol in Brittany, which represented him as having been archbishop at York[4], and then at Menevia, is a myth of yet later date; the fact being simply that he was consecrated in Wales, and thence proceeded to Armorica, and sat in a Council of Paris in

[1] In Geoffrey's romance Dubricius addresses Arthur's army, crowns him, resigns the archbishopric of Caerleon. The author of 'Chronicles of Anc. Brit. Church' makes Dyfrig, first, bishop of Llandaff, and secondly, in 490, archbishop of Caerleon; p. 115. See too the uncritical account in Williams, Antiq. of Cymry, p. 130. The Liber Landavensis extends his life beyond a century and a half. Geoffrey tells how David succeeded Dubricius at Caerleon, and died at Menevia, viii. 1; the early and fictitious date for his death is 544. Montalembert in both cases follows the legend; see his 'Monks of the West.' The most picturesque story about him is that of the 'Evangelium Imperfectum'; that he was copying St. John's Gospel, left his work on hearing the church bell, at his return found the page completed in gold letters, and out of reverence added nothing to the copy; Girald. Op. iii. 393.

[2] Annal. Camb. (written some 200 years later). In Giraldus Cambrensis' Life of him (Works, iii. 403), he is said to have had, when dying, a vision of Christ, and to have expired saying, 'Lord, take me up after Thee!' A yet later date for his death is 642. He is said to have been succeeded by Teilo (Girald. Itin. Camb. ii. 1), or by Cynog, or by Ismael (Lib. Landav. p. 109).

[3] Haddan and Stubbs, i. 148; Bp. Jones and Freeman, p. 253. The story was that Teilo, on becoming archbishop of Menevia, transferred the primacy to Llandaff; cf. Rees, p. 243. See, however, his remarks on p. 291.

[4] Geoffrey, vii. 3 (ix. 8), makes Arthur see with grief the ruin of religion at York, after the Saxons had driven out 'blessed Sampson the archbishop.' The fictitious connexion of Sampson with York is ignored by Alb. Butler (July 28); nor does it appear in the Liber Landavensis. Giraldus makes him twenty-fifth archbishop of St. David's, and tells the story about his removal of the pall to Dol; Itin. Camb. ii. 1. Cp. Descr. Camb. i. 4, where he reckons twenty-three. (Op. vi. 102, 170.)

CHAP. I. 557[1]. Setting aside such fancies, it is worth while to observe how the situation of St. David's illustrates the fact that these old Celtic bishops valued monastic seclusion even more than facilities for episcopal administration[2].

One of Geoffrey's statements as to the prelates of Teutonized Britain may represent a modicum of fact. He says[3] that when the Saxons drove the British fugitives into Wales and Cornwall, Theon bishop of London, and Thadioc of York, fled into Wales with the 'archbishop' of Caerleon and their surviving clergy. This he dates in the latter part of the sixth century. But if London fell soon after the middle of the century, while Deira had been conquered soon after its commencement, these prelates can hardly have been companions in flight. However, we know that in the latter part of the seventh century there was a clear tradition as to the names of 'sacred places abandoned by the British clergy' of the North country in general, when they 'fled from the sword' of the conquering race[4]. If this was so, when we think of what the Divine mercy was preparing at this time for a country bereft of pastors and even of flocks, we may observe a new verification of the devout proverb that man's necessity is God's opportunity.

Christianity ruined in most of South Britain.

It did, indeed, seem as if Heathenism had fairly beaten down Christianity in the largest portion of South Britain: the East-Anglians, and the settlers in the Lichfield and Repton district who were called Mercians, as dwelling near the Welsh border or march[5], had been forming them-

[1] Mansi, ix. 747. See Haddan and Stubbs, i. 149, 159.

[2] Bp. Jones and Freeman, p. 251. Caerleon, says Giraldus, was 'far more fitted for a metropolitan see than this angulus remotissimus, terra saxosa, sterilis, infecunda: it was of set purpose that saints chose such abodes,—much preferring the eremitic to the pastoral life;' Itin. Camb. ii. 1. For Aidan's choice of Lindisfarne, see below.

[3] Geoffrey, viii. 2. See Stubbs, Registrum Sac. Ang. p. 152. The traditional date is 586. For the fall of London, see Green, Making of England, p. 110.

[4] Eddius, Vit. S. Wilfridi, 17. See Chaucer, 'Tale of the Man of Lawe':—

'To Walys fled the cristianitee
Of olde Britons, dwelling in this ile.'

[5] Green, p. 15: see Palgrave, Anglo-Sax. p. 45; Freeman, i. 26; Pearson, i. 106. The Mid-Anglians, as far as they are distinct from the Mercians, dwelt eastwards towards Leicester.

selves into regular kingdoms: the West Saxon Ceawlin's defeat at Wodensburg, or Wanborough, in 591, soon followed by his death, was indeed the aggrandizement of his revolted nephew[1]. But it was more. It opened the way to supremacy for a prince who, twenty-three years earlier, had been checked by Ceawlin in his attempt to extend his realm. That victory on the Berkshire downs was momentous, for it helped Ethelbert of Kent, who had recently espoused a Frankish princess, to become the overlord of East Saxons and East Angles. North of Humber, indeed, he had no ascendency; Edwin, the child of Ella, had been dispossessed, after his father's death, by the king of Bernicia[2], Ethelric, who was succeeded within five years by his son, a prince of equal energy, and known by the appellations of 'the Fierce[3]' and 'the Devastator[4],' that Ethelfrid, properly Æthelfrith, whom Bede describes as, like Benjamin, a ravening wolf, and of whom he says that no other Anglian chief wrought such havoc among the race of Britons[5]. Every one of these rulers and nations was bound by habit and tradition to the old Teutonic Paganism; it might even seem that their very successes had hardened them in antipathy to the religion of the Cross: was it to be expected, under these conditions, that ministers of that religion, foreign to conquerors and conquered alike, could appeal to such a people and be heard? Yes, it was the hope and the faith of the greatest Christian of that time: and to his action, in the strength of such hope and faith, we owe the beginnings of our English Christianity.

[1] Sax. Chr. and Florence. Hen. Huntingdon's account of the battle of Wodensburg, 'God gave the victory to the Britons,' is explained by the fact that Britons, and even Scots, were allied with Ceolric (or Ceol) the 'Hwiccian,' against his uncle Ceawlin. See Palgrave, p. 404; Guest's Orig. Celt. ii. 243; Green, Making of England, p. 207. Wanborough is a little to the east of Swindon.

[2] Florence, Chron.

[3] Hen. Hunt. a. 593.

[4] 'Flesaurs,' in Nennius, = Devastator.

[5] Bede, i. 34; Palgrave, Engl. Comm. p. 428.

CHAPTER II.

Gregory the Great.

'GREGORY our father[1],' who 'sent us baptism[2];' such were the terms of simple and grateful affection in which the early English Christians spoke of that greatest and, on the whole, most lovable[3] of Roman bishops, whose pontificate extended from 590 to 604. The fatherly title was signally appropriate to a character so full of energetic charity. He who, unlike 'other pontiffs,' spent yet more on the poor than on the building of churches[4]; he who once debarred himself from celebrating the Eucharist, because a poor man had been starved to death in a great scarcity[5]; he whose correspondence with distant friends overflows with such vivid consciousness of a oneness which no distance could affect[6]; he whose thoughtful and discriminating sympathy gave directions that a sick cleric

[1] Council of Clovesho, A. D. 747; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 368.

[2] A.-S. Chr. a. 565. Compare Aldhelm, de Laude Virginitatis, 55: 'Gregorius . . . paedagogus noster, noster, inquam, qui nostris parentibus . . . regenerantis gratiae normam tradidit.'

[3] See Robertson's Growth of the Papal Power, p. 115: 'Gregory stands in the foremost rank of Popes who have contributed to the exaltation of their see. . . . He is the only one of those Popes whose memory we can regard with much affection.' Yet, says Hodgkin, 'he was not naturally a sweet-tempered man' (Italy and her Invaders, v. 391); there was in him a strain of the old Roman hardness; he was 'peremptory and stern in discipline,' and could sometimes be 'harsh' (Church, Miscell. Essays, p. 320), and often sarcastic in censuring subordinates who took their duties too easily (e. g. Epist. i. 44). It is the more to his credit that he reproached himself 'non leviter' for being severe to a monk 'non pro gravi culpa' (Ep. ii. 32).

[4] Paul the Deacon's Life of Greg. c. 16.

[5] John the Deacon's Life of Greg. ii. 29. Paul wrote at the close of the eighth century: John a century still later. See Gibbon, v. 362.

[6] Greg. Ep. i. 66; iii. 48, 54; vi. 60; viii. 2; xii. 1.

was not to lose his stipend[1], forbade a prelate in bad health to keep fast or vigil[2], remitted the Church's claim on the property of three orphans[3], and provided bedding for the pilgrims of Mount Sinai[4], and a yearly allowance of wheat and beans for a man with bad eyesight[5],—was just the man to unite this natural and genial kindness with that Christian love for souls, so fervent as an emotion and so vigorous as a motive, which betokens and crowns the genuine pastor.

Story of the English boys.

We all know the immortal story of the origin of his interest in our heathen ancestors, and therefore of that work which he did for England, and which made Bede say with such loving emphasis, 'Though he be not an apostle to others, yet he is to us, for the seal of his apostleship are we in the Lord[6].' It was probably just before he went in 578 as the Pope's confidential agent[7] to Constantinople, or else after his return in 585[8], that Gregory, then a deacon, passing through the Roman Forum, amid the din of its multifarious traffic, saw some[9] boys exposed for sale. The slave-trade was rife at this time, and indeed long afterwards: the spirit of that creed which acknowledged all to be one in God and in Christ had not yet

[1] Ep. ii. 8.

[2] Ep. xi. 33. Gregory offered to tend him personally.

[3] Ep. iii. 21. Compare a remission of money due from an old man, if found to be poor, Ep. xii. 9.

[4] Ep. xi. 1.

[5] Ep. i. 67.

[6] Bede, ii. 1. So in the coronation office of King Ethelred: 'Sanctae Mariae, ac beati Petri apostolorum principis, Sanctique Gregorii Anglorum apostoli . . . meritis.' Maskell, Mon. Rit. ii. 36.

[7] 'Apocrisiarius.' Benedict I was Pope 574–578, Pelagius II 578–590. Gregory was at Constantinople from 578 to 585, under Pelagius.

[8] Paul, c. 19, gives the later date; 'apostolico Pelagio.' John, i. 22, gives the earlier; 'ad Benedictum.' So does the earlier Life, by a monk of Whitby, edited by Ewald from a MS at St. Gallen, Eng. Hist. Review, iii. 301; Plummer's Bede, ii. 389. So the Benedictine biographers, b. i. 4, 5; and they are followed by Dr. Hodgkin (v. 291). Gregory became a monk cir. 575, deacon in 577, abbot in 585, Pope on Sept. 3, 590, *not* 591, as Bede implies (i. 23). Gregory's predecessor, Pelagius II, died Feb. 8, 590, and the day of his own accession was Sept. 3, which fell on a Sunday in 590. For the year 590 see the Benedictine Life, L'Art de Vérifier, iii. 277, &c. It is adopted by modern writers.

[9] Thorn says *three*, but an indefinite number easily becomes a triad.

CHAP. II. undermined the inveterate usage which treated human beings as capable, under certain circumstances, of becoming lawful property: canons of councils had freely owned the right of Christian laymen, even of clergy or monks, to possess bondsmen[1]: to emancipate one's slave was an act of beneficence, but beyond that point Church teaching did not go. Gregory was among those Church teachers who did much to abate the evils of slavery, and in that sense to prepare for its extinction[2]: he, as Pope, sold sacred vessels to ransom captives[3], and in an act of manumission declared that, 'since the Redeemer had become incarnate to set men free, it was a good thing to restore to their natural freedom those whom the law of nations had deprived of it[4].' Let us try to picture him, with his ruddy face, scanty darkish hair, high brow, and tapering hands[5], as he stands still, attracted by the sad sight of those helpless lads, whose white skin[6] and golden hair were proof enough of their Northern parentage, and were associated with a beauty of face which their unhappy condition would make all the more touching. He who, in after-years, used to take pains with the teaching of his young choristers[7], was moved to the very soul with pity

[1] E. g. Council of Agde, c. 7, 56; first of Orleans, c. 3. Comp. Greg. Ep. iii. 1; v. 34.

[2] See Milman, Lat. Chr. ii. 47, 52; Hist. Jews, iii. 48. On the three ways in which Christianity acted in this direction, see Lecky, Europ. Morals, ii. 70.

[3] See Ep. vii. 13, 38. Compare St. Ambrose, de Offic. Ministr. ii. 28, and Acacius in Soc. vii. 21. See Bingham, v. 6. 6.

[4] Ep. vi. 12. Comp. Greg. Reg. Pastoral. iii. 5: masters are to be admonished 'ut naturae suae, qua aequaliter sunt cum servis conditi, memoriam non amittant.' See the expressions of Old-English feeling on this point in Pref. to Chron. of Abingdon, vol. ii. p. lii.

[5] John the Deacon's Life of Greg. iv. 84. From Ep. xi. 44 he would seem to have been stout, until the gout brought him low. See Barmby's Gregory the Great, p. 142.

[6] Paul, 17: 'Lactei corporis, ac venusti vultus, capillos praecipui candoris,'—shining sunny hair. John, i. 21: 'corpore candidos, forma pulcherrimos, vultu venustos, capillorum quoque nitore perspicuos.' Bede, earlier than both, has, 'candidi corporis et venusti vultus, capillorum quoque forma egregia;' ii. 1. The St. Gallen Life, apparently earliest of all, 'forma et crinibus candidati albis.'

[7] Joan. Diac, ii. 6.

for the slave-boys, and asked from what country they came. The slave-owner—probably a Jew [1]—answered, 'From Britain: the people there have these fair complexions.' Then came the question, as from Gregory's full heart, 'Are they heathens or Christians [2]?' 'Heathens.' He sighed, as a servant of Christ might well sigh: 'Alas! that such bright faces should be in the power of the prince of darkness—that with outward forms so lovely, the mind within should be sick [3] and empty of grace! How do you call their nation?' 'Angles.' Then, with that fondness for playing on the sound of a name, with a serious thought under the playfulness [4], which we see in Eusebius [5], and also in Bede himself [6], he replied, ''Tis well,—they have Angels' faces; it were meet they should be fellow-heirs with Angels in heaven. What is their native province?' 'Deira;' we might translate, Yorkshire,—for the southern of the two Northumbrian realms may for practical purposes be identified with the land between the Tees and Humber: and Gregory's ear, catching its name, suggested the comment, 'They must be rescued *de ira Dei*.' One more question: who was their king? 'Aella [7].' 'Alleluia, praise to God the Maker, ought to be sung in those parts.' He passed on, and saw the boys no more; but the thought of their

[1] Milman, Hist. Jews, iii. 48. Cp. Greg. Ep. ix. 36, that Jews bought Christian slaves from Gaul, and a Jew explained to him that the magistrates ordered them to buy slaves. In Ep. ix. 110 he exhorts Frank kings not to permit Jews to keep Christian slaves. In Ep. iii. 38 he exhorts a prefect to set free Christian slaves bought by a 'very wicked' Jew.

[2] Ethelwerd, in his Chronicle, ii. 1, gives a corrupt version of this colloquy, making Gregory address the young Angles, who answer that no one has opened their ears to Christianity.

[3] Paul. Diac. has 'aegram,' which Bede omits.

[4] 'Rhetorice ethimologizans,' Thorn, in X Script. 1757.

[5] Euseb. v. 24, *Irenaeus*; vi. 41, *Macar*; vii. 10, *Macrianus*; vii. 31, *Manes*. Two of these passages are quotations.

[6] Bede, ii. 15, *Felix*. So in his Life of St. Felix of Nola, c. 1: 'nominis sui mysterium factis exsequens.' So iii. 2 on 'Hefenhelth': 'caelestis campus, quod certo ubique praesagio,' &c. So Columban in his letter to Gregory, 'Tua Vigilantia;' Greg. Ep. ix. 127. So Columba on Libranus, Adamnan, ii. 39; and St. Augustine on Pelagius in De Grat. Chr. 45; and St. Athanasius on Hosius in Hist. Ari. 49.

[7] Ella died in 588. He appears as 'Alla' in Chaucer's 'Man of Lawe's Tale.'

CHAP. II. nation's spiritual need impelled him to wring from the Pope—probably Benedict I—a permission to go and preach to the Angles. But this was not to be: the Romans beset the Pope with outcries, demanding the recall of Gregory[1]: and Gregory was recalled, and obeyed. Some years—perhaps thirteen—elapsed, and he himself occupied the see, being then just fifty years old[2]. He was at once immersed in business of all kinds; troubles caused by Donatism in Africa, a schism in Istria on the question of the Three Articles[3],' heresy vexing Eastern Christendom, practical corruptions tainting the Gallic Church, pestilence in Rome, Lombards even encamping before its walls, vexations connected with the see of Ravenna and other churches, a dispute with the Emperor Maurice[4], a more famous controversy with John bishop of Constantinople as to the title of Oecumenical Patriarch; he had also literary work, the composition of his 'Pastoral Rule[5],' the compilation of his Sacramentary, and other such designs to be carried out, beside his preaching and other episcopal duties. Yet we may well believe that he never lost the remembrance of those 'bright faces' of the Yorkshire lads in the slave-market: and at last, in 596, he took some steps towards an English mission by ordering the steward of his church's estates in Gaul to spend some of their proceeds in purchasing boys of seventeen or eighteen, of English birth, that they might receive a Christian education[6]. But immediately afterwards he resolved on more direct action. He had founded in 575 a monastery, dedicated to

[1] John puts their outcry into a jingle: 'Petrum offendisti, Romam destruxisti, quia Gregorium dimisisti'; i. 23, abridged from Paul.

[2] He was probably born in 540; Bened. Life, i. 1. 6; Barmby, p. 29.

[3] Many Westerns feared that, by accepting the decree of the recent 'Fifth Council' in regard to Theodore, Theodoret, and Ibas, they would be condemning the Fourth Council and the 'tome' of St. Leo.

[4] There is no palliating his deplorable exultation at the accession of Maurice's murderer, Phocas: yet Maurice, who 'often did the right things in the wrong way' (Hodgkin, Italy and her Invaders, v. 434), had given him some cause for irritation.

[5] On this famous manual, see Licinianus' letter to Gregory; Ep. ii. 54.

[6] Ep. vi. 7, to Candidus. Cp. Hardwick, Ch. Hist. M. Ages, p. 111, on a similar scheme as carried out by St. Anskar.

St. Andrew, on his own estate on the Coelian hill, and had lived there as monk and as abbot[1]. He retained a special interest in this long-loved home, within whose precincts he had been so happy, but had also, we must confess it, on one occasion shown towards a monk who had broken the rule a relentless severity, the effect of monastic rigorism prevailing over his natural kindness of heart[2]. In a monastery the officer next to the abbot was called the 'praepositus' or provost[3]. Gregory in one passage says that an abbot's negligence must be remedied by means of a vigilant 'praepositus[4]': we hear of one Pretiosus as his 'praepositus' at the time just referred to[5]: and at the period which we have reached the office was held by Augustine, who had once been a pupil of Felix bishop of Messana[6]. Gregory selected him[7], and several others of the house, to undertake a mission to the English. Probably, with his 'wonderful capacity for business, his wide, various,

Mission of Augustine and his companions.

[1] John the Deacon, i. 6. The site, described as 'ad clivum Scauri,' is one of the most beautiful in Rome, in full view of the Palatine and the Aventine. An inscription in the vestibule mentions Augustine and his first successors in the see of Canterbury as among those who 'ex hoc monasterio prodierunt.' The present church is modern, but its southern chapel represents the place where Gregory was wont to 'refresh his wearied limbs with moderate rest,' and contains his marble chair. Near the spot was a public library, founded by Pope Agapetus in a house of his own: Lanciani, Ancient Rome, p. 190, and his Pagan and Christian Rome, p. 229. Gregory in Ep. viii. 11 confirms an agreement between Candidus, abbot of St. Andrew's, and the 'magister militiae.'

[2] Dial. iv. 55. Milman, Lat. Chr. ii. 104, gives the story as the most signal case of such austerity, or rather pitiless harshness, on the part of Gregory. Yet see Barmby, p. 38.

[3] So in Benedict. Reg. 65. 'Praepositi' appear in the Life of St. Columba, Adamn. i. 30, 31. In Columban's Rule, c. 10, penance is assigned to a monk who says to the 'praepositus,' 'Tu non judicabis causam meam, sed noster abbas,' &c. Boisil was 'praepositus' at Melrose under Eata as abbot; Bede, iv. 27, v. 9, and Cuthbert at Lindisfarne, Vit. Cuthb. 16. The word 'prior' would best express 'praepositus.'

[4] Ep. v. 6. Cp. Dial. i. 2, 7.

[5] John, l. c.

[6] See Greg. Ep. xiv. 17, 'alumno tuo.' Felix calls him 'consodalis.'

[7] Augustine was afterwards (by Leo III) described as holding the office of *syncellus*, or companion in the cell or private room, to Gregory; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 539; and cp. can. 22 and 23 of fourth Council of Toledo, Mansi, x. 626. See Fleury, b. 25, c. 5 (Oxford ed. vol. iii. p. 13).

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and minute supervision[1],' which seemed to sweep the whole area of Christendom, from the internal troubles of African Churches to a local feud in Jerusalem and the grievances of a priest of Lycaonia[2], and which caused one of his biographers to call him an 'Argus full of eyes[3],' he had procured information as to the state of the English which showed that the native district of the 'angel-faced' boys was no promising mission-field while Ethelfrid ruled over it, and on the other hand that the part of Britain most accessible from the continent was precisely that which seemed to offer an 'open door.' For Ethelbert, properly Æthelberht[4], king of the Jutish realm of Kent, who now, after thirty years of royalty, stood pre-eminent[5] among the South-Humbrian princes, might be supposed likely to give a favourable hearing to preachers of the religion professed by his wife. Bertha, daughter of a former Frankish king, Charibert of Paris, had been long before espoused by Ethelbert on the express condition that she should be free to worship as a Christian, under the guidance of a Frankish bishop, Liudhard[6]. This condition had been observed: Liudhard resided in Kent, and while 'Bertha had made no attempt to convert' her Pagan husband[7], he had never disturbed his wife in regard to her Christian duties. This, probably, the Pope had learned; and he himself declares

State of Kent.

[1] Robertson, ii. 371; cp. Milman, Lat. Chr. ii. 112; Hodgkin, Italy and her Invaders, v. 310. In estimating these qualities, it must be remembered that he had been prefect of the city. Church dwells on the minuteness of his directions for the benefit of the church tenants (Miscell. Essays, p. 232).

[2] Ep. i. 77; vii. 32; vi. 66.

[3] John the Deacon, ii. 55.

[4] Or Æthelbriht, Chron. Albert, as Dean Stanley observes (Mem. Cant. p. 31), is but Ethelbert (=Adalbert) abbreviated.

[5] Bede, ii. 5. On the leadership or primacy which has been associated with the title of Bretwalda, cp. the somewhat differing views in Kemble, Sax. in Engl. ii. 11, Freeman, i. 548, and Green, Making of England, p. 307; and see Stubbs, Constit. Hist. i. 190; Rhys, Celt. Brit. p. 136.

[6] 'Quam ea conditione a parentibus acceperat,' &c; Bede, i. 25. See Greg. Turon. Hist. Fr. iv. 26, 'filiam quae postea in Cantiam, virum accipiens, est deducta.' Charibert (or Haribert) was son of Chlotair I (Carlyle's 'wild Clotaire') and grandson of Clovis. He reigned from 561 to 567. Gregory of Tours gives him a bad character.

[7] Lingard, A.-S. Ch. i. 23. Perhaps she had tried and failed.

that he had been informed of a desire on the part of the English for Christian instruction, and reprobates the neglect of the Gallic bishops to impart it[1]. He could, indeed, have had but an imperfect idea of the complexities of the political condition of Britain, or of the difficulties which it would offer to a missionary: yet had he known more, he would still have acted in faith, and sent forth his agents in the all-sustaining Name.

Misgivings of the missionaries.

And so, apparently in the spring of 596, they went forth, obedient and hopeful, and 'got through some small part of their journey.' So Bede tells us[2]; in fact, they had reached Provence, and probably rested in that illustrious monastery which for nearly two centuries had made the name of the isle of Lerins[3] sacred and venerable to all who had heard of its discipline and its devotion, and of the light of sacred learning there kept alive in a country dark with spreading ignorance, and darker yet with stormy crime. Stephen abbot of Lerins, as well as Protasius bishop of Aix and the 'patrician' or provincial governor[4] Arigius, welcomed the strangers heartily. But they also heard more than they had dreamt of as to the hard fierce nature of the Saxons, and began to realize the obstacle involved in their ignorance of the Saxon tongue[5]. With somewhat of the

[1] Greg. Ep. vi. 58, 59.

[2] Bede, i. 23. He dates their journey in the fourteenth year of Maurice, which began August 13, 595. Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 3, Robertson, ii. 387, and Moberly (on Bede, l. c.) think that they set out in 595. But Gregory's letter sent back with Augustine is dated on July 23 in that fourteenth year; i. e. in 596. It is not likely that the voyage to Provence, a short sojourn there, and Augustine's return voyage, would occupy more time than between the early spring and the middle of July of that year. The Benedictines date the first journey in 596: so does Smith, on Bede, l. c.: so Lingard, A.-S. Ch. i. 21.

[3] See Tillemont, xii. 473; Fleury, b. 24, c. 58; Sirmond. Op. i. 1029. 'From the isle of Lerins came forth the greatest saints and scholars of the time;' Kitchin, Hist. France, i. 65. The 'Quicunque' has recently been again attributed to some one of the theologians of Lerins (Burn on Athan. Creed, in Studia Sacra, iv. p. xcvi).

[4] See Greg. Op. ii. 493, and Kitchin. i. 85. On the Constantinian use of the title, see Gibbon, ii. 309. It had been borne by Ricimer the 'Emperor-maker.' Clovis began his victories by defeating the 'patrician' Syagrius of Soissons. Gregory thanks Arigius for his kindness, Ep. vi. 57.

[5] Life of St. Augustine (Lives of Engl. Saints), p. 74.

CHAP. II. weakness shown by St. Mark after he landed in Pamphylia[1], they began to think they had undertaken more than they could compass, and, doubtless, to long for the hallowed quiet of their old home on the Coelian. 'Struck with a sluggish timorousness,' so Bede phrases it, 'they thought of returning home, and after taking counsel together, determined that this was the safer course[2].' But as Fuller fairly remarks, their shrinking was not unnatural, although it is 'facile' to call them cowards[3]; and a modern historian of the Saxons fully recognizes the extreme onerousness of their task[4]. 'No sooner said than done,' Bede continues: 'they send back Augustine, who according to Gregory's plan was to be ordained their bishop if they should be welcomed by the English, and commission him to induce Gregory by humble supplication to excuse them from a journey so full of perils, of toils, of uncertainties.'

Gregory urges them to proceed.

They might, one would think, have known Gregory better. When Augustine reached Rome, and presented their request to the Pope, it was refused: Gregory, on July 23, 596, sent a letter to them by Augustine[5], to this purpose:—'It were better not to begin a good work than

[1] Acts xiii. 13.

[2] Bede, i. 23.

[3] Fuller, Ch. Hist. ii. 52: a passage full of charming irony.

[4] Kemble, ii. 357. He calls the mission-journey of Augustine and his companions 'heroic.' If this phrase is too strong, Haddan's representation of their fears as groundless is far from fair (Remains, p. 305). Gocelin, in order to save St. Augustine's honour, assumes that he 'was not able to resist' their urgency; Vit. Maj. Aug. c. i. s. 6 (cir. 1080).

[5] Ep. vi. 51; Bede, l. c. Here we may remark on the reckoning by 'indictions,' which appears in this and other papal letters given by Bede. Early in the fourth century arose the custom of arranging years in periods of fifteen, in accordance with the rule that property should be revalued after such periods: each year in such a series was reckoned as 'indiction 1, 2,' &c. The oldest or 'Constantinopolitan' scheme took Sept. 1 for its starting-point. Gregory was the first pope who reckoned by indictions, and he employed the Constantinopolitan (Bened. Edd. in Ep. i. 1). Cf. Nicolas, Chron. Hist. p. 6; Dict. Chr. Ant. i. 832. Thus the Benedictines assign b. 1 of the Gregorian letters to the 9th year of an indiction (abbreviated into 9th indiction), b. 2 to the 10th, and so on, until b. 8 begins another indiction, and the concluding b. 14 belongs to its 7th year. On the rearrangement of the order of the letters, see Hodgkin, v. 333 ff.

to begin it and turn back from it[1]: you have undertaken this work by the Lord's help,—carry it out with activity and fervour, knowing that much labour wins all the greater reward.' It is beautiful to see the wise gentleness[2] with which he treats his 'dearest sons': an inferior man would have vented his annoyance in harsh rebukes, which would have by no means 'upheld the feeble knees,'—but Gregory knew better. There is something Pauline in the delicacy with which he hopes that 'in the eternal Country he may see the fruit of their labour and share in the reward, as he had wished to share the work.' Other evidence of his tact is given by his appointment of Augustine to be their abbot; no longer a mere prior, but the father and director, who would be able in future, authoritatively and on the spot, to repress any deliberation or common action such as had 'sent him back' to Rome. Gregory also wrote, at the same time, letters in behalf of the missionaries to the bishops of Tours[3], Marseilles, Arles, Vienne, Autun, Aix, and to abbot Stephen, who had sent to him, by Augustine, certain 'spoons and round dishes[4]' for the use of poor folks in Rome. The letter to Etherius of Lyons is given by Bede, but with a mistaken address, Arles being put for Lyons. The Pope also commended the monks to Theoderic II and Theodebert II, the boy-kings of Burgundy and Austrasia[5], and to their grandmother, the widow of the Austrasian Sigebert I, famous in

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State of Gaul.

[1] See Greg. Reg. Past. iii. 34; it were more tolerable 'recti viam non arripere, quam arrepta post tergum redire.'

[2] Yet Pearson says that he wrote 'sternly,' Hist. Engl. i. 122; and Hook, while blaming Augustine, says that Gregory 'was unable even to understand his feelings,' Archbishops, i. 51. Gocelin remarks beautifully that the timorous request 'might have troubled the high-souled Gregory's charity, as if his undertaking were frustrated—nisi speraret in nomine Domini, in quo sua coepta credebat feliciter perfici.'

[3] See Ep. vi. 52–56.

[4] 'Cochlearesetcirculos,' Ep. vi. 56. This reminds us of the old charities of the Roman Church administered by St. Laurence.

[5] Ep. vi. 58. They were the sons of Childebert, under whom the two realms had been united. For Burgundy see Kitchin, Hist. Fr. i. 59, 71, 84: Church, Beginning of M. Ages, p. 18. 'It was in fact the kingdom of the Rhone,' Hodgkin, v. 200. For Austrasia, Oster-rik, the Eastern realm, see Kitchin, i. 72, 81, 84; Guizot, Hist. Fr. c. 8. Hodgkin, v. 202.

CHAP. II. early French history alike for royal energy and tyrannous vindictiveness under the name of Queen Brunehaut, properly Brunichild[1]. We must pause here a moment; for Gregory's confidential letters to this princess, whom he once praises for bringing up her son well, and in other letters exhorts to suppress ecclesiastical abuses[2] have formed a difficulty somewhat analogous to his repulsive laudation of the odious tyrant Phocas[3]. But Brunichild's worst deeds, the result of pride and power, were done at a later time[4]: and her vigorous zeal for Roman organization[5] as against barbaric licence, the capacity which she had shown for wise and beneficent government, and also her munificence to the Church, might well win the esteem of the great pontiff who had once himself been Prefect of Rome.

'Strengthened[6]' by these and similar letters, Augustine resumed his undertaking, and helped his companions to nerve their wills to the great task. They travelled by Marseilles to Aix, Arles, Vienne, Lyons, to the Burgundian court at Chalon[7], and thence to Autun. The journey would be rich in elevating and inspiriting remembrances, especially when it brought them to the scene of the martyrdom of Pothinus and of the labours of Irenaeus. Thence, in the advancing autumn, they proceeded to Reims, the capital of Austrasia; visited Tours, where its historian bishop had died in the year preceding; and, as we infer

[1] Ep. vi. 59. Fredegarius speaks of the evils and bloodshed 'a Brunichildis consilio in Francia facta,' Hist. Fr. Epit. 59. He calls her a second Jezebel, Chron. 36. But see Ruinart's note to his Chron. 42. On Brunichild see Kitchin, i. 89, and Oman, 'Europe 476-918,' p. 175; and on Gregory's complimentary language to her, Barmby's Gregory the Great, p. 109. Hodgkin, v. 452; cf. ib. 345.

[2] Ep. vi. 5; ix. 11, 109; xi. 63, 69; xiii. 6.

[3] Ep. xiii. 31.

[4] The murder of Chilperic in 584 is ascribed to her by Fredegarius, Hist. Fr. Epit. 93, but by others to Fredegond. It was in 607 that she procured the murder of St. Desiderius of Vienne; in 612 she put to death Theodebert. Her own terrible death took place by Chlotair's order in 613.

[5] Guizot, Hist. France, c. 8; Kitchin, i. 89.

[6] 'Roboratus,' Bede, i. 25.

[7] Chalon on the Saone, the residence of Theoderic of Burgundy. See Smith's Bede, p. 680.

from a later letter of Gregory[1], were well received at Paris by the ruler of Neustria. That ruler was no other than the atrocious Fredegond, then acting as regent for her son Chlotair II, and drawing near to the outwardly tranquil conclusion of a life which had been 'a calendar of crimes[2].' The missionaries wintered in Gaul[3]; and soon after Easter—which fell in 597 on April 14—they crossed the Channel; and thus, after all these preliminary experiences, came face to face with their real work. CHAP. II.

Where did they land? we ask. The answer is ready. About four miles westward from Ramsgate, towards the corner of Pegwell Bay, a white corner-house on the road, standing far within the old line of the coast, retains the name of Ebbsfleet[4], the traditional landing-place of Hengest[5], the actual landing-place of Augustine. The river Stour then expanded into an estuary; so that the 'Isle of Thanet' was really an island[6], the stream forming a strait[7] from Richborough, the venerable Roman town of Rutupiae, to the south, and Reculver, the Roman Regulbium, to the north, on the mouth of the Thames. After thus touching British ground, Augustine sent a message to King Ethelbert to this effect, 'that they were come from Rome with the best of all messages, and that if he would accept it, he would undoubtedly ensure himself an everlasting kingdom.' Ethelbert answered at once kindly and cautiously; he Landing of Augustine.

[1] Ep. xi. 61.

[2] Kitchin, i. 88. For her utterly evil character see Hodgkin, v. 207. Neustria, as it soon began to be called, was the land of the Western Franks, and had its centre at Paris or at Soissons. Chlotair became king in his infancy, A. D. 584; Fredegond died in 597.

[3] A story current in the eleventh century described them as encountering, in a town of Anjou, rude insults such as men like them in those days might easily provoke by their grave aspect and strange attire. Women, says Gocelin, were foremost in this barbarous inhospitality, driving them away like so many 'wolves,' with wild outcries, and not allowing them even to sleep under an elm. Vit. Maj. Aug. c. i. s. 10.

[4] See Stanley's Memorials of Canterbury, p. 29. Thorn calls the landing-place Retesborough, X Script. 1759.

[5] 'Heopwines fleot,' Sax. Chr. a. 449. 'Fleet' = harbour.

[6] See Pearson's Hist. Maps of Engl. p. 2.

[7] Called 'the river Wantsum;' Bede, i. 25. See the maps in Hasted's Hist. of Kent, iv. 288.

CHAP. II. would not hastily commit himself. Let the strangers abide in the isle of Thanet until he could see what to do with them: their wants should be well supplied. 'Some days after, he came into the isle,' prepared to give them an audience: but, as a Teuton, he believed in witch-lore[1], and, after 'using augury,' concluded that the foreign priests might employ spells[2] to mislead him, if he received them under a roof. He stipulated, therefore, that they should address him in the open air, and the meeting was thus arranged[3]. Ethelbert and his attendant thanes[4] took their seats, and saw some forty men advancing, with a lofty silver cross[5] borne up in front, and beside this a board, on which was painted the figure of the Crucified[6]. He must have seen some such emblems of Christianity belonging to his wife or to her chaplain, but he had never perhaps beheld their faith represented with such ritual solemnity; and Gregory's well-known opinion of the value of sacred paintings[7], as impressing religious truths on the mind, was probably Augustine's reason for displaying one in this

Meeting with Ethelbert.

[1] Kemble, i. 428; Turner, iii. 135.

[2] Bede, i. 25. Cp. iv. 27, 'per incantationes;' Theodore's Penitential, i. 15. 4; Egbert's, i. 8. 1; Council of Clovesho, c. 3; of Celchyth, c. 3.

[3] 'According to tradition, at Richborough;' English Life of St. Augustine, p. 93. A cruciform ridge there was long called 'St. Augustine's Cross.' Another traditional site is the high ground above Minster.

[4] 'Comitibus,' his personal companions, 'gesiths' (properly, 'fellow-travellers'), who acted as his 'thanes,' ministri. See Kemble, i. 168; Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 149; Lappenberg, ii. 317; Freeman, Growth of Engl. Constit. p. 50. Compare Bede, iii. 22; iv. 22; v. 5.

[5] In later times, 'on donna le nom de *Croix* à toutes les processions;' L'Art de Vérifier, ii. 5.

[6] Gocelin, Vit. Maj. S. Aug. s. 16: 'imaginem Domini Salvatoris, formose atque *aurose* in tabula depictam.' 'Wise pomp,' remarks Haddan, Remains, p. 305. Compare Wordsworth, Eccl. Sonnets, No. 14:—

'The Cross preceding Him who floats in air,
The pictured Saviour.'

[7] Greg. Ep. ix. 52, that paintings of Christ are not to be worshipped, but to be used as stimulants to devout affection. '*Illum* adoramus quem per imaginem aut natum, aut passum, sed et in throno sedentem recordamur.' So in Ep. ix. 105, to a bishop who had broken some pictures which had been 'adored': 'Your duty was et illas servare, et ab earum adoratu populum prohibere.' And similarly Ep. xi. 13, dwelling on the usefulness of sacred paintings to those who cannot read, but absolutely forbidding them to be 'adored.'

momentous conference. A procession, too, was associated with choral supplications, and Gregory had instituted a 'sevenfold litany,' or procession, to implore the Divine succour during a pestilence[1]; on this occasion, therefore, his emissaries, as they approached, 'sang litanies, entreating the Lord for their own salvation and that of those to whom they came.' The chant, although in a strange tongue, must have brought to the rude listeners a sense of spiritual power: and Augustine's majestic person, towering up above all his companions[2], was certain to contribute to the imposing effect of the scene. The king bade his visitors sit down, and Augustine spoke, assisted by a Gallic interpreter[3]. He told, said a Saxon homilist long after, 'how the tender-hearted Jesus by His own throes,'—and here, doubtless, he pointed to the cross and the painting,—'had redeemed the sinful world, and opened the kingdom of heaven to all believers[4].' Bede says simply, that 'he preached to them the word of life;' and Ethelbert's answer was 'exactly what a king should have said on such an occasion[5].' 'Fair words and promises are these; but seeing they are new and doubtful, I cannot give in to them, and give up what I, with all the English race, have so long observed. But since you have come a long way from a strange country, in order—as I think I clearly see—to make known to us what you believe to be best and truest, we[6] do not mean to do you any harm, but rather will treat you kindly, and take care

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[1] Joan. Diac. i. 42. 'Litany' is here used as = procession. 'Let the litany of clergy start from St. John Baptist's,' &c. See Palmer, Orig. Lit. i. 271, and the note to Greg. Op. iv. 1284. In Ep. xi. 51 Gregory exhorts the Sicilian bishops to have litanies on Wednesdays and Fridays, in order to obtain protection against barbarian invaders.

[2] If we can at all rely on the traditional account in Gocelin, Vit. Aug. 49, professing to come from an old man whose grandfather Augustine had converted and baptized; 'Staturam proceram et arduam, adeo ut a scapulis populo superemineret.' In this he resembled St. Columba: see Adamnan, Vit. Col. i. 1.

[3] He was to procure some such, Greg. Ep. vi. 58.

[4] Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 11; Churton's Early Eng. Ch. p. 39.

[5] Stanley, p. 34. See the rendering in Freeman's Old-Engl. Hist. p. 47. Malmesbury remarks on the kindness and fairness of the speech; Gest. Reg. i. s. 10.

[6] Observe the plural, 'Nolumus molesti esse vobis.' The king unites his thanes with him in this announcement.

CHAP. II. that you have all that you need; and we shall not hinder you from bringing over any of our people to your own belief.' One thing this royal answer lacked,—a promise to hear their preaching again: but they had got as much as at first they could hope for in what Montalembert[1] calls the 'sincere and truly liberal' speech of a king evidently desirous to do justice, and to weigh his words in order fully to make them good. Such a typical Teuton prince might well represent that kind of preparedness for Christianity[2] which consisted in a sense of the spiritual world, of the gravity and solemnity of life, of rights as involving obligations, in a regard for truth and noble manliness, for liberty in combination with authority, for the purity which could dignify the home. It was natural for him to be fair and serious at a crisis of such magnitude. He could discern the presence of something great in these representatives of an unseen Kingdom: and so he might be trusted to give them another opportunity of stating their case[3]. Meantime, he promised them a house in the 'metropolis,' as Bede loftily calls it, of his empire, the old Roman town of Durovernum, which had become 'the Burgh of the men of Kent,' and from which, in the words of an old English rhythm, were now to come 'to *Angle-kin* Christianity and bliss, for God and for the world[4].'

Entrance into Canterbury.

Thither let us follow them, as they take the Roman road across the downs to the top of the present St. Martin's hill, and look forth, first on a little Roman-British chapel on the slopes below them, and then on the wood-built city further down, the Canterbury of Ethelbert. That little oratory was St. Martin's, where Bertha and Liudhard had for many years worshipped, and probably prayed for such a day as was now dawning. We, as we look back to its sunrise, may well enter into Dean Stanley's remark, that the view from

[1] In his 'Monks of the West.'

[2] Cp. Church's Gifts of Civilization, &c., p. 320 ff., and Merivale's Conversion of Northern Nations, p. 88 ff.

[3] Elmham ascribes it to Bertha's influence that her husband's mind was favourably disposed towards Augustine's preaching; Hist. Mon. S. Aug. p. 209. So Malmesbury as to Liudhard, Gest. Reg. i. s. 9.

[4] Chronicle, a. 1011.

the present church of St. Martin is in this sense 'one of the most inspiriting that can be found in all the world[1].' Let any one visit that venerable building, where the lines of Roman brick[2] seem to assert its continuity with Bertha's place of prayer, and then ascend to the brow of the hill, and recall that day in the Ascension week of 597 when Augustine first beheld the future seat of his archbishopric. He would take possession of Canterbury for Christ. The cross was again uplifted by the cross-bearer, and with it 'the likeness of the great King, our Lord[3]:' and the brethren accompanied their abbot in solemn order down the hill, chanting a pathetic antiphon belonging to the Rogation days, which they had perhaps heard in the previous spring on their arrival in Provence[4], and which long remained in the Rogation services of the Church of Lyons[5], uniting the urgent intercession of 'the man of desires' for the ruined sanctuary of Judah[6] with that characteristic watchword of Paschal joy to which Gregory had hoped that 'Angles' might yet listen. 'We beseech Thee, O Lord, in Thy great mercy, let Thine anger and wrath be turned away from this city, and from Thy holy house, for we have sinned. Alleluia!' With such a combination of humility[7] and thankfulness was inaugurated the foundation of the English Church properly so called.

If we follow the missionaries, in imagination, into Canterbury, and over the ground now called St. Alphage Lane,

[1] Stanley, p. 54.

[2] 'Small portions only of the Roman walls remain. Roman bricks are used as old material in the parts rebuilt' (Parker, Goth. Arch. p. 10).

[3] Bede, i. 25.

[4] The institution of Rogations, or processional supplications in time of distress, had been invested with new solemnity by Mamertus of Vienne before the Ascension-day of 468; see Greg. Turon. H. Fr. ii. 34. Thence the observance spread. Augustine would have heard how St. Caesarius had recommended it: and although it had not as yet been adopted at Rome, he made it an institution in the English Church (Council of Clovesho, a. 747). Bede himself died on the Rogation Wednesday of 735. In 597 Ascension Day was on May 23.

[5] Martene, de Ant. Eccl. Rit. iii. 529.

[6] Based on an old Latin version of Daniel ix. 16.

[7] The verse is also in a hymn composed by a teacher, himself a penitent, at Whithern; Bp. Forbes, Lives of Ninian and Kentigern, p. 292.

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Life of the Missionaries in Canterbury.

almost under the shadow of the vast metropolitan church, we are near the 'Stable-gate,' where, in close vicinity to a heathen temple, they were to make their temporary home[1]. There they dwelt, as Bede says[2], 'after the primitive Church model, giving themselves to frequent prayers, watchings, and fastings; preaching to all who were within their reach, disregarding all worldly things as matters with which they had nothing to do, accepting from those whom they taught just what seemed necessary for livelihood, living themselves altogether in accordance with what they taught, and with hearts prepared to suffer every adversity, or even to die, for that truth which they preached. What need to say more?' he proceeds significantly: 'some believed and were baptized[3], admiring the simplicity of their blameless life, and the sweetness of their heavenly teaching.' It is the first of several beautiful summaries, given by the single-minded and thoroughly pious historian[4], of the results produced by 'the argument of a pious life,' the evidence derived from self-devotion and consistency. Doubtless there were among their hearers not a few who were 'feeling after God': the serene brightness, the mysterious majesty, the unimaginable tenderness of the new faith had a fascinating power[5], which became

[1] Elmham, Hist. Mon. S. Aug. p. 91 :—

'Mansio signatur, quae Stabelgate notatur.'

Thorn (X Script. 1759) describes the place as 'in the parish of St. Alphege, over against the King's Street, on the north.'

[2] Bede, i. 26.

[3] 'You,' wrote Alcuin to the Kentish people, 'are the origin of the salvation of the English,' &c.; Ep. 59. (Op. i. 78.)

[4] See Bede, iii. 5, on Aidan: 'Quod non aliter quam vivebat cum suis, ipse docebat.' Ib. iii. 17: 'Industriam faciendi simul et docendi mandata caelestia.' Again, Fursey wrought on many souls 'et exemplo virtutis et incitamento sermonis,' iii. 19: Tuda 'et verbo cunctos docebat et opere,' iii. 26: so of Oftfor, among the Hwiccas, 'verbum fidei praedicans, simul et exemplum vivendi exhibens,' iv. 23: and so of Cuthbert in iv. 27, 28, 'verbo praedicationis simul et opere virtutis. . . . Et *quod maxime doctores juvare solet*, ea quae agenda docebat, ipse prius agendo praemonstrabat.' Cp. Ep. to Egbert, 2, 'et operatione et doctrina . . . Neutra enim haec virtus sine altera rite potest impleri,' &c. Compare Gregory's epitaph in Bede, ii. 1: 'Implebatque actu quicquid sermone docebat,' and his Pastoral Rule, ii. 3.

[5] The Teutonic races . . . found themselves under the spell of the

irresistible in connexion with such signal purity and whole-heartedness as the lives of its preachers displayed. They were daily to be seen moving to and fro between the Stable-gate and St. Martin's [1], where they 'sang the Psalms, prayed, celebrated mass [2], preached, baptized.' According to the usual story [3], which was a part of the Canterbury tradition, the Whitsun-eve which followed on their entrance into Canterbury, that is, the 1st of June, beheld the most signal of their successes in the baptism of Ethelbert [4]. Whenever it took place,—and it must have taken place during this summer, or at least in the next autumn,—it was an event standing by itself [5]; for no royal conversion that we read of [6] could in all its circumstances, and with regard both to moral reality or to grandeur of result, come up to that which led the Kentish monarch to profess the Christian faith with a triple 'I believe,' and descend as a proselyte into 'the salutary laver,' that, in the words actually used, 'he might be born again into the new infancy of true innocence,' and be 'strengthened by the clear

mightiest, the tenderest, and most wonderful of religions;' Church, Beginning of M. Ages, p. 257.

[1] Gocelin makes 'the blessed prelate Letard' attend at St. Martin's when the Roman teachers, superior to him as gold to silver, 'ibidem quæ Dei sunt agebant;' Vit. Maj. i. s. 20. In 1035 St. Martin's appears as the see of a bishop-suffragan for the diocese of Canterbury.

[2] 'Missas facere,' a phrase which, in the singular, appears first in St. Ambrose, Ep. xx. 4, 'Missam facere coepi; dum offero,' &c.; where the context suggests an extension of meaning from the actual dismissal of catechumens before the oblation to the service which followed it. In the 84th canon of the so-called 4th Council of Carthage, heathens are permitted to remain in church 'usque ad missam catechumenorum.' From the two 'dismissals,' first of the catechumens and afterwards of the faithful (see 'Ite missa est'), the former of which was the dividing line between the two parts of the liturgy, the whole derived a name convenient from its brevity, and interesting in an antiquarian sense, but possessing no other merit. (Missa = missio.)

[3] Elmham, Hist. Monast. S. Aug. p. 137: 'In die Pentecostes . . . Ethelbertus baptizatus est.' So Thorn. X Script. 1759. Yet from the verses in Elmham, p. 91, it might be inferred that the king's baptism was but a month before Augustine's consecration (which is likelier).

[4] The forms used might be those of the Gregorian Sacramentary, Muratori, Lit. Rom. ii. 62. See especially the Benedictio Fontis.

[5] 'Illuxit dies,' exclaims Gocelin, 'Anglis et Angelis solemnissimus;' s. 22.

[6] Contrast it, e.g. with that of Clovis.

CHAP. II. shining of the Holy Spirit[1].' His example told naturally upon his subjects: 'day after day more people came together[2] to hear the Word, and, forsaking heathen rites, to embrace the faith, and so attach themselves to the unity of Christ's holy Church. It is said that the king so far encouraged their conversion as on the one hand to compel no man to become a Christian[3], and on the other to show a closer affection to those who believed, as being heirs with him of the heavenly kingdom. For he had learned from his teachers that the service of Christ ought to be voluntary, not compulsory.' They had learned this lesson from their teacher: Gregory had written, some years before, 'He who is brought to the font by coercion, instead of persuasion, is but too likely to relapse[4].'

Death of Columba.

So ends the first scene of this great drama: nor can we fail to be interested in the coincidence, that on the Sunday morning next after that Pentecost, i. e. on June 9. 597[5], the noblest missionary career ever accomplished in Britain came to its end in the distant monastery of Icolm-

[1] Muratori, Lit. Rom. ii. 157, 65, 89.

[2] One would like to think that there is some truth in the story which Gocelin professes to have gained from tradition. A youth mingles in the throng in order to gratify a scornful curiosity. Augustine gazes fixedly at him, and says to his attendant, 'Bring that young man to me.' The youth, overawed, clasps the Saint's feet; all his pride and levity give place to faith: Augustine embraces, instructs, baptizes, solemnly blesses him. Vit. Maj. 49.

[3] See Freeman, Norm. Conq. i. 29. In this Ethelbert towers above various royal promoters of Christianity, such as Harold Blaatand of Denmark, and the two Olafs, and Eric IX of Sweden among the Finns. Even Stephen of Hungary, who began like him, was provoked by Pagan rebellion to banish or enslave those who clung to the old worship. The result, says Hardwick, Ch. Hist., M. Ages, p. 139, was 'a terrible revulsion at his death in favour of the Pagan creed.' Cp. Maclear, Conversion of Slavs, p. 58.

[4] Greg. Ep. i. 47. Cp. i. 10, 35, viii. 25, ix. 6, xiii. 12, against coercion of Jews, or interference with their worship. Yet Gregory was not thoroughly consistent: in Ep. iv. 26 he suggests that Sardinian church-tenants obstinate in Paganism should be heavily taxed. In Ep. ix. 65, that slaves refusing to be converted should be scourged, &c. In Ep. ii. 51, he tells schismatic bishops that being in error, they get no blessing through the 'persecution' of which they complain,—implying that it is simply a just infliction. See Dean Church, Miscell. Essays, p. 245.

[5] See Reeves's Adamnan, p. 310; Skene, Celt. Scotl. ii. 139; Stephen, Hist. Scott. Ch. i. 75.

kill[1]. While Augustine was building up the first Church of Englishmen, Columba was, in his own words, 'entering on the way of his fathers[2],' and leaving to his disciples the glory of an apostolic example, and the impulse which was destined to take up the work of the Augustinian mission itself in the northern English realms, and to succeed where that mission had seemed to fail, or at any rate where its energy had been arrested. One can hardly read the history of the Christianizing of our forefathers, with its unexpected disappointments and its unexpected triumphs,—its tale of lights kindled and then quenched, and again 'relumed' *quo minime reris*, of instruments changed with startling suddenness, and hopes realized in forms far out of calculation, —and not remember how St. Paul was at one time forbidden to preach in 'Asia[3],' and how baffling to sanguine hearts must have been his detention under Felix. These mysterious 'chains and sequences,' to use Origen's phrase[4], in the Divine action upon men or nations, ought assuredly to teach us two things—an awe of the plan that so far transcends its agents, and a patient assurance that it will fulfil itself in its time[5].

CHAP. II.

The next step, for Augustine, was to obtain episcopal consecration. For this, 'according to Gregory's directions,' he was to apply to that Gallic hierarchy which the Pope could not but regard as having been apathetic and inert with reference to the evangelization of the heathens of Britain[6]. To Gaul, and to the principal church in South

Consecration of Augustine.

[1] Bp. Reeves (p. 259) supposes Iona to be a corruption of Ioua, the adjectival form of Iou, Ia, Hy, 'Hii' (Bede) or Y, i.e. 'The island,' lengthened into I-colm-kill, the Island of 'Columba of the Church,' a name given him for his early piety (p. lxx).

[2] Adamnan, Vit. Col. iii. 23. Columba was born in Donegal, Dec. 7, 521; founded a monastery at Derry in 546, another at Durrow, cir. 553; came over to Hy in 563 (not, as Bede says, 565; Lanigan, ii. 158; Reeves, p. lxxv). He had studied under both the Finnians.

[3] Acts xvi. 6; cp. xix. 10.

[4] Orig. c. Cels. iv. 8.

[5]
'Lord! who Thy thousand years dost wait
To work the thousandth part
Of Thy vast plan, for us create
With zeal a patient heart.'
Newman's Verses, p. 156.

[6] Greg. Ep. vi. 58.

CHAP. II. Gaul, that of Arles,—which had made good its precedence among Gallic bishopries[1], and could boast of such prelates as the younger Hilary and as Caesarius,—Augustine repaired in the autumn. He was consecrated by the archbishop Virgilius[2], and by other Frankish prelates, on the 16th of November, to be himself 'Archbishop of the English.' Hastening home, he found, to his joy, a multitude of new proselytes: and on Christmas Day, as Gregory, in a letter glowing with thankfulness, informed his brother patriarch Eulogius of Alexandria[3], more than ten thousand Kentish men were baptized,—many of whom, no doubt, may be reckoned as rather conformists to their king's new religion than genuine believers in its truth[4]. Established as bishop in Canterbury, Augustine received from Ethelbert the gift of his own palace[5]: and the king, according to tradition, actually withdrew from his capital to Reculver[6]. Near the

[1] See Fleury, b. 23, c. 45, compared with Gregory's words, referred to below. Zosimus favoured Arles; other popes, as Leo, did not, until Symmachus made its bishop his vicar; Bened. Edd. note on Greg. Ep. v. 53, where Gregory, referring to ancient custom, grants a pall to the bishop of Arles. On the civil grandeur of Arles as the residence of the Gallic Prefect, see Life of St. German, p. 187. The Benedictine biographers of Gregory (Vit. Greg. iii. 3. 3), after observing that the city of Arles had been made the civil capital of Gaul, add, in words which have a far-reaching significance, 'Ab ea dignitate politica primatus ecclesiasticus initium duxisse videtur:' yet the bishops of the province in 450 had asserted the primacy of the see on the ground that it was founded by the apostolic Trophimus; Leo, Ep. 65. Duchesne says that although the see of Arles did not acquire an 'effective' Roman vicariate, and under the Franks had only a presidency in synods, yet its ecclesiastical importance detracted from that of Milan; Origines du Culte, p. 39.

[2] Bede mistakenly says, by Etherius, whom, further on, he treats as *predecessor* of Virgilius at Arles, i. 27, 28. Etherius was archbishop of Lyons, contemporary of Virgilius of Arles. Virgilius had been abbot of Autun; Greg. Tur. H. Fr. ix. 23. He died an old man, while reclining on his couch and saying his office; Mabillon, Ann. Bened. i. 312. Bede's mistake is ingeniously accounted for by Lingard, A.-S. Ch. i. 369: Nothelm, who copied Roman documents for Bede, copied one letter (out of a series of commendatory letters) to Etherius, of 596, another to Virgilius, of 601, and Bede supposed both to have been written to the bishop of Arles.

[3] Greg. Ep. viii. 30. Gocelin says they were baptized in the Swale: if so, it was the passage so called between Sheppey and the mainland.

[4] See Bede, ii. 5: 'vel favore vel timore regio,' &c.

[5] See Palgrave, Engl. Comm. p. 156; Stanley, p. 39.

[6] See Stanley, p. 45. The story has a suspicious look.

palace stood a desecrated church, built 'by the old handiwork of Roman Christians[1]:' Augustine, with the royal sanction, reclaimed it, and re-dedicated it, in imitation of the Lateran basilica at Rome, which he knew so well as Gregory's cathedral, 'in the name of the Holy Saviour, Jesus Christ our God and Lord[2].' This was the beginning of our original and metropolitan 'Christ Church,' the mother-church of English Christianity. In restoring the old fabric, Augustine enlarged it into stately proportions, and modelled its arrangements from the Vatican basilica of St. Peter. The nave had aisles[3], and towers on the north and south: eastward of the 'choir of the singers' there was, as in the present church, a lofty ascent, required by the construction of a crypt 'such as the Romans call a Confession.' The account extant speaks of two apses, at the eastern and western ends, each with its altar: in the western, against the wall, stood the episcopal throne, and some way to the east of it was an altar which is distinguished from 'the great altar' at the east end, but which, from its nearness to the 'cathedra,' is thought to have been the original altar, as was the case in St. Peter's[4]. Augustine had a general licence from Ethelbert to restore for Christian use any old British churches: and one such, which had long

[1] Bede, i. 33: 'antiquo Romanorum fidelium opere factam fuisse didicerat.' Cp. his reference to the Roman fountain at Carlisle, Vit. Cuthb. 27.

[2] Ælfric, on coming to the archbishopric in 995, was told by the oldest men whom he could consult that Augustine hallowed the minster in Christ's name and St. Mary's, on the mass-day of SS. Primus and Felicianus, i. e. June 9; Chronicle, a. 995. King Wihtred's 'Privilege to Churches' describes it as 'the Church of the Saviour'; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 240. For the service of dedication, see Muratori, Lit. Rom. i. 613.

[3] See the description cited and commented on in Willis's Hist. of Cant. Cath. p. 9 ff. On the ancient St. Peter's see also Lanciani, Pagan and Chr. Rome, p. 132 ff. Like the modern, it had its entrance at the *east* end; beyond, a square atrium, five inner doors, a pillared nave with four aisles, an arch with mosaics, a transept with a northern baptistery, an apse with the altar, and St. Peter's tomb beneath it, and a throne at the western extremity. It was half the size of its vast successor.

[4] Willis, p. 29. At this altar in the western apse the priest when celebrating in the 'basilican' manner, 'having his face turned towards the people,' would look eastward.

CHAP. II.

been Paganized, and which stood between the wall of Canterbury and St. Martin's, was hallowed by him in memory of the Roman boy-martyr St. Pancras, whose family had once owned the ground on the Coelian, where St. Andrew's monastery stood[1]. Those who visit St. Augustine's College may see, somewhat eastward of its precinct, an old brick arch, which has been supposed to be a relic of this building. While establishing the conventual life in connexion with 'Christ Church,' Augustine planned the erection of another monastery[2], chiefly in order to secure holy ground for his own grave[3], which must necessarily lie outside the city wall. The site chosen was that on which stands the present 'St. Augustine's.'

Messengers sent to Gregory.

But now the archbishop found reason to send to Gregory an account of his proceedings, with a statement of some points on which he desired instructions from Rome. We had better consider these matters in connexion with Gregory's replies to Augustine. The bearers of the letter were Laurence, a priest, and Peter, a monk[4]. They set forth, it would seem, in the spring of 598: but here comes one of the difficulties of the narrative. Bede says that the Pope replied 'without delay': but the replies are expressly dated June 22 in 601. If the date is correct, how are we to explain the delay? Partly, perhaps, by the necessity of finding recruits for the English mission, partly by the press of anxiety and business which, coupled with long and painful illness[5], weighed heavily even on such a spirit as

[1] On St. Pancras, see Alb. Butler, or Baring Gould, for May 12.

[2] Bede, i. 33: 'in qua et ipsius . . . et omnium episcoporum Doruvernensium, simul et regum Cantiae, poni corpora possent.'

[3] See Stanley, p. 41, and Hardwick's Preface to Elmham, p. iv. The planning or 'fundatio' of the monastery was in 598, the 'dotatio' in 605, says Elmham, p. 81, but on the authority of untrustworthy 'charters.' Elmham says that Augustine chose there 'locum sepulturae, removed from the noise of the world, ut sic exiret cum passo Domino extra portam;' p. 82.

[4] Bede, i. 27. 'Reversusque Britanniam, misit continuo Romam Laurentium. . . . Nec mora . . . responsa recepit.'

[5] See Greg. Ep. x. 35. 'For nearly two years I have had to keep my bed, suffering such pain from gout that I could hardly get up even for three hours, on festivals, to celebrate the rites of the mass. . . . I am compelled to exclaim, "Bring my soul out of prison!"' Cp. xi. 30, 44;

the great Pope's, and made his office a daily burden. If the 'swords of the Lombards[1]' were sheathed in a truce, there were urgent Church affairs in Gaul[2] to be dealt with, and Gregory was interested, now in a theological controversy which grew out of the Eutychian[3], now in the reunion of Istrian schismatics to the Church[4]. These are but specimens of his cares: 'more than a quarter of' all his letters are now assigned to the year 598-9[5], yet still it remains somewhat surprising that he did not find the men he wanted and answer the questions proposed until three years had passed.

Mission of Mellitus and three others.

The men selected were four[6]—Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus, and Rufinianus. Of these, the first three became eminent in our Church history; the third being the most eminent of all. Several letters were entrusted to them.

Letters of Gregory.

The longest was the reply to Augustine's various queries[7]. Of these, the first had referred to the division of the contributions of the faithful for Church purposes, and to the arrangement of Augustine's own life in relation to his clergy. Gregory answers: The best scheme of distribution is that which the Roman see is wont to recommend, a fourfold[8]

Reply to Augustine's questions.

xiii. 22. Hodgkin quaintly remarks that he was 'tortured by dyspepsia, gout, and Lombards,' v. 391.

[1] Ep. vii. 26. In ix. 43 he thanks the Lombard Queen for promoting this truce. In his last year her son was baptized with Catholic rites. Hodgkin, v. 430.

[2] Ep. ix. 106–116.

[3] Ep. x. 39, on the Agnoetae : cf. Gore, Dissertations, p. 155.

[4] Ep. ix. 93.

[5] Hodgkin, v. 424 ; cp. ib. 339.

[6] Thorn says that Nathanael, afterwards abbot of SS. Peter and Paul, came with them ; X Script. 1769.

[7] Ep. xi. 64 ; Bede, i. 27. St. Boniface (Ep. 40) asked Archbishop Nothelm, in 736, to send him a copy of this letter, because the registrars of the Roman Church said that it was not to be found in their 'scrinium.' But it does not therefore follow that this was not one of the documents copied by Nothelm for Bede at Rome ; or 'the original or a copy may have been preserved at Canterbury.' Plummer's Bede, ii. 45.

[8] Cp. Greg. Ep. v. 44. So Gelasius I had ordered ; Ep. 9. 27, in Mansi, viii. 45. A Council of Braga, in 563, had made a triple division, not mentioning the poor, Mansi, ix. 778 ; yet the next Council of Braga forbade the bishop to receive the third part of the offerings, ib. ix. 839. But this prohibition is cancelled in 4th Toledo, c. 33. See on the old division, Bingham, b. v. c. 6. s. 3. That the fourfold division was not imposed by Gregory on the new English Church, see Lord Selborne's Anc. Facts and Fictions concerning Churches and Tithes, p. 104.

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partition between the bishop, the clergy, the poor, and the needful repair of churches. But this will not apply to the present case: Augustine, as a monk, will continue to live in community with his clergy [1], and thus far perpetuate the life of those early Christians, of whom none said that what he possessed was his own [2]. Clerks in minor orders [3] might marry and live outside the bishop's household, receiving their due stipends; but care must be taken that their lives be spent under ecclesiastical rule, consecrated by devotional offices, and kept pure from all things unlawful. The second question grew out of Augustine's observation of peculiarities in the Gallic ritual. 'Why, seeing that the faith is one, are there different customs in different Churches, and one custom of masses in the holy Roman Church, another in that of Gaul?' In Gaul he had evidently noticed the number of collects in the Mass, the frequent variations of the Preface, the invocation of the Holy Spirit on the elements, the solemn episcopal blessing pronounced after the breaking of the Bread, and before 'the Peace' and the Communion [4]. Gregory, who was deeply interested in liturgical questions, and had revised

Liturgical differences.

[1] Compare Bede, iv. 27; S. Aug. Serm. 353.

[2] Comp. Sozomen, vi. 31, on the clergy of the church of Rhinocurura.

[3] He calls them 'extra sacros ordines,' meaning the ostiary, lector, exorcist, acolyth, those below the subdiaconate (cf. Muratori, Lit. Rom. ii. 408); for this order, although confessedly not of apostolic institution, had come to be regarded as sacred in a sense in which those of readers or acolyths were not. In imposing celibacy on subdeacons, Ep. i. 44, Gregory was following Leo the Great; see his Ep. 14. 4. The 10th canon of Ancyra had allowed deacons to marry, if at their ordination they had stipulated for it; but not otherwise. See Routh, Rell. Sac. iv. 189, that there are no cases in antiquity of bishops, presbyters, or deacons who married *after their ordination*, 'nisi diaconi de hac re prius cavissent.' But at the time of the Council of Chalcedon (can. 14) the limited permission as to deacons was obsolete, and subdeacons also were bound to celibacy. The 27th 'Apostolic' canon must be later than that of Ancyra.

[4] See Muratori, Lit. Rom. Vet. ii. 517 ff.; Neale and Forbes, Gallican Liturgies, p. 32 ff. On the 'Gallican' missals, and on the characteristics of the 'Gallican' rite, see Duchesne, Origines du Culte, pp. 143 ff., 180 ff. On the episcopal benedictions in question see Maskell's 'Ancient Liturgy,' p. 160; Warren's Lit. and Ritual of Celtic Ch. p. 101. They are referred to by Caesarius, Serm. 281, in app. to Aug. Serm. See a long series of them in Egbert's Pontifical, ed. Surtees Soc. p. 58 ff. That they were not originally in the Gregorian Sacramentary, see Muratori, Lit. Rom. i. 80.

and re-edited the 'Sacramentary' of his predecessor Gelasius[1], and brought the Eucharistic ceremonial to what he considered an elaborate perfection, was at the same time far from being a pedant or a bigot on such points: he advised, on the contrary, a wise eclecticism. Let Augustine 'collect into a sort of bundle' the best usages of Rome, of Gaul, or of other Churches, whatever he had 'found to be most pious, religious, righteous, and most likely to be pleasing to God,' and so form a ritual for the English Christians, who were as yet young in faith, and could become accustomed to whatever was given them. There was no need to stick blindly to the Roman observances as such. 'For we ought not to love things for the sake of persons, but persons for the sake of things[2].' Again, Augustine had asked how theft from a church was to be punished. Distinguish the motives, says Gregory: make allowance for the temptations of poverty; let there be a scale of penalties fairly adjusted; let charity be the motive and the regulating principle of your discipline[3]; while you punish, still regard the offender as a son. What is thus stolen must be replaced; but (observe his indomitable fair-mindedness[4]) never let a church receive more compensation than the amount of the robbery. CHAP. II.

The fourth and fifth questions related to marriage. Might two men marry two sisters not near akin to them? It was

[1] John the Deacon, ii. 17. See Palmer, Orig. Lit. i. 113; Muratori, i. 63. Gregory inserted the sentence, 'Diesque nostros in tua pace disponas,' &c. (Bede, ii. 1), and placed the Lord's Prayer immediately after the canon. The present text of the 'Gregorian Sacramentary' contains some post-Gregorian matter, and Duchesne assigns it to the pontificate of Hadrian I (acc. 772; Origines, pp. 114–119).

[2] See Ep. i. 43: 'Where the faith is one, differences of custom do no harm to Holy Church.' In ix. 12 he disclaims the imputation of copying Constantinople in ritual, but says he is willing to imitate that 'or any other church, though inferior to his own, in what is good.' This is overlooked by Duchesne, who positively pronounces (Origines, &c., p. 94) that no pope, no one imbued with 'l'esprit romain,' could have given the advice which is ascribed to Gregory in this 'answer,' and suggests that all the queries and answers were invented by Theodore. One may reasonably think better both of the great pope and the great archbishop.

[3] He mentions fines and beatings as penalties. An old Irish canon wrongly ascribed to St. Patrick mentioned, as one among three penalties, the amputation of hand or foot; Mansi, vi. 519.

[4] Cp. Church, Miscell. Essays, p. 229, quoting Ep. i. 36, 44.

CHAP. II. strange that such a question should have been put. Gregory despatched it by a brief affirmative. But it was stranger yet that Augustine should have asked whether a man might marry his stepmother or his sister-in-law: Gregory's negative answer alluded to Herod and the Baptist. Converts must know that for a Christian to contract such unions is a deadly sin: those who had contracted them while heathens[1] are to treat them as null, and may then be admitted to the Eucharist. As to the matrimonial degrees, the Roman secular law allowed the marriage of first cousins; but on natural and on religious grounds, Gregory declared against it[2]. Persons nearer akin than the third degree (i. e. that beyond first cousins) ought not to marry[3].

The sixth and seventh questions recurred to the subject of Church order. Might one bishop consecrate a bishop-elect if other prelates were not near enough to 'come together easily?' Gregory's answer shows that he thought such consecrations spiritually valid[4]. 'In the English Church,

[1] As Eadbald did afterwards; see p. 115. It was regarded by heathen Teutons as more than permissible: see Kemble, ii. 407; Haddan's Remains, p. 311. It had been forbidden, together with the marriage of a widower with his wife's sister, &c., by the third Council of Paris in 557; Mansi, ix. 745. See also Council of Auxerre, ib. ix. 914; Council of Epaon, c. 30, ib. viii. 563.

[2] It was disapproved, says St. Augustine, by Christian public opinion (although not forbidden by God's law), and before it was forbidden by man's; Civ. Dei, xv. 16. When he wrote it was ordinarily unlawful in the West, but lawful in the East. The Western Church mind was against it, but Justinian confirmed its legality. Cf. Bingham, xvi. 11. 4.

[3] In the last year of Gregory's life, a bishop asked him to explain the rumour that he had thus sanctioned, for the English converts, marriages within the fourth degree. Were not marriages up to the seventh degree unlawful? Gregory answered in effect, It is well known in Rome that my permission referred only to the early days of the English mission: when its converts are ripened in faith, I intend that they shall not be allowed to marry within the sixth degree; Ep. xiv. 17.

[4] If we compare (1) the varying language of the canons ordering a plurality of consecrators, e. g. Apostolic can. 1, two or three; 1st Arles, 20, seven, or at least three, besides the metropolitan; Nicene 4, all comprovincials, if possible,—if not, three at least, having the written consent of the others; 2nd Arles, 5, the metropolitan or three comprovincials; with (2) the cases in which a consecration by two bishops, or even by one only, was held valid, though irregular,—e. g. the case of Siderius of Palaebisca,

while you are its only bishop, you cannot consecrate save in the absence of other bishops. For you cannot expect Gallic bishops to come over as witnesses on such occasions[1].' (It is observable that Gregory here ignores the British Celtic bishops, to whom the next question in part refers.) But it would be well, in planting new sees, to take care that they were not too far apart[2], so that Augustine might easily have the benefit of his brethren's attendance at consecrations in the future. He alludes to the ordinary social custom whereby married persons were invited to a wedding, to sympathize with the parties concerned: similarly, he says, at a consecration, such persons should meet as might rejoice in the elevation of the new bishop, or pray to God for his preservation. Again, Augustine had asked, 'How ought I to deal with the bishops of Gaul and Britain?' The question as to the former may seem to show some

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recognized as a bishop by St. Athanasius, and of Evagrius, recognized by Rome and Alexandria—see Bingham, b. ii. c. 11. s. 5—we must infer that though the rule in question was very ancient, and even Novatian, in the third century, took care to observe it (Eus. vi. 43), yet it was intended to guard against disorderly and clandestine consecrations, and its observance was not deemed a 'sine qua non' for the conferring of the episcopal character. Gregory's illustration from a wedding-party is significant on this point. Cp. Bp. Forbes, SS. Ninian and Kentigern, p. 336. In the Scotic Churches consecration by one bishop was not unfrequent: see Lanigan, ii. 128. Palmer, who denies the validity of such consecrations save in absolute necessity, cites Habertus that in 'ancient MSS.' the reading is, 'Nisi cum episcopis.' instead of 'nisi sine episcopis'; On the Church, ii. 321. But this would make no sense.

[1] So in Bede's text the sense is, 'For when do bishops come from Gaul to be present at a bishop's consecration?' ('qui . . . adsistant?'). In the Benedictine text it is, 'For when bishops come from Gaul, illi . . . adsistent.'

[2] The next sentence in Bede's text (the Benedictine is clearly made up) is corrupt somehow. 'Quatenus nulla sit necessitas, ut in ordinatione episcopi pastores quoque alii, quorum praesentia valde est utilis, facile debeant convenire.' The 'necessity' cannot be that of summoning bishops from Gaul to assist at a consecration in Britain, for this had been ruled out of the question, and 'quorum,' &c., can hardly mean 'though their presence would be useful.' Mr. Plummer boldly suggests the omission of 'nulla sit necessitas ut,' so as to make it mean, 'in order that other pastors may easily come together.' It would be simpler to take 'quatenus . . . necessitas' parenthetically, in the sense of 'where there is no necessity for planting sees far apart.' But in either case we should have expected 'valeant' rather than 'debeant.'

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[1] Ep. xi. 68; Bede, i. 28. It is dated on the same day as the rest. It directs Virgilius to avail himself of the help of 'our common brother Augustine,' if he should visit Arles, for the correction of 'offences of priests or others.' For, says Gregory significantly, 'it often happens that those who are at a distance are the first to understand what has to be set right by others.'

[2] Such as simony, promotion of laymen to the episcopate, disuse of synodical action, &c. Virgilius is blamed for negligence, Ep. ix. 114.

[3] Tertull. de Pallio, 5. It was a loose garment, which might be so worn as to leave the breast or arm bare, or to conceal the whole person (hence 'palliate'). See the catacomb painting found in the cemetery of St. Callistus, in which a man clad in the pallium, but with shoulder and breast bare, extends his hands towards bread and fish on a tripod; Northcote and Brownlow, Roma Sotterranea, p. 267, plate 14.

[4] Also called τρίβων, Soc. iii. 1. It was worn by Justin (Euseb. iv. 11) and Heraclas (Euseb. vi. 19). Nepotian, a presbyter, wore it until his last moments; Jerome, Ep. 60. 13. Salvian describes a monk's usual appearance by 'palliatum'; Gub. Dei, viii. 4. The first Council of Orleans uses 'pallium accepisse' as equivalent to monastic profession, c. 21; Mansi, viii. 355. Cp. Dict. Chr. Antiq. ii. 1547.

[5] See the story of Theophilus of Alexandria passionately throwing his omophorion round Ammonius' neck, as if to throttle him; Palladius, Vit. Chrys. p. 54. Symeon of Thessalonica describes the omophorion as en-

(the original shape, that of a cloak, is thought to have survived in the West in the fifth century [1]). But a rich form of this garment became part of the Imperial attire, and was granted by emperors, as a mark of honour, to patriarchs [2]: then the popes began, originally in the emperor's name [3] or by his desire, to 'allow the use of the pall' to certain bishops,—to those who represented the 'Apostolic see,' or to some metropolitans, or to other prelates of influence and distinction [4]. In Gregory's time it was thus variously granted: his language shows that it was rich, and heavy with ornament [5]: the wearer was to guard against self-complacency [6]; it was not to be worn except at mass [7]. Although in several cases it was an accompaniment of metropolitan dignity, it did not become a necessary badge of that dignity until a later stage in the development of Papalism [8]. Now to return to the letter; Gregory says

circling the shoulders before and behind; De Templo et Missa, ap. Goar, Euchol. p. 220. Compare also Liberatus' account of the 'pall of St. Mark,' Breviar. 20. All Eastern 'orthodox' bishops now wear an omophorion of silk; they lay it aside at the gospel, and resume it before communion; see Goar, 147, 305. Cp. Neale, Introd. East. Ch. i. 312. Armenian bishops assume it before the offertory, and take it off shortly before the anaphora; Brightman, Liturgies East. and West. i. 417, 430, 592. Its ends hang down before and behind.

[1] Life of St. German, p. 244. The word is also used for a woman's cloak, Greg. Tur. H. Fr. iii. 29, and for a silk cloak for men, Bede, Hist. Abb. 8, and in Adamn. Vit. Col. iii. 1 as an equivalent 'for peplum' and 'sagum.'

[2] Collier, i. 160; Robertson, Hist. Ch. iv. 133, and Growth of Papal Power, p. 121. Valentinian III gave a pallium of white wool to the bishop of Ravenna; Hodgkin, Italy and her Invaders, i. 485.

[3] See Greg. Ep. i. 28, ix. 11. Pope Vigilius would not grant the pall to the archbishop of Arles until he gained the emperor's consent. See Duchesne, p. 371.

[4] Note of Bened. Edit. on Ep. ix. 11. Gregory sends it to the bishop of Corinth; Ep. v. 57. See forms in Liber Diurnus Pontif. no. 45 ff.

[5] Ep. iii. 56; v. 53; vi. 9. His own pall was *mediocre*; John Diac. iv. 84.

[6] Ep. iv. 1; v. 11; ix. 125.

[7] Ep. iii. 56; v. 56. Gregory objected to its being worn in penitential processions. Alcuin exhorts the archbishop of York not to wear his pall save when attended by deacons; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 503.

[8] See Robertson, Hist. Ch. iv. 133. Duchesne says that, before being sent, it was kept for a night 'in the sanctuary of the confession,' close to the tomb of St. Peter: from this it was a short step to the idea of a kind of transmission of power, so that the pall 'devenait ainsi le signe naturel d'une juridiction supérieure,' but it was not until the alliance between the

CHAP. II. of the British bishops, in contrast to the Gallic, that they are all committed to the care and authority of Augustine. Herein he was asserting a claim which those bishops, as we shall see ere long, would not admit. They recognized the honorary primacy of Rome, but did not deem themselves under subjection to its supremacy[1]. Gregory relied on the 'apostolic' prerogatives of the 'see of Peter' throughout the West, not to speak of Eastern Christendom. Had he been reminded that the eighth canon of the Council of Ephesus had forbidden any bishop to assume power over any province that had not originally been under his jurisdiction[2], and that Britain was properly outside the Roman patriarchate[3], he would doubtless have fallen back on the inherent supremacy of his see. Vehement as were his protests against the adoption by another patriarch, or the

pope and the Carolingian house that metropolitans were obliged to accept it, &c. Origines du Culte, p. 372.

[1] Lingard contests this, and says that Gregory had evidently no expectation that the British bishops would assert independence; A.-S. Ch. i. 380. But Gregory, after the manner of Popes, would take for granted that a claim made in the name of St. Peter would succeed. Lingard puts a manifest force on some words of Gildas' 'Increpatio' to clergy; and argues, as to earlier times, as if the burden of proof did not lie with those who hold that the British Church was from the first subject to Rome. He assumes also that the influence of the Roman see over Gaul would imply a parallel influence over Britain; p. 375. In the synodal letter of the Council of Arles, 'majores dioeceses' probably means the provinces nearest to Rome.

[2] 'That none of the bishops shall take possession of a province that was not from the first and originally under his hand or that of his predecessors; and that if any one has taken possession of such, or has subjected it to himself by force, he shall restore it, in order that the rules of the fathers may not be transgressed, and the arrogance of (secular) authority may not come in unawares under the pretence of priestly action, and we may not by degrees and unconsciously lose the liberty which our Lord Jesus Christ, the liberator of all men, gave us by His own blood. Therefore it is the pleasure of the holy oecumenical synod that to each province be preserved pure and inviolate the rights belonging to it from the beginning,' &c. Mansi, iii. 1469.

[3] The Roman patriarchate, properly speaking, included the ten provinces which were civilly under the Vicarius Urbis, i. e. Italy south of the 'Italic dioecese,' with the three adjacent islands; the churches of this region being called 'suburbicary.' Thus Africa, Spain, Gaul, and Britain were not originally within the Roman 'patriarchate.' See Bingham, b. ix. c. 1. s. 9 ff.; Palmer on the Church, ii. 416; and the writer's 'Notes on Canons of First Four Councils,' p. 122.

application to himself, of the title of 'Universal Bishop[1],' he always acted on that theory respecting his own office which had been gradually developing itself from the early part of the fifth century, and was to develop itself yet more in aftertimes, Pope after Pope 'never retracting, but adopting and uniformly improving upon the pretensions of their predecessors[2].' This system Gregory inherited, believed in it firmly, acted on it persistently[3]: his virtues, in fact, recommended and fortified what was in itself, and as judged by the light of genuine Catholic tradition, nothing better than a gradual corruption, by excess, of the ecclesiastical polity of the first ages. It would be most unjust to compare him to a Gregory VII or Innocent III, to Martin V or to Pius IX; yet the line which he took was preparing the way for such successors, and formed an element in the process by which an indefinite precedency and a limited patriarchate were, in effect, to be superseded by a claim to dominion at once oecumenic in its scope and autocratic in its character. The result to the English Church was, that it became more and more dependent on Rome. While Gregory was perfectly in his rights in occupying the ground which British bishops had abandoned; while gratitude for the sending of Augustine, and again afterwards for the appointment of Theodore,—the results of which tended to obscure the amount of non-Roman mission-work done among the English,—naturally led the English Church, when organized, to lean to Rome as colonists look to a mother-country, without raising questions as to what the Roman Church might

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[1] Greg. Ep. v. 18, 19, 20, 43; vii. 31, 33; viii. 30; ix. 68. He calls the title new, foolish, frivolous, proud, perverse, wicked, blasphemous, antichristian. His indignation is sharpened by jealousy of the see of Constantinople, a jealousy not unmixed with apprehension as to the advantages enjoyed by the emperor's own patriarch (cf. Hodgkin, iii. 150); and he strains the title beyond what its use in the East implied, e. g. 'Si unus, ut putat, universalis est, restat ut vos episcopi non sitis;' ix. 68.

[2] Hussey's Rise of the Papal Power, p. 149. See Church's Misc. Essays, p. 255, against 'the popular controversial use of Gregory's condemnation of the title.'

[3] See e. g. the celebrated letter to Desiderius of Vienne about his lecturing on 'grammar,' Ep. xi. 54. In ix. 59 he says broadly that he knows not what bishop, in case of misconduct, is *not* subject to the apostolic see. See Church, Misc. Essays, p. 256.

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in strictness claim on account of these great services[1],—a yet stronger tie to Rome was formed by that current and growingly dominant exaggeration of a primacy into supremacy, under the influence of which it seemed a religious duty to regard the chair of St. Peter as the one centre of unity, and, more than that, as the permanent seat of decisive authority, for the universal Church of Christ.

We may say of Augustine's questions, taken altogether, and including some which referred to matters of ceremonial purity, that they illustrate his monastic inexperience of pastoral administration, and also, perhaps, indicate a certain want of elevation of character. They are hardly, at any rate, the questions which a great mind would have found it necessary to refer to a distant superior; in fact, some of them give the notion of a mind cramped by long seclusion, and somewhat helpless when set to act in a wide sphere. Other questions may occur to us, as naturally arising in presence of spiritual interests and requirements so vast and so absorbing: but Augustine does not propound them. One feels a sort of chill, a sensation akin to disappointment, and even to repulsion, in reading of his 'difficulties[2].'

Stories of miracles.

A letter of which Bede[3] gives a fragment, and which was probably written earlier, though sent at the time[4], was intended, in great part, as a warning against spiritual elation. It brings us in front of a question which mediaeval narratives perforce suggest. Gregory had heard from Augustine's messengers that miracles had been wrought by his means among the English. Now, of the mediaeval

[1] See Bp. Wordsworth, Theoph. Anglic. p. 140.

[2] In the Benedictine text of Gregory, the questions are broken up into eleven; and there is also a request for relics of St. Sixtus, which is probably an after-addition.

[3] Bede, i. 31. The entire letter is in Ep. xi. 28. It begins, 'Gloria in excelsis . . . . quia granum frumenti mortuum est cadens in terram, ne *solum* regnaret in coelo. . . . Who can describe the joy that has arisen in the hearts of all the faithful here, quod gens Anglorum . . . sanctae fidei luce perfusa est?'

[4] Both this letter and the 'Replies' were probably written, though not sent, before 601; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 32. The order in which the letters (in Bede) should be read is as follows: 1. 'Scio, frater,' &c., i. 31; 2. 'Quantus sit,' i. 28; 3. the 'Replies'; 4. 'Cum certum sit,' i. 29; 5. 'Propter hoc,' &c., i. 32; 6. 'Post discessum,' &c., i. 30.

stories of miracles the great bulk may be summarily dismissed,—not merely, nor indeed mainly, because of the contrast which so many of them present, by their grotesqueness, or puerility, or matter-of-course profusion, to the 'signs' recorded in Scripture[1], but because the interval between the alleged occurrence and the account of it is usually long enough to allow of a rank upgrowth of legend, encouraged by the fixed preconception of the age, that miracles must always attend upon, and attest, high sanctity. Such an interval, for instance, is found in the case of the marvels connected with St. Alban. But in other cases we have something like contemporary evidence; yet, even here, deductions must be made for that craving after wonders[2] which would not think of sifting testimony[3], if not also for that strange mixture of belief and untruthfulness which tempted men—especially if any selfish end could be served—to promote a cause by inventing fresh samples of that supernatural vindication, which they never doubted it to have received in times and circumstances parallel to their own. To these considerations must be added the obvious intrinsic difference between the miraculous elements in the

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[1] Take, for instance, the legends of St. Teilo and St. Oudoceus, as given in the Liber Landavensis; and see Trench on Miracles, p. 47.

[2] See the judicious remarks of Lingard, A.-S. Ch. ii. 101 ff. Sometimes an ordinary, or at least a clearly natural occurrence, is not embellished by miraculous adjuncts, but simply assumed to be supernatural: as when Cuthbert, suffering from a swollen knee, and lying in the open air, is advised by a horseman in white to apply a poultice of wheaten flour boiled in milk, which proves efficacious, whereupon 'agnovit angelum fuisse.' Bede, Vit. Cuthb. 2. See too the stories about animals, as the two otters in Vit. Cuthb. 10. Comp. Chr. Remembr. Jan. 1852, p. 83: 'Bede regarded as miraculous, and called a miracle, what we neither regard nor call so.' Comp. Hardwick, Ch. Hist., M. Ages, p. 113. See Barmby, Gregory the Great, p. 117: 'Most of the incidents on record, supposed to be miraculous, may now be accounted for by the' then 'prevalent state of feeling and expectancy,' &c. Gregory himself, as his 'Dialogues' show, 'was predisposed to interpret every marvellous incident as a special harbinger of the Second Advent;' Owen on Dogm. Theol. p. 312.

[3] It must, however, be remembered that Bede is often careful to mention his informant and attest his credibility; see Vit. Cuthb. 5, 36; H. E. iii. 13, 19; iv. 25, 31, 32; v. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 13. Lingard says, 'Bede relates several wonderful events, but not one on *his own* knowledge;' A.-S. Ch. ii. 103.

CHAP. II. New Testament narrative, professedly connected, as they are, with the inauguration of a revelation, and the luxuriant and often fantastic thaumaturgy which confronts us in mediaeval books. At the same time, no serious believer in Christianity will fail to disentangle the question of mediaeval miracles from the so-called scientific presupposition, which would put the 'signs' or 'mighty works' of the Gospel itself out of court as *ipso facto* impossible. It is a question of evidence; a very acute writer on Christian evidences has said that 'we reject the mass of later miracles because they want evidence, not because our argument obliges us to reject all later miracles, whether they have evidence or not[1]:' and a great Christian historian has not hesitated to avow his belief that 'with regard to some miracles, there is no strong *a priori* improbability in their occurrence, but rather the contrary: as, for instance, where the first missionaries of the Gospel in a barbarous country are said to have been assisted by a manifestation of the Spirit of power; and *if* the evidence appears to warrant' our 'belief,' we may 'readily and gladly yield it, . . . most thankful to find sufficient grounds for believing that not only at the beginning of the Gospel, but in ages long afterwards, believing prayer has received extraordinary answers[2].' Augustine was not the man, we may well think, to impose on Gregory by an account which was a fraud. Some things evidently *did* happen, in relation to his converts, which he took to be miraculous: what they were, we know not: but if, at such a time, and amid such a work, he received some signal answers to prayer, that can be no difficulty to believers in the Gospel[3]. Gregory's warning, at once tender and thoughtful, has the true Gospel mark upon it. He reminds his 'dearest brother' that Christ bade the Seventy rejoice, not in their power over the spirits, but

[1] Mozley, Bamp. Lect. p. 229.

[2] Arnold's Lectures on Mod. Hist. p. 133. He adds, 'If we think that, supposing the miracle to be true, it gives the seal of God's approbation to *all* the belief of him who performed it, this is manifestly a most hasty and untenable inference.' Cp. Bishop Browne's Lessons from Early English Ch. Hist. pp. 19–21.

[3] See Christlieb, Mod. Doubt and Christian Belief, E. Tr. p. 332.

rather that their names were written in heaven; that the grace which is open to all is better than the gifts entrusted to a few, and ought to be the subject of a deeper joy than could be caused by any individual endowment[1]; that such gifts carried with them a special temptation to spiritual self-confidence, and that their possessor should make them an occasion for self-scrutiny and deepened penitence, and regard them as, in effect, bestowed not on himself, but on those for whose benefit they had been given. 'I have a sure hope,' he proceeds, in a part of the letter which Bede omits, 'that your sins are already forgiven, and that you are a chosen instrument for bringing others to the same mercy[2].'

Scheme for Bishoprics.

A third letter, sent with the others[3], informed Augustine that he would receive with it a pall, to be used only in the celebration of mass. This was, for him, a token of archiepiscopal jurisdiction; but in the exercise of that jurisdiction, Gregory seems to have thought of him as seated permanently in London[4]. For he contemplates, with a sanguine hopefulness as to the probable extent of the missionary successes, the formation of twelve dioceses to be subject to Augustine as metropolitan, 'so that the bishop of London'—meaning evidently the successor of Augustine—'might in future be always consecrated by his own synod' of suffragans, over whom he was to preside as archbishop. Further, Augustine was to consecrate a bishop for York,—here Gregory's thoughts went back to 'Deira,'—and if that city and the parts near it should receive the word of God, that bishop should also consecrate twelve suffragans[5], and act as their metropolitan; for Gregory

Plan for organization of English Church.

[1] Comp. Greg. Dial. i. 2, 'Ego virtutem patientiae signis et miraculis majorem credo;' ib. i. 12, 'Vitae vera aestimatio in virtute est operum, non in ostensione signorum;' and ib. iii. 17, that spiritual miracles transcend physical.

[2] 'If,' he concludes, 'there is joy in heaven over one penitent, what must there be over a penitent nation! . . . Let us then say, let us all say, Gloria in excelsis!'

[3] Bede, i. 29; Greg. Ep. xi. 65.

[4] Thus it was not Gregory, but the ecclesiastical and civil authorities of England, who established the southern archbishopric at Canterbury.

[5] See Bede, Ep. to Egb. 5. 'The parts near York' would, in Gregory's

CHAP. II. intended, if he lived (he did not then think he should live much longer[1]), to send him also a pall. Augustine, for his life, was in this case to be supreme over the northern metropolitan; 'we will that he should be subject to your control:' but after Augustine's death the metropolitans of London and York were to be independent of each other, acting in concert[2], and taking precedence according to seniority. Gregory reiterated his intention to place *all* the bishops in Britain under Augustine's personal supervision; 'that from the tongue and life of your Holiness they may receive the rule of believing rightly and living well.' The scheme drawn out, symmetrical and theoretically satisfactory as it was, remained a paper-scheme only: the fair vision of twelve bishops under Augustine, and twelve more under a bishop sent by him to York, was not realized. Canterbury, of which Gregory took no account, remained the seat of the archbishopric, for the sufficient reason that London, as we shall see presently, could not for long years be regarded as, in any real sense, Christian. Augustine himself did not succeed in settling more than *two* bishoprics; and it was in the time of his third successor that York became an English see.

Gregory's gifts. Beside the pall, Gregory sent a supply of sacred 'vessels[3],' altar-cloths[4], and church-furniture, with vestments[5] for priests and clerics, relics of the Apostles and martyrs[6], and also a great number of manuscripts. The monastic

mind, include a large part of Scotland. See Freeman, Norm. Conq. iv. 349.

[1] See Ep. xi. 33, 'Me proximum morti video.'

[2] 'Communi consilio et concordi actione quaeque sunt pro Christi zelo agenda,' &c. Documents were forged to set this aside.

[3] See Greg. Ep. i. 68, 'in argento calices duos.'

[4] See Ep. i. 68, where 'pallia' is thus used, and Dial. i. 10 for the 'sindon' on the altar. Gregory of Tours speaks of the altar and the oblations being covered 'pallio serico'; H. Fr. vii. 22. Cp. the 'pallium' and 'corporale' in the Ordo Romanus, Duchesne, p. 443.

[5] See Ep. vii. 40, 'duo oraria:' Dial. i. 9, 'episcopus . . . elevatis manibus extenso vestimento:' ib. iv. 40 on a deacon's dalmatic. See Elmham, p. 99, on six ancient copes at St. Augustine's.

[6] See Ep. iii. 19; iv. 30; vi. 49, 50; ix. 15. The monks of St. Augustine's believed that this gift of relics included a part of 'Aaron's rod'; Elmham, p. 102. Cp. forms in Liber Diurnus, no. 16 ff.

chronicler[1] recites a long list of these 'first-fruits of the books of the whole Church of England,' including a 'Gregorian Bible' in two volumes, two copies of the Gospels[2], two Psalters, a book on the Apostles' lives and deaths, a Passionary or Martyrology, an exposition of the Epistles and Gospels for several Sundays, all adorned with silver or jewels, and carefully preserved in St. Augustine's abbey. But we cannot be sure that all these treasured volumes, four of which were kept above the high altar itself, were veritable 'libri Gregoriani.'

To the same date belong two letters which Gregory addressed to Ethelbert and Bertha. He exhorts the former[3], as 'set over the English race,' with 'kings and peoples subject to him,' to follow the example of the first Christian Emperor, and to second with royal authority Augustine's missionary 'efforts': and he particularly advises him to put down idolatry, and to destroy its temples[4]. In the letter to Bertha[5], some gentle rebuke for her apparent tardiness[6] in the good work is blended with the assurance that what she had at last done has made the Romans pray for her long life, and excited interest even in Constantinople. Let her take Helena, the mother of Constantine, for a model, and make up for past neglect by greater zeal in support of the mission. Commendatory letters were also addressed

[1] Elmham, Hist. Monast. S. Aug. pp. 96–99 (see Introd. p. xxv).

[2] Two MSS. still extant have been supposed to be these 'Textus Evangeliorum.' One is in the Bodleian; the beginning and end are lost. It lies open at Mark xv. 28, ET ADIMPLETA EST SCRIBTURA QUAE DICIT . . . But, on the authority of the late Bodleian Librarian, H. O. Coxe, it may be confidently dated some fifty years later, i. e. 'circ. 650–700.' Another, in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is thought by Hardwick to be probably a 'veritable relic of St. Gregory's benefaction;' Pref. to Elmham, p. xxvi. Mr. M. Rule, the learned editor of the Corpus MS. Missal, 'of St. Augustine's Abbey,' considers it to be based on a Gregorian missal brought by Augustine from Rome.

[3] Bede, i. 32; Ep. xi. 66. The letter contains an expression of his belief that 'the end of the world was approaching' (cp. Ep. iii. 29, 65; ix. 68; Dial. iv. 41). If the troubles that are to herald it should occur in Ethelbert's country, let him not be disturbed by them.

[4] 'Fanorum aedificia.' Comp. Bede, i. 30; ii. 13, 15; iii. 30.

[5] Ep. xi. 29: not in Bede. This letter is not dated, but is evidently a companion letter to the former.

[6] 'Jamdudum . . . debuistis . . . Nec tardum . . . debuit esse nec difficile . . . Agite ut . . . possitis quod neglectum est reparare.'

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to eleven Gallic prelates[1], and to Theoderic, Theodebert, Chlotair, and Brunhild. One of these letters requested the archbishop of Lyons to see that nothing should delay the journey of the four monks through that part of Gaul[2].

Treatment of Pagan temples.

Some weeks passed away: Gregory received no tidings from them, and became anxious about their safety. He had also time to reconsider his advice[3] given to Ethelbert in favour of the destruction of Pagan temples. On this subject two views were open: in the fourth century many temples were overthrown by the zeal of individual Christians, and some acts of this sort in the reign of Constantius provoked unsparing reprisals in that of Julian[4]. As Paganism grew weaker in the latter years of that century, these attacks were renewed by St. Martin in Gaul[5], by Marcellus of Apamea in Syria[6], by Theophilus at Alexandria[7]. Bishops in Africa petitioned the Emperor that such temples as were not among the ornamental buildings of cities might be utterly destroyed[8]: those in Rome itself, according to Jerome, were 'covered with dust and cobwebs' in 403[9]; but we may allow for his characteristic exaggeration, and his own words show that these old fortresses of idolatry had not been levelled to the ground when the whole system of Pagan worship was put under the ban of imperial law in 392, several years after the closing of temples had been enforced in parts of the empire[10]. Gradually the temples fell into ruin, or were

[1] Ep. xi. 54-58.

[2] Ep. xi. 56. This letter has a special interest. Gregory tells the archbishop that as yet he has searched in vain for the writings of St. Irenaeus (i. e. the Greek original), or for the record of his death.

[3] Plummer thinks it not certain. But surely the words 'diu mecum cogitans,' just after the sentence about his having expected to hear from them, are decisive.

[4] See the case of Mark of Arethusa, Soz. v. 10; Theodoret, iii. 7.

[5] Sulp. Sev., Vit. Mart. 13,—the story of the ancient temple and its adjacent pine-tree.

[6] Theodoret, v. 21. Marcellus had the support of the prefect.

[7] Soc. v. 16. Theophilus acted under special orders from Theodosius.

[8] Cod. Afric. 58; Mansi, iii. 766.

[9] Jerome, Ep. 107. 1. He says that the destruction of the great temple at Gaza was continually expected; ib. 2.

[10] See Robertson, Hist. Ch. i. 393 ff.

pulled down under authority, or converted into Christian churches, as was sometimes the case, St. Augustine tells us, in Africa[1]. And to this latter treatment of them Gregory, on reflection, now decidedly inclined[2]. 'They ought by no means,' so he wrote in a letter to Mellitus[3], 'to be destroyed:' Mellitus was to tell Augustine, when he saw him, that Gregory desired them, if solidly built, to be cleansed and hallowed for Christian worship. The people might be the more ready to attend that worship if it were solemnized in places which they had formerly frequented: and as they had also been wont to hold sacrificial feasts[4], it would be wise to provide them with some other enjoyments by way of compensation. On the day of the dedication, or on the festivals of those saints whose relics are there deposited, let the converts make themselves 'tabernacles' with boughs of trees[5] around the temples now turned into churches, and there kill oxen, no longer in 'sacrifice to devils,' but as the materials of their meal, and with thanks to the Giver of all things[6]. For, he proceeds, with a true insight into the need of patient

[1] Aug. Ep. 47. 3: 'vel in honorem Dei veri convertuntur.' See Add. Notes, A. But in Bede iii. 30 we find, 'ut relictis sive destructis fanis . . . aperirent ecclesias.'

[2] It had been already carried out as to a temple at Novara in the early part of the sixth century: see Ennodius, Dictio 2, and Carm. ii. 11:—

'Perdidit antiquum quis relligione sacellum,
Numinibus pulsis quod bene numen habet?'

So also in the case of the circular temple of Romulus son of Maxentius, (on the north side of the Roman Forum), dedicated in 527 by Felix III or IV to SS. Cosmas and Damian. And a few years after Gregory's death it was carried out in regard to the Pantheon of Agrippa, which became a church of St. Mary *ad Martyres*, or, as Bede, who refers to this act of Boniface IV, describes it, 'Sanctae Dei genetricis et omnium martyrum Christi;' ii. 4. For other cases in Rome, see Lanciani, Pagan and Chr. Rome, p. 160.

[3] Bede, i. 30.

[4] Comp. Greg. Turon. Vit. Patr. 6. 2.

[5] Trees were often directly associated with idolatry. See the passage in Sulpicius, above referred to; and on the custom of hanging up skulls of slain animals on a pear-tree in Auxerre, Constantius' Vit. S. Germ. i. 2. Cp. Greg. Ep. viii. 18; ix. 11.

[6] Gregory's kind heart took pleasure in helping the poor to enjoy themselves. See his Ep. i. 56: he bids a subdeacon furnish to some poor people, on the occasion of dedicating a monastic oratory, 200 lambs, 100 hens, 30 amphorae of wine, &c.,—'and charge it in your accounts.'

CHAP. II. training and much tolerance for such rude proselytes, 'you cannot cut off everything at once from rough natures: he who would climb to a height must ascend step by step, he cannot jump the whole way[1].' Some pleasures permitted to the English country folk, in connexion with places familiar from their earliest remembrances, and now associated with their new belief, might be really helpful: the 'outward enjoyment' might open their hearts to a deeper and a spiritual joy. A wise and a hopeful policy, if the old scenes and the old usages could be thus effectually cleared of heathen taint. Probably St. Martin, and others who felt and acted like him[2], would have demurred to the possibility of such a clearing: and the intense tenacity of heathen customs in mediaeval Europe might be urged in support of their severer view[3]. If the old idol-fanes were left,

[1] 'Quia et is qui summum locum ascendere nititur, gradibus vel passibus, non autem saltibus, elevatur.' Memorable words, which might be used in a deeper sense, to represent the momentous principle of a gradual Divine education of humanity, adapting itself to the fact that 'the natural motion of the human understanding is by steps and stages.' (Mozley, Ruling Ideas in Early Ages, p. 244.)

[2] See Willibald, Vit. S. Bonifac. 8, on the destruction of the oak of Thunor; and Maclear, Conv. of Slavs, p. 134, on St. Otho of Bamberg.

[3] To take sixth-century documents only,—Councils of that age had forbidden the eating of idol-meats, and the swearing by the heads of animals (Orleans, in 533 and 541); the worshipping or making vows at rocks or under trees (Tours, Auxerre); the Pagan revelries on New Year's Day, the use of lots made of wood or bread (Auxerre): see Mansi, viii. 838; ix. 116, 803, 911; and sermons 265, 277, 278, apparently by St. Caesarius, in appendix to S. Aug. Serm. For Gregory's own vigilance on this subject, see his Ep. viii. 18, 'Pervenit ad nos quosdam illic' (at Terracina) 'arbores colere;' and his Dial. ii. 8, for the story of St. Benedict destroying the altar of Apollo and erecting an oratory on its site. Heathen usages as to idol-sacrifices, eating of such sacrifices, divinations, auspices, auguries, lots, amulets, spells, eating horseflesh, cutting of the body (like Baal-priests), vows or worship at fountains or trees or stones, heathenish observation of dreams, heathen rites on Thursday or on January 1, shouting in order 'to defend oneself' during an eclipse, 'placing a daughter on a roof or above a furnace to cure fever,' had to be denounced by various English penitentials and canons. See Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 190, 364, 424, 458; Johnson, E. Can. i. 378, 415, 513: compare Bede's own statement in iv. 27. The most compendious account of such customs as existing in Germany in the eighth century is the 'indiculus . . . paganiarum' in the 'Concilium Liptinense' of St. Boniface: 'De sacrilegio,' &c.; and see Willibald's Life of him, c. 8: 'Alii lignis et frontibus clanculo, alii autem aperte sacrificabant.'

if any likeness of the old Pagan feastings were tolerated or encouraged, would any Christian benediction prevent a revival of the heathenish spirit? would not 'the cask retain its odour,'—would not the ejected fiend return to his old house? Experience had proved this to be too possible in regard to the 'merry-makings[1]' which African bishops had endeavoured to Christianize, but which St. Augustine had found it necessary, in the interests of Christian morality, to condemn. Yet the 'condescension,' the 'economy,' which Gregory here recommended, and which his namesake of Neocaesarea in the third century had carried out exactly in the same method[2], and apparently with great success, might seem, to bold and ardent minds, a natural result of that Christian considerateness and hopefulness which were inseparable from the true missionary character. Such persons would say that children must be fed with milk, that spiritual education must be gradual, that the 'spoils of the strong man' might in a true sense be 'divided,' that the Faith might be trusted to transform whatever it touched[3]. And if in some cases this policy of adaptation failed, if much of what made up European life was only superficially Christianized, and religion suffered from the unguarded borrowing of notions or customs really foreign to its spirit[4], in other cases the 'deadly pottage' was made

[1] 'Laetitiae.' S. Aug. Ep. 29.

[2] Gregory of Neocaesarea allowed the common people after their conversion 'to enjoy themselves at the memorials of the holy martyrs, hoping that they would in time advance to a graver and more regular life, while even the faith was guiding them to that result; which has, in fact, been already accomplished in the case of the majority, all their enjoyment having been transferred from bodily pleasure to the spiritual kind of joy.' Greg. Nyss. Vit. Greg. Thaumat. 27 (Op. iii. 574; Galland. Biblioth. Patr. iii. 466).

[3] So the Irish believed that St. Patrick, finding three pillar-stones which were connected with Irish paganism, did not overthrow them, but inscribed on them the names, Jesus, Soter, Salvator; Stokes, Tripartite Life, i. 107. A Pictish well, said to have baleful powers, was said to have been made holy by Columba's blessing and touch; Adamnan, Vit. Col. ii. 11. One of the boldest acts ever done on this principle is recorded of St. Barbatus of Benevento, who melted down a golden image of a viper which the half-heathen inhabitants had venerated, and made a paten and chalice out of it; see Baring Gould, Lives of Saints, Feb. 19.

[4] E. g. the traces of polytheism in the 'worship' of saints; the tendency

CHAP. II. harmless, the leaven pervaded and assimilated the lump: forms of beauty, once bound up, inextricably as it might seem, with idolatry and its attendant sensuality, were gradually detached, and, so to speak, baptized[1]: words once suggestive of Paganism lost by degrees their evil significance, as we, for instance, may remember whenever we name the days of the week[2]: and in ways which Tertullian, for instance, would never have dreamed of, Christianity 'inherited the earth' by the boldness with which it claimed and took possession[3].

This letter of Gregory to Mellitus was the last of his gifts to the English mission[4]: and the arrival of Mellitus

to an idolatrous use of images; old heathen spells retained with Christ's name inserted into them (Kemble, i. 365); the old divination by lots disguised as 'sortes sanctorum' (Council of Agde, c. 42); Pagan superstitions linked to Christian holy-tides, as the eves of St. John Baptist and All Saints. See Todd's St. Patrick, pp. 128, 500. There was sometimes a temptation to make compromises with heathenism, as in Norway and Iceland in the tenth century; see Maclear's Conversion of Northmen, pp. 57, 185.

[1] See the noble passage in Abp. Trench's Huls. Lect. p. 121, ed. 3.

[2] See Taylor's Words and Places, p. 320; Trench, Study of Words, p. 93. Bede says, De Temporum Ratione, 15, 'people now call the Paschal time after the goddess Eostre, consueto antiquae observationis vocabulo gaudia novae solemnitatis vocantes.' So Kemble, i. 376; Neale, Essays on Liturgiology, p. 521; Skeat, Etymol. Dict. Compare Yule, the midwinter feast, turned into a synonym for Christmas; and on the change of the midsummer festival of Balder into the holyday of St. John Baptist, see Thorpe's Glossary, letter W.

[3] 'Christianity, always ready *to apply and hallow every legacy of the past.*' Lappenberg, i. 53.

[4] Bede says, ii. 1, that Gregory died in 605, having held 'the see of the Roman and apostolic church thirteen years, six months, ten days.' According to this, he came to the see in 591; but the true year seems to be 590 (see p. 41), and, adopting the same reckoning of the years of his pontificate, we gain 604 as that of his death. So L'Art de vérifier, iii. 278, and the Benedictine Life, Greg. Op. iv. 304, and Barmby, p. 141. John the Deacon says that a story was current in the English Churches to the effect that Gregory, while walking in 'the forum of Trajan,' and looking at a marble sculpture which represented an instance of that emperor's justice and kindness, prayed for the deliverance of his soul from hell; ii. 44. He asserts that Gregory did not pray, but only wept; and that the result was that Trajan's soul was—not translated to paradise, but—simply 'ab inferni solummodo cruciatibus liberata.' The Benedictine 'Life' sets aside the story, including John's modification of it, as a fable; b. 3. c. 10. It appears in the tenth canto of Dante's 'Purgatory.'

and his companions in Britain, which probably took place about the end of 601, seems to open a new chapter in the history of the newly-founded Church. The staff of the mission was now complete: the next few years would show what it could effect in the region subject to the immediate rule, or to the less definite supremacy, of the king who, after cautious deliberation, had so heartily adopted at once the hopes and the obligations which were involved in the reception of its creed. CHAP. II.

CHAPTER III.

One of Augustine's first acts, if not the very first, after the arrival of the four new missionaries, was to act upon that sentence in Gregory's answers to his questions, which encouraged him to form relations with the British bishops and their Church. Ethelbert could in some ways promote his wish to confer with them personally, and to request their co-operation for the mission. Bitter as was their animosity against the Saxon name and race, they would at all events distinguish between heathen Saxons close to their border and the distant 'Bretwalda' who had so recently become a convert to the faith [1]. By some means or other, they were induced to agree to meet Augustine, in 602, or perhaps 603, 'at a place still called Augustine's Oak, on the confines of the Hwiccians and the West-Saxons [2].' The Hwiccians dwelt along the south bank of the Severn, so as to include Gloucester, Malmesbury, Bath, and Cirencester,

First conference with British Bishops.

[1] Bede's account of the great Anglian kings in ii. 5 implies that Edwin was the first who gained a regular supremacy over 'the Britons'; and his language naturally includes in the scope those of Wales as well as of Strathclyde. On the import of 'Bretwalda' (A.-S. Chron. 872), see reff. above, p. 46. We may assume that it implies a real but indefinite supremacy of varying extent, and may set aside, as 'forced, the explanations that aim at dissociating Bret from Britons' (Rhys, Celt. Brit. 137).

[2] Bede, ii. 2. To hold a meeting under an oak was in conformity with old Gothic usage. 'Very many of the trysting-places of the English courts were marked in like manner by the oak, the beech, or the elm;' Palgrave, Eng. Comm. pp. 139, clviii. Oaks were taken as boundary-marks; see Shireoaks near Worksop, and Sevenoaks in Kent. See also Stevenson's Chron. Abingd. ii. p. xlii. In one list of boundaries, Chr. Ab. i. 26, the 'Foul Oak' occurs, so called from the Pagan worship once connected with it. See above, p. 79.

in their district, as Bede knew it in his time[1]: so that a border-line between this district and Wessex proper would run too far to the east to allow of our placing 'Augustine's Oak' at Aust or Austcliff, near the Bristol Channel. It was probably well within the territory of the Hwiccians, with whom, eleven years before, Britons had joined in the rising against Ceawlin[2], and perhaps we may think of it as in the neighbourhood of Cirencester, which was accessible by a Roman road from the east[3]. And so we may imagine the feelings with which the Welsh prelates, doubtless provided with assurances of safety, left their own country to confer with a 'bishop of the Saxons' who derived his authority from Rome. We cannot identify these bishops. David, apparently, had died a year or two before; Dubricius seems to have been already a recluse in Bardsey; Teilo was now bishop of Llandaff, if he had not been succeeded by Oudoceus[4]. If there was a successor of David at Menevia[5], he would probably accompany the successor of Dubricius. Caerleon was evidently merged in Llandaff: but there were bishopries at Bangor, St. Asaph, and Llanbadarn, and also, there is some

CHAP. III.

[1] For the province of the Hwiccas see Bede, iv. 13, 23. It included the counties of 'Gloucester, Worcester, and part of Warwick'; Freeman, Old-Engl. Hist. pp. 39, 82. Worcester has been supposed to be a corruption of Hwic-wara- (dwellers) ceaster, Taylor's Words and Places, p. 69. See Green, Making of England, pp. 129, 147, 224. 'Their country corresponded in extent with the old diocese of Worcester;' Elton, Origins of Engl. Hist. p. 376.

[2] Malmesb. G. R. i. 17; Green, p. 209.

[3] I. e. via London and Silchester (iter 7), and thence by Speen (iter 13) to 'Durocornovium' or Corinium = Cirencester.

[4] Llandaff was the bishopric for Gwent, which is identified with Monmouthshire. Dyfed or Demetia is Pembrokeshire with part of Caermarthenshire, and was under St. David's. In the eighth century, according to Giraldus, Wales was divided into Venedotia, Deheubarth including Demetia or Dyfed, and Powys; Descr. Camb. i. 2. Of these, Venedotia or Gwynedd comprised Carnarvonshire, Anglesey, most part of Merionethshire, part of Denbigh and Flint: its bishopric was at Bangor. Powys, under St. Asaph, included parts of Flint and Denbigh, part of Merioneth, and also of Shropshire, all Montgomery, part of Radnor and Brecknock. Deheubarth comprised the six southern counties. The Welsh episcopate was now diocesan, Haddan and Stubbs, i. 142.

[5] See above, p. 37. The Annal. Camb. date the death of Bishop Cynog or Cynauc, who by one account succeeded David, in 606.

CHAP. III. reason to think, at Llanafanfaur, at Margam, and perhaps at Weeg in Herefordshire[1]. The fresh recollection of a national synod, holden at Caerleon in the year of David's death[2], would render the prelates specially indisposed to any compromise of their independence, or any surrender of their usages. It was probably with some amount of jealous suspicion that they met the Roman strangers at 'the Oak.' Augustine, says Bede, 'began to try to persuade them by brotherly admonitions to hold Catholic peace with himself, and to undertake in conjunction with him the work of preaching the gospel to the heathen, for the Lord's sake.' This was very well, the Britons might remark; but what was meant by Catholic peace? It appeared that there were some matters in which the Britons were not at one with the rest of the Church. What were they?

Paschal question.

The first and chief point of difference was as to the mode of reckoning Easter. The Paschal question is not attractive to the reader of Eusebius: it is profoundly wearisome to the reader of Bede[3]. The original form of it was simple. It being agreed on all hands that there must be a yearly festival in memorial of the Redemption, as effected by the Passion and Resurrection of Christ; that a fast of some undefined duration should precede it; and that this Christian Passover, thus preceded by a fast, should to some extent be regulated by the season of the Jewish Passover;—the question arose[4], 'To what extent? Shall

[1] Bp. Jones and Freeman, Hist. St. David's, p. 266; Haddan and Stubbs, i. 148, iii. 41; Pryce, p. 145. If these latter bishoprics existed, they would be for Glamorganshire and Herefordshire. Llanafanfaur was in Brecknock. Llanbadarn was the see for Central Wales.

[2] Annal. Camb. a. 601.

[3] Especially when one is forced to see the absence of a due sense of proportion in his treatment of the subject; when he associates with these disputes such a phrase as 'spiritalis gratiam lucis,' ii. 2; and again, 'Movit haec quaestio sensus et corda multorum, timentium ne forte accepto Christianitatis vocabulo, in vacuum currerent aut cucurrissent,' iii. 25; and Egbert's success in winning over the monks of Hy to the 'true Easter' just before his own death is described as his 'seeing the day of the Lord,' &c., v. 22.

[4] See Eus. v. 23, 24. He uses the phrases, 'the closing of the fast,' 'the festival of the Saviour's Passover,' the celebration of the mystery of the

we conclude the fast, and begin the festival, on that fourteenth day of the moon on which the Jews were to kill their Passover, on whatever day of the week it may fall? or shall we take as our fixed point that first day of the week on which the Lord rose again?' The majority of Churches took the latter alternative: the Church of Ephesus, and those dependent on it in the province of 'Asia' (the western part of Asia Minor[1]), took the former, and were therefore afterwards called Quartodecimans. Fresh complications arose in the third century, in connexion with a question whether the festival should be always kept *after* the vernal equinox[2]: and different canons or 'cycles' were proposed, in order to ascertain for a number of years the true beginning of the 'first lunar' or the 'Paschal' month[3]. Thus Hippolytus made such a cycle, or table, for sixteen years[4]: Dionysius of

Lord's Resurrection,' to describe one and the same thing. Polycrates, the representative of the Quartodecimans, insists repeatedly on the duty of adhering to (τηρεῖν) 'the fourteenth.' See Eus. v. 24. Our English use of 'Easter' instead of 'Pasch,'—which was the usual term in Scotland, as in Wales,—obscures to some extent the bearings of the question.

[1] It is necessary to observe this, because the extent to which Quartodecimanism prevailed is exaggerated by ignoring the technical and restrictive sense of 'Asia.'

[2] Hefele, Councils, i. 316 ff., E. Tr. 'The Jews had always determined the 14th' as occurring after the equinox, but subsequently they sometimes kept it before the equinox, 'until the fall of Jerusalem,' when their first month began as early as March 5.

[3] Hefele, i. 318, E. Tr. Dict. Chr. Antiq. i. 591: 'The use of cycles arose out of the necessity, when lunar months were in use, of linking together in some manner the changes of the moon and the sun.' King, Ch. Hist. Irel. i. 195: 'In order to determine on what days the full moons will occur in coming years, different cycles or periods of so many years have been invented after the expiration of which the new and full moons were found to fall again on the same days as before.'

[4] Euseb. vi. 22. See it in Galland. Bibl. Patr. ii. 516 ff. It was inscribed on the marble chair of the statue of Hippolytus, on the right side of which was a table of Paschal full moons, on the left, of Easter Sundays, calculated according to a cycle of sixteen years. It began from the first year of Alexander Severus. Hippolytus would defer the Paschal festival for a week not only if the fourteenth, but 'also if the fifteenth moon fell on a Sunday' (Bucher. in Gall. p. 520). See his canon reduced to the form of that of Victorius, ib. p. 522; and see Hefele, i. 318; Dict. Chr. Antiq. i. 592 ff.

CHAP. III. Alexandria for eight[1]: Anatolius of Laodicea for nineteen[2]. It was their principle that Easter must follow the equinox. The Nicene Council reaffirmed the maxim upheld against the Quartodecimans,—that the festival should always be on a Sunday; the terms of the decree are unfortunately lost, but we infer from Constantine's circular to the churches that it laid down as a principle that the Christian solemnity should never concur with the Jewish[3]. The context shows that what was primarily aimed at was the prevention of the discordance and scandal which would follow if in any given year, when the Jews might be keeping their Passover *before* the vernal equinox, some churches did the like as to Easter. It was therefore ordained that Easter Sunday should always and everywhere be a Sunday *following* the equinox: and the principle in question would also imply that it should similarly follow, and never coincide with, the fourteenth day of the Paschal month. Later statements, to the effect that the council adopted the nineteen years' cycle, and that it commissioned the Alexandrian see, by the aid of Alexandrian science, to ascertain for each year, and to notify to other churches through the Roman see, the day to be kept as Easter Sunday, may require considerable deduction: a more or less general consent of churches on the latter point may have been insensibly formalized into a synodical resolution: and the acceptance of the Alexandrian cycle, and of March 21 as the date of the equinox, would be involved in such consent. Rome dated the equinox on March 18, and adhered to her own way in this matter; and the result was that between A. D. 325 and 343 the Roman Easter fell six times on a different day from the Alexandrian[4]. In 343 the Sardican Council attempted a settlement, which was not in effect observed. Two

[1] Euseb. vii. 20.

[2] Euseb. vii. 32; Hefele, i. 320, 'the completion of this cycle of nineteen years is attributed to Eusebius of Caesarea.' But see Bp. Lightfoot in Dict. Chr. Biogr. iii. 314, against this, and against the notion that the council explicitly adopted that cycle. See also Smith's Bede, p. 696.

[3] Socr. i. 9. See Hefele, i. 325–327. Cp. Leo the Great, Ep. 121.

[4] Hefele, i. 328. See Smith's Bede, p. 697.

successive archbishops of Alexandria, Theophilus and Cyril, framed Paschal tables based on the nineteen years' cycle: and although Rome for some time used the cycle of eighty-four years[1] which had superseded that of sixteen, and was 'a little improved by Sulpicius Severus,' 'it has been conjectured,' says Hefele, that Pope Hilary adopted the better scheme which had been framed by Victorius of Aquitaine[2], an abbot at Rome, in 456–7; and finally, in 527, one still more accurate, and completely in accordance with Alexandrian calculations, was proposed by Dionysius Exiguus, and accepted by Rome and Italy[3], while the Victorian cycle 'long held its ground in Gaul,' and the old cycle of eighty-four years was retained by the British and Irish Churches[4]. But the mere retention of an old-fashioned cycle was not the main ground of offence, which consisted in the circumstance that the insular Celts departed in fact from the principle of the Nicene resolution[5], by allowing the fourteenth of the moon to be Easter Day, *if* it fell on a Sunday[6]; whereas in that case they

[1] Hefele, l.c.; Dict. Chr. Ant. i. 592. See Lanigan, Eccl. Hist. Ireland, ii. 374. He says that the Roman cycle 'supposed each lunation to be shorter by two minutes and some seconds than it really is,' &c. Owing to these differences the Roman Easter in 387 was on March 21, the Alexandrian on April 25; in 444 the Roman rule would place Easter on March 26, the Alexandrian on April 23, and Leo adopted for the time the Alexandrian calculation: so in A.D. 455.

[2] For Victorius of Aquitaine's cycle of 532 years, formed by multiplying the lunar cycle of 19 years by the solar of 28, see Prideaux, Connection, ii. 255; Smith's Bede, p. 700; Lanigan, ii. 377; Hefele, i. 330; Dict. Chr. Biogr. iv. 1139. The cycle began with A.D. 28.

[3] Hefele, i. 330; Prideaux, ii. 257; Smith's Bede, p. 701; Haddan and Stubbs, i. 152. The revision of the Victorian table by Dionysius 'transferred to him most of the merit which belonged to Victorius;' Dict. Chr. Ant. i. 594.

[4] Dict. Chr. Antiq. l. c.; Hefele, i. 330; Lanigan, ii. 384. For Gaul see fourth Council of Orleans, A.D. 541, can. 1, Mansi, ix. 113; Greg. Turon., Hist. Fr. v. 17, implies that most of the Gauls kept Easter in 577 on April 18, according to Victorius, but some with the Spaniards on March 21; cp. ib. x. 23; and see Columban in Greg. Ep. ix. 127.

[5] Haddan and Stubbs, i. 153. See Bede, ii. 19, 'quod in Nicaena synodo,' &c.

[6] As Bede says, they observed Easter 'a quarta decima usque ad vicesimam lunam,' i.e. would include the fourteenth moon among those which might belong to Easter Sunday, and from it onwards to the twentieth. Cp. Bede, ii. 4, iii. 3, 17, 25, 28. Lanigan says that Sulpicius found

CHAP. III. ought to have deferred Easter till the twenty-first. According to the orthodox reckoning[1], the fifteenth was the first day of the moon which could be Easter Sunday; this method, starting at the fifteenth, and going on to the twenty-first, kept clear of the Jewish day; whereas the Celtic did *not* keep clear of it[2]. That is, the Celtic calculation was objectionable as adhering to a discredited cycle for the Paschal moons, but distinctly offensive as including the fourteenth within the days on which Easter Sunday might fall. But, as we see at once, the Britons were not really Quartodecimans, inasmuch as they made a point of keeping Easter on a *Sunday*[3]; and their own claim to derive their traditional method from the Churches of 'Asia,' and so from St. John himself, was without foundation. This, it may be added, annihilates an argument which has been often advanced in favour of a directly Oriental origin for the ancient British Church[4]. It

that by a mistake in the Roman reckoning of the days of the moon, the fourteenth moon was called the sixteenth: he restored to it the name of fourteenth, and directed that as it was really the same day as the sixteenth of the unrevised cycle, Easter Sunday might fall on it. This rule was adopted by the Irish and British (ii. 384).

[1] In the fifth century, the Latins would not allow even the fifteenth to be kept as Easter Sunday: their Paschal limits began with the sixteenth; Lanigan, ii. 375, 378; Dict. Chr. Ant. i. 594. So, when in 590 their fifteenth was a Sunday, Gregory of Tours (more anti-Judaic than even Wilfrid or Bede) deferred his Easter until the twenty-second, so as to keep it wholly outside the Jewish festal period, H. Fr. x. 23. By one reading, the account of the 'third order of Irish saints' says that some of them kept Easter on the fourteenth moon (as did those of the first and second order), others on the sixteenth. See Todd's St. Patrick, p. 89.

[2] Prideaux, ii. 258. See Bede, v. 21.

[3] So says Bede of the Irish, who agreed with the Britons: iii. 4, 'Quem tamen et antea non semper in luna quarta decima, cum Judaeis, ut quidam rebantur,' &c. Ib. iii. 17, 25. So Eddi clearly, 'a quarta decima luna *Dominica* die veniente,' Vit. Wilfr. 10. Nor had the earlier British Christians been Quartodecimans. See Euseb. V. C. iii. 9; Soc. v. 22; and the subscriptions of the three British bishops to the Council of Arles; cp. Hefele, i. 321. Hodgkin remarks that 'the Irishmen, . . . by harping continually on . . . "the 14th day," gave their opponents the opportunity of fastening upon them the name of Quartodecimans' (Italy and her Invaders, vi. 116), as e.g. Eddi did in a sense, v. 15. See Plummer's Bede, ii. 114.

[4] Lingard, A.-S. Ch. i. 51; Lanigan, ii. 385; Haddan's Remains, p. 215.

appears also that the Britons rely on the authority of a Paschal canon ascribed to Anatolius, but now admitted to be a forgery, and 'perhaps designed to support' the Celtic rule[1]. CHAP. III.

Another difference, but vaguely alluded to in Bede's account of the conference, consisted in this, that the Britons did not 'perform the ministry of baptizing fully according to the Roman manner[2].' If we ask in what respect they fell short, we are left without any certain answer. If they did not use trine immersion[3], this need not have been a serious difficulty to the 'disciples' of a Pope who not only admitted that either trine or single immersion might have an orthodox significance, but advised the Spanish Church, under the circumstances of its own position in regard to Arianism, to retain the latter use[4]. Still, Augustine may have been unaware of this exceptional counsel, or have ignored it as exceptional, and deemed himself bound to insist on the method which prevailed everywhere else on the continent. It has been less probably supposed that the Britons may have omitted that unction of the crown of the head which usually came between the baptism and the confirmation[5], or some other ceremonies which formed part of the Roman rite[6]. Baptismal Rites.

[1] Dict. Chr. Ant. i. 594. See this 'canon' in Galland. Bibl. Patr. iii. 545. According to it, in nineteen years Easter Sunday fell three times on the fourteenth moon; Vit. Wilfr. 10. Cf. Duchesne, Origines, p. 229, 'Des livres apocryphes composés exprès pour soutenir leur usage national.'

[2] 'Compleatis,' Bede, ii. 2.

[3] Haddan and Stubbs, i. 153; Haddan's Remains, p. 320. Whitley Stokes, Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, i. p. clxxxiii, says that trine immersion was the Irish practice: but Warren thinks that the mention of it in the earliest extant Irish 'baptismal office' may be due to Roman influences; Lit. and Ritual of Celtic Ch. p. 65.

[4] Greg. Ep. i. 43.

[5] Muratori, Lit. Rom. ii. 157. The unction of confirmation was on the forehead; ib. i. 571; Innocent I, Ep. 1. 3. The Irish certainly used chrism in connexion with baptism; Warren, Lit. and Ritual, l. c.

[6] Hussey's Bede, p. 78. If the British clergy were careless as to naming each Person of the Holy Trinity at the time of the 'immersion,' Augustine would surely have insisted distinctly on a point so essential to the sacrament. It is observable that St. Boniface asked for, and obtained, the papal approval of an English canon, to the effect that 'quicunque sine invocatione Trinitatis lotus fuisset, sacramentum re-

CHAP. III. Tonsure.

A third peculiarity, not mentioned here by Bede, although he has enough to tell us about it in other passages[1], related to the visible appearance of the Celtic clergy. To cut the hair short was an ascetic fashion, which gradually extended itself to all ecclesiastics[2]: it was supposed to carry out St. Paul's hint in 1 Cor. xi. 14. to serve as a protest against effeminate luxuriousness, and to represent 'seclusion from worldly pleasure[3],' and a special dedication to the service of God. By degrees, an actual 'tonsure' came into use: and late in the fifth century[4] it took the 'coronal' form, the top of the head being shaved close, and a circle or crown of hair left to grow around it. This fashion obtained in Gaul and in Italy. But the Celtic clergy exhibited a semicircle of hair on the front of the head[5], so that their continental brethren, on inspecting them from behind, were scandalized by finding 'the seeming crown lopped off[6].' The Roman tonsure, like every other

generationis non haberet;' Zach. Ep. iii. But the Pope's words do not show that this canon was framed under Augustine (Warren, p. 66); on the contrary, he calls it a 'capitulum for the synod of that province in which Boniface was born,' and which Augustine and his successors, including Theodore, had 'governed.'

[1] Bede, iii. 26; iv. 1; v. 21, 22.

[2] See Bingham, b. vi. 4. 16; vii. 3. 6, that anciently the crown of the head was not shaved, but the hair was kept short. He cites Jerome in Ezech. l. 13 to this effect, and Salvian de Gub. Dei, viii. 4, 'recisis comarum fluentium jubis.' See also Greg. Turon. de Mirac. S. Mart. iii. 15, 'humiliatis capillis,' and Dict. Chr. Biogr. ii. 1989. Mabillon owns that in Benedict's time 'monachi ad cutem resecti *non* erant;' Ann. Bened. i. 53. Yet some ancient ascetics shaved the head bare; Soc. iii. 1.

[3] Lingard, A.-S. Ch. i. 54. The famous 'Nestorian' inscription in China explained the tonsure as signifying that the clergy had 'no inward affections of their own.'

[4] Smith's Bede, p. 712; Lanigan, iii. 68 ff. In 633, the fourth Council of Toledo, c. 41, ordered all clerics to shave the whole of the top of the head, and leave below 'solam circuli coronam,'—not like the 'lectors' in Gallicia, who wore long hair like laics, and shaved a small circle on the top of the head only. The portrait of Gregory the Great shows the coronal tonsure.

[5] As the Irish themselves expressed it, 'one tonsure from ear to ear;' Todd's Life of St. Patrick, p. 487. Patrick was called the Tailcend, or 'Shaven-head'; ib. p. 411; Stokes, Tripartite Life, i. p. clxxxiv.

[6] 'Decurtatam;' Ceolfrid's letter in Bede, v. 21. See this represented as on the head of St. Mummolinus of Noyon, who had been a monk of Luxeuil; Mabillon, Ann. Bened. i. 529.

Roman usage, was, as a matter of course, traced up to St. Peter[1]; and its wearers, or at any rate the more zealous among them, were pleased to attribute the rival fashion to Simon Magus[2]. If these various disputes seem more or less trivial, let us remember that when the Church was still fighting against masses of heathenism, such points of external uniformity might 'well have appeared, even to the strongest and most spiritual minds, far graver than charity can allow them to be in our time[3].' CHAP. III.

To return to the conference. Bede tells us[4] that 'after a long discussion,' in which the British delegates 'refused to comply with the prayers, or the exhortations, or the reproaches of Augustine and his companions, but preferred their own traditions to all the Churches which throughout the world were at unity with each other in Christ,' Augustine proposed to appeal to God for a sign that might 'declare which tradition was to be followed, and by what path men were to hasten to enter His kingdom.' The criterion which he proposed was, 'Let a sick man be brought forward, and let the party whose prayers shall avail for his cure be accepted as having the right faith and practice.' The Britons, though reluctantly, agreed: a blind man of English race was brought forward: 'the British priests' failed to cure him, but Augustine prayed, the blind man received his sight, and the Britons owned that it *was*

[1] Aldhelm supposes St. Peter to have had three reasons for instituting it; Ep. to King Geraint. Gregory of Tours says that Peter 'caput desuper tonderi instituit' in order to teach humility; De Glor. Mart. i. 28; but see Smith's Bede, p. 705, on the 'improbability' of ascribing to an apostle 'tenacious of Jewish observances' an observance contrary to Levit. xix. 27. If, he adds, it was Paul who shaved his head at Cenchrea, 'capillum postea crescere sinebat,' &c.

[2] Bede, v. 21: 'Tonsuram eam quam magum *ferunt* habuisse Simonem,' &c. Aldhelm gives this as 'the opinion of very many.' See Stokes, Tripartite Life, ii. 509. But it was also traced up to Dubthach, wrongly described as 'the swineherd of Laeghaire, the Pagan king who resisted Patrick;' Reeves's Adamn. p. 350; Lanigan, iii. 69, 71, who is equally sarcastic as to the 'Petrine' and the 'Simonian' hypotheses, and Rhys, Celt. Britain, p. 75.

[3] Goldwin Smith, Irish Hist. and Irish Character, p. 29. See Prof. Stokes, Ireland and the Celtic Church, p. 155, that any approach to Judaising was 'still a real terror.'

[4] Bede, ii. 2: 'Qui cum longa disputatione habita,' &c.

CHAP. III.

the true way of righteousness which Augustine taught, but added that they could not give up their old customs without the consent of their brethren: they therefore requested that a second synod might be held, in which a larger number would be present. This part of the story reads very like an 'interpolation[1]' into the original narrative. Bede, no doubt, reported faithfully what was in his time the Canterbury tradition[2]: but the incident of the miracle might have become embodied in that tradition in the course of a century or more; and the Britons are represented as acting with such inconsistency as they would hardly have shown, especially when we read what follows.

Second Conference.

The second meeting was held: seven British bishops, 'as is related[3],'—so Bede with his usual caution tells us,—resolved on attending. This implies that the former gathering had not included all the prelates. They were accompanied by 'many most learned men, especially' from the great monastery of Bangor Iscoed, then under the rule of Abbot Dunod, whom Bede calls Dinoot. The deputies repaired beforehand to a hermit[4] famed for prudence and holiness, and asked whether he would advise them to give up their own traditions at Augustine's request, or not. The response was, 'If he be a man of God, follow him.'

Advice of the Hermit.

[1] Hook, i. 68, treats it as a mere 'Canterbury tale.' It appears that the delegates to the second conference knew nothing, or else thought nothing, of the story of the blind man.

[2] Lingard observes that the abbot Albinus of Canterbury, who was Bede's informant about Kentish Church affairs, derived his account partly from documents, partly from 'seniorum traditione' (Bede, Præf.), and that this 'traditio,' at the distance of more than a hundred years, 'must have received embellishments;' A.-S. Ch. i. 68.

[3] 'Ut perhibent.' Cp. i. 25, 'fertur;' ii. 1, 'dicunt;' ii. 5, 'ut vulgo fertur;' ii. 12, 'ut ferunt;' ii. 16, 'perhibetur;' iii. 2, 'fertur;' iii. 5, 12, 16, 'ferunt;' iii. 14, 16, 24, 'fertur;' iv. 13, 'ferunt;' iv. 14, 'perhibentur;' iv. 19, 'ferunt,' 'sunt qui dicant;' iv. 23, 30, 'ferunt,' &c.

[4] The hermit-life was much honoured in Wales; compare the retirement of Dubricius to Bardsey. King Tewdric (see below) gave up his realm to his son Mouric, 'et vitam heremitalem in rupibus *Dindyrn* coepit discere' (i. e. at Tintern); Monast. Angl. vi. 1222. See Girald. Descr. Camb. i. 18: 'Heremitas . . . abstinentiae majoris, magisque spirituales, alibi non videas.' Bede refers to hermit life in iii. 19; iv. 28, 29; v. 1, 9, 12. For Scotic hermit life see also Adamnan, i. 49; iii. 23, and p. 366 (ed. Reeves).

'But how shall we ascertain that?' 'Our Lord,' replied the hermit, 'spoke of Himself as meek and lowly in heart. If Augustine shows that temper, you may believe that he has learned of Christ, and taken up His yoke, and is offering it to you. But if he is harsh and proud, it is clear that he is not from God: we are not to care for his words.' 'But how is *this* to be discerned?' The oracle gave a precise answer: 'Manage[1] so that he shall come to the meeting-place before you. If, when you approach, he rises to meet you, be sure that he is a servant of Christ, and listen to him obediently. If he does not rise up, but treats you contemptuously,—you are the more numerous body, and can show contempt in your turn[2]!' Some grains of fact may lie in this anecdote; yet the Britons would hardly have made so much depend on so little. But, if they consulted any such adviser, or agreed to apply so purely personal a test, it is clear, on Bede's own showing, as, indeed, it would be clear apart from this incident in the story, that they did not deem themselves bound to accept the exhortations of a bishop sent from Rome, and thus far a representative of Rome[3], as such. They treated the question as open: Shall we adopt his ways, or shall we not? They came, as they had resolved, to the meeting, after Augustine had taken his seat. He continued sitting[4]: CHAP. III.

[1] 'Procurate ut ipse prior,' &c.

[2] 'Et ipse spernatur a vobis.'

[3] Lingard argues that the subjects of Papal authority and British independence did not come into consideration; Angl.-S. Ch. i. 380. This is futile. The British delegates could not fail to know that Augustine did come to them as specially empowered from Rome. And their reverence for Rome did not, in their view, commit them to obedience to its emissary. But it *must* have done so, had it included a belief in Papal supremacy. And the relation of the Celtic Churches to Rome was one of veneration without subjection, as is manifest from the language of such a typical Celtic saint as Columban. See e.g. his fifth epistle, to Boniface IV. Even to Gregory the Great he had written in a peremptory tone on the Easter question, Ep. 1.

[4] 'Sederet in sella,' Bede. 'Romano more in sella residens,' Bromton. Various explanations of 'this apparent discourtesy' are offered in the English 'Life of St. Augustine,' p. 229. After all, the writer pleads that at worst it was but 'an excusable negligence,' and blames the British bishops for 'taking such a trifle so much to heart.' Elmham boldly contends that it would not have been 'decens ut tam feros et erroneos . . .

CHAP. III. he probably thought that he must assert his dignity as archbishop, and did so in a manner as deficient in tact as in courtesy. According to Bede, the Britons at once showed temper, 'charged him with pride, and made a point of contradicting all that he said.' He intended, no doubt, to speak with calmness and moderation: 'You go against our custom, or rather that of the Universal Church, on many points: but if you are willing to yield on these three[1], to keep Easter at its right time, to perform baptism according to the manner of the holy Roman and apostolic[2] Church, and to join with us in preaching the word of the Lord to the English,—we will quietly bear with your other practices, however contrary to our own.' A speech so worded would seem magisterial to the sensitive and suspicious auditors. We are told that they said to each other, 'If just now he would not rise to greet us, he will be yet more overbearing if we begin to obey him;' and that thereupon they gave their decisive answer, 'We will do none of these things which you require, nor will we have you as our archbishop[3].' Not till this moment, as far as

Failure of the Conference.

assurgendo inflaret,' after having granted them a second conference; p. 105. A reference to 'sellae plectiles' is in Greg. Ep. xii. 19.

[1] Pearson goes so far as to say that 'fresh from the large-minded concessions of Gregory, Augustine made up his mind to great concessions, but he felt that three points were too important to be sacrificed;' Hist. Engl. i. 125. One of the points waived was evidently the tonsure. Another, as evidently, was the use of a peculiar liturgy; Warren, Lit. and Rit. of Celtic Ch. p. 76. Such concessions are ignored by those who exaggerate Augustine's stiffness.

[2] This phrase (cp. Bede, ii. 1, 7, iii. 29) has not the sense of 'the one Catholic and Apostolic Church' of the Creed, but refers to the distinctive claim of Rome among Western Churches to be of apostolic foundation. Cp. the phrase 'apostolicus papa,' cf. Bede, iv. 1, and Lib. Diurn. Pont. n. 2.

[3] The speech ascribed to Dunod, disowning the supremacy of the Pope, or, as it is expressed, of 'him whom ye call Pope and Father (Daad) of fathers,' and describing the British Church as under the government of the 'Esgob Kaerllion,' is spurious, 'drawn up by some mediaeval Welsh antiquary, and probably enough suggested by Bede's account of the matter,' as 'it truly represents the feeling of the then British Church towards Rome;' Haddan and Stubbs, i. 149. It was first edited by Spelman, and accepted by Stillingfleet, ii. 536, and Bramhall, i. 162, &c. See it in Migne, Patrol. Lat. lxxx. 22, and, in Welsh and Latin, in Smith's Bede, p. 716. Geoffrey makes Dunod say that they owed no subjection to Augustine, for they had an 'archipraesul' of their own,—and that they

Bede's tale goes, had the archiepiscopal pretensions of Augustine been mooted; but the Britons must at any rate have been aware from the first that he claimed that rank among the English, and must have presumed that his proposals would involve their recognition of it, in case they agreed to work with him. He had not been faultless in his conduct of the matter: but even in the vehement words which at last broke from him[1], one sees that, what stirred him to grief and anger was not so much their defiance of his authority, as their refusal to aid in his missionary enterprise. 'If you will not accept peace with brethren, you will have to accept war from enemies: if you will not preach the way of life to the English, you will be punished with death by English hands.' These words have met with very opposite treatment, in consequence of a tragedy which happened some years after Augustine's death, probably in A.D. 613[2]. Ethelfrid the 'Fierce' or the 'Destroyer,' who, ten years earlier, had utterly broken the aggressive power of the Argyllshire Scots at Degsastone[3], turned his arms against the Britons, perhaps because they had sheltered CHAP. III.

'would not bestow their preaching on their enemies;' viii. 4 (xi. 12). The Llandaff story (see Usher, Antiq. p. 46), that Oudoceus of Llandaff submitted to the authority of Augustine, is a gross fiction; see Rees, Welsh Saints, p. 274. He observes that at the conference there was no question between the archbishop of the English and a British metropolitan; which would show that the archbishopric of Caerleon was extinct, '*if* indeed it had ever been firmly established;' ib. p. 291. 'There is no real evidence of the existence of a real archiepiscopate in Wales during the Welsh period;' Haddan and Stubbs, i. 148.

[1] '*Fertur* minitans praedixisse,' Bede. 'In the anguish of disappointment,' Lingard, A.-S. C. i. 71. Milner (Hist. Ch. cent. 6. c. 1) charges him with 'ambitious encroachment,' but believes also that he was acting 'from charitable views.'

[2] Annal. Camb. a. 613. This date, rather than 605, or 607 (the two readings of Sax. Chron.), is adopted in Annals of Engl. p. 30; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 41; Guest, Orig. Celt. ii. 309; Green, Making of England, p. 240.

[3] Bede, i. 34; S. Chron. a. 603. The kingdom of the Scots of Dalriada, then held by Aidan, seventh of the line, had been founded 100 years before, by Fergus Môr, son of Erc; but their original immigration into North Britain cannot be dated. See Skene, Celtic Scotland, i. 140; Haddan and Stubbs, ii. 105. 'Degsastan' seems to be Dawston near Jedburgh; Skene, i. 162; Green, p. 233; but others place it at Dalston, near Carlisle. On Aidan's 'wars' see Rhys, Celtic Britain, p. 157.

CHAP. III. Battle of Chester.

Edwin, the heir of the Deiran realm which he had annexed to Bernicia; and in this campaign he besieged the northern 'City of Legions,' the ancient Roman town of Chester. The inhabitants risked a battle: just before it began, Ethelfrid saw, 'standing apart in a place of comparative security,' a large body of British priests, including a number of monks from the neighbouring monastery of Bangor Iscoed, who, after a three days' fast, had come under the escort of Brocmail[1], king of Powys, to pray for the success of their countrymen. 'If,' said the stern Northumbrian, 'they are crying to their God against us, then are they fighting against us by curses, though not with arms. Attack them first!' It was done, and only fifty escaped; Brocmail having fled without striking a blow for those who had been entrusted to his protection. Such was 'the battle of Cair Legion, wherein the holy men were slain,' as it was described in Irish records[2]; 'the battle of the orchard of Bangor[3],' as the Welsh sometimes called it, from the subsequent destruction of that great house with all its literary treasures: the remains of Bangor Iscoed exhibited, centuries later, a mass of ruined walls and cloisters, and the rubbish of two gates of the town, called Porth Kleis and Porth Wgan, a mile apart[4]. Chester was taken, and apparently destroyed[5]: but the slaughter of

[1] Or Brochwel; Rees, Welsh Saints, p. 208. According to the Ann. Cambr., he survived till 662, and so Rhys considers him to have been 'told off to guard the priests' on account of his youth. But of the three British chiefs who fell in the battle, Guest considers one to have been his grandson; and therefore describes Brochmael as advanced in life at the time (ii. 308).

[2] Tighernach; O'Connor, Rer. Hib. Scr. ii. 182. On this battle see Freeman, Engl. Towns and Districts, p. 278.

[3] Rees, Welsh Saints, p. 293.

[4] Malmesb. Gest. Reg. i. 47; and Vaughan, ap. Camden, i. 666.

[5] Chester remained desolate until it was restored by Æthelfled, Alfred's daughter, in 907. See Palgrave, p. 455: 'The capture of the City of Legions was long lamented by the Britons,' and it seems to have been followed by the loss of the country between the Dee and the northern Derwent (Rhys, p. 138). But about the same time, they had a triumph over Ceolwulf of Wessex in the battle of Tintern, when the royal hermit Tewdric, once king of Morganwg (Glamorganshire) and ever victorious in war, left his cell at 'the cry of his people,' and secured their victory at the cost of his own life, for one of the foemen turned round in his flight and wounded him with a spear. According to the legend, the dying

the ecclesiastics was regarded by their countrymen as the most tragic feature of the event[1], by Bede and the Saxon Chronicler as a fulfilment of Augustine's 'prophecy': and Bede so far forgets his better nature as to apply the word *nefandae* to the patriotic British host[2]. On the other hand, some moderns, hostile to Augustine's memory, have imagined[3] that he himself, in revenge for the obstinacy of Welsh bishops, had induced the Northumbrian 'Destroyer' to slaughter the Welsh priests: whereas the battle took place, according to Bede, 'long' after his own death, which was not later than 605;—and even if it had been fought in his lifetime, he had as little interest with the heathen Ethelfrid[4] as he had heart for so atrocious a suggestion. CHAP. III.

He returned home in bitter disappointment. Whether he visited any other parts of Saxon Britain, endeavouring to do what he could for their heathen inhabitants, we cannot tell: the stories which ascribe to him some such

hermit king was borne in a wain to a place near the Severn, where he bade his attendants depart, and expired alone; Mon. Anglic. vi. 1223; Turner, i. 334.

[1] See Scott's lines, written for an old Welsh air, 'The Monks' March:'—

'Woe to Brocmail's feeble hand,
Woe to Olfrid's bloody brand,
Woe to Saxon cruelty,
O miserere, Domine!'

[2] So 'gentis perfidae,' 'perfidi,' which might mean 'untrue to the obligations of their faith' (in iii. 7, a refusal to accept the faith is 'perfidia'). He reflects bitterly on the Britons in other passages, ii. 20, v. 22. For this he has been severely blamed: but he was thinking of the repulse of Augustine's overtures, of the cruelties of a British invader of Northumbria, and of the Britons' contempt for English Christianity. That his feeling was not simply anti-Celtic, is proved by his cordial language respecting the Irish as a nation, iii. 27; iv. 26. And he does once praise a 'Briton' for discernment ('sagaci animo'), iii. 10.

[3] A charge 'too absurd to merit any serious notice;' Milner, cent. 6. c. 1. 'An abominable calumny of some writers;' Lanigan, ii. 379. 'A crowd of modern writers have re-echoed the calumny;' Lingard, A.-S. Ch. i. 72. 'A preposterous libel;' Haddan's Remains, p. 316. To deny it was, in 1673, and at Oxford, to incur suspicion of Popery! (see Ant. Wood's Life, p. 191. Writing thirty years later, Inett says, 'I willingly yield to the side of charity;' Orig. Angl. i. 35). Geoffrey of Monmouth had suggested it, by the absurd fiction that 'Edelbertus Edelfridum instimulavit' (viii. 4).

[4] How could such a 'prophecy hardly fail to hasten its own fulfilment'? Milman, Lat. Chr. ii. 234. See Hook's good remarks, Archbishops, i. 73.

CHAP. III.

journeys have no sufficient authority[1]. But he found a prospect opening before him among the East-Saxons, whose king, Sigebert I, or Sabert, was Ethelbert's nephew as well as vassal, being the son of his sister Ricula. Mellitus was sent to London, and converted Sabert: in consequence, he was made bishop of London in the beginning of 604[2], and Ethelbert and Sabert were both concerned in the erection of a cathedral church on the site of the present St. Paul's, which had been formerly occupied by a Roman camp. The story that a temple of Diana had stood there[3] is at least doubtful: but an altar of Diana, discovered near the spot not very many years since, may have belonged to the praetorium[4]. It was afterwards believed that Sabert had also been the founder of a monastery of St. Peter which was called 'the West Minster,' on 'Thorney' Island, in the 'great marsh' then formed by the Thames as it bent south-westward[5]. Augus-

Bishopric of London.

[1] E. g. Thorn says, X Script. 1760, that he 'sowed the seed of God's word everywhere throughout the whole land of the English,' always 'pedes sine vehiculo': and Gocelin, in his longer Life of Augustine, 37 ff., makes him work miracles at *York*, e. g. on a leper,—inflict a grotesque punishment on some Dorsetshire rustics who had fastened fishes' tails to his and his brethren's garments (s. 41),—and even visit Colman 'king of Ireland,' and baptize the future Irish saint Livinus (s. 48; cp. Vit. S. Livini, Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxix. 871, 873). These stories grew up out of a desire to make Augustine apostle of all England in the sense of having preached throughout it. Cp. the legend in Thomas of Ely (Angl. Sac. i. 594), that he founded a church in Cratunden, 'a mile from the present city' of Ely; and the weird story of the 'dead-alive' excommunicate and excommunicator, told by Bromton with a prefatory reference to Augustine's preaching in Oxfordshire; X Script. 736.

[2] Bede, ii. 3.

[3] In the later Middle Ages the 'festum Sancti Adelberti' was a festival of the first class at St. Paul's; Statutes of St. Paul's, ii. 52.

[4] See Dugdale's Hist. of St. Paul's, p. 2, on the structure 'called Diana's Chambers, and the ox-heads digged up' in the time of Edward I; and Milman, Annals of St. Paul's, p. 5.

[5] Thorn ascribes the foundation of St. Peter's to 'a citizen of London at the suggestion of Ethelbert;' X Script. 1768. This was a tradition which in Malmesbury became mixed up with a wild story about a dedication of the church by St. Peter himself; Gest. Pont. p. 141. So Ailred of Rievaulx, in X Script. 385. A 'West Minster' did exist, as a church of some importance, long before the Confessor's great foundation; Freeman, Norm. Conq. ii. 511. See Sir Walter Besant's charming volume on 'Westminster,' p. 7. He argues convincingly that the spot, instead of being wild or

tine, when he consecrated Mellitus, may have indulged in expectations of successful mission-work in the great city and its neighbourhood: but his hopes were not to be speedily realized. In no part of England was there so much tenacity of heathenism, so much resistance to the new faith, as in the 'emporium of many nations[1],' and generally in the East-Saxon realm. More than one effort[2] was necessary before the church of London or the parts adjacent could be considered as firmly restored upon its Saxon basis: and it might seem that Augustine soon became conscious of some of the difficulties that lay in the path of the new bishop. CHAP. III.

Matters were easier in regard to that district of Kent[3] which was dependent on the little city of Rochester, or 'Hrof's Castle,' which in British times had been called Durobrivæ, from 'the swift stream' of the Medway. There Ethelbert built a church, which, in fond remembrance of his Roman monastery, Augustine dedicated in honour of St. Andrew. The 'Bretwalda' was bounteous in his gifts to this church[4], as to that of London; and Justus was Bishopric of Rochester.

'desolate,' was a 'Roman station, a centre of traffic' of all sorts, 'bustling, noisy, frequented;' and he thinks it probable that the church founded early in the 'seventh century' was in fact an earlier church restored. Certainly the phrase 'loco terribili,' in the charter ascribed to Offa (and preserved in the chapter-house), has been quite misunderstood for want of remembering that it is borrowed from the Vulgate of Gen. xxiv. 17, and means simply 'awful' as being sacred. Bede's silence would not disprove the tradition, for he might not think it necessary to mention a foundation which was not connected with the bishopric. The traditional tomb of Sabert is to the south of the altar in the present church.

[1] Bede, ii. 3. Cp. Tacitus, Ann. xiv. 33, 'Londinium . . . copia negotiatorum . . . maxime celebre.' 'The commercial fame of London dates from the early days of Roman dominion;' Freeman, i. 281.

[2] See Bede, iii. 22, 30; cp. ib. 7.

[3] It has been thought that there was even then a sub-king of West Kent. Yet see Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 198. Malmesbury describes Rochester as a town of narrow area, but, from its high position above a very swift river, not easily accessible to foes; Gest. Pontif. p. 133. Bede says that 'Hrof' was a former 'chief man' of the Angles. Elton thinks 'Hrof' an imaginary person; Origins of Engl. Hist. i. 368.

[4] See the 'Charter of Ethelbert to the church of Rochester,' Kemble, Cod. Diplom. A.-S., i. 1. It is subsequent to the death of Augustine. The King begins by admonishing his son Eadbald, and then addresses the Apostle: 'To thee, Saint Andrew, and to thy church which is established

CHAP. III. consecrated as bishop of the new diocese, which for ages held a specially close relation of dependence on the archdiocese of Canterbury,—the successors of Justus being, beyond all other suffragans, under the control of, and expected to do episcopal work for, the successors of Augustine[1].

The grants made by Ethelbert to churches, and his recognition of the status of bishops and clergy within his dominions, led naturally to the promulgation of certain enactments under the sanction of his Witan; that is, the assembly of the freemen of his kingdom,—which was practically the assembly of the great officers and the 'king's thegns,'—bearing the title of the Assembly of the Wise, or Witenagemôt[2]. Thus Bede tells us that Ethelbert introduced among the English, 'with the counsel of the Wise Men, judicial decrees after the Roman model, which, written out in the English tongue, are extant and are observed to this day. . . Among which he first laid down the mode of satisfaction to be made by any one who should take away by theft anything belonging to the church, or the bishop, or the other orders: inasmuch as his intention was to afford protection to those whose persons and whose teaching he had accepted[3].' Accordingly, among the extant Laws of Ethelbert[4], and indeed first among them, stands a brief ordinance fixing a scale of payments

Church recognized by Witan.

in the city *Hrofibrevi*, where Justus, bishop, is seen to preside, I deliver a small portion of my land.' The exact limits are stated in Saxon, beginning from 'Southgate,' going northward to 'Street,' then eastward towards 'Broadgate.' Kemble does not doubt its authenticity: but there is a difficulty as to the date; see below. The Rochester tradition said that Ethelbert gave to the church some land thence called Priestfield, south of the city, and other land towards the north; Angl. Sacra, i. 333.

[1] The archbishop had the appointment to this bishopric until A. D. 1148. On this 'dependent' position of Rochester, see Freeman, iv. 365. The bishop of Rochester is the 'cross-bearer' of the province.

[2] See Freeman, i. 100; Kemble, ii. 194; Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 140 (or 119).

[3] Bede, ii. 5: 'Qui inter caetera bona,' &c. See Palgrave, Engl. Commonwealth, p. 44; Haddan's Remains, p. 306.

[4] Thorpe, Anc. Laws, p. 1; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 42. Palgrave, Engl. Comm. p. 45, doubts the integrity of the text of the compilation made by bishop Ernulf in the twelfth century.

—such as the Saxon law called *bôts*[1]—for wrong done to ecclesiastical property as such; in case of property, or *feoh*, of God and the Church, the satisfaction to be thus made was twelve-fold; for a bishop's property, eleven-fold; for a priest's, nine; for a deacon's, six; for an inferior cleric's, three. For violation of the *frith*, i.e. the peace or privileges, of a church or of a monastery[2], a two-fold 'bôt' was exacted. Here, then, we have definite proof of the recognition of Christianity and the Church by the 'Parliament,' so to speak, of the first English Christian king. CHAP. III.

Augustine's life was now drawing to a close. In regard to his general arrangements for the new English Church, he seems to have made but little use of Gregory's suggestion to be eclectic as to liturgical practices. He established the Roman liturgy on the whole as a matter of course, but apparently inserted in it the Gallic 'benedictio populi' already mentioned[3]; and also introduced the Gallic 'Rogations,' or processional litanies, before the Ascension[4]. Liturgical arrangements.

[1] The word means compensation or atonement (*bettering*) due to an injured party. See Thorpe's Glossary, and his Ancient Laws, pp. 17, 28, 45 (Ine's laws), 71, &c.; Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 208.

[2] Compare Thorpe, Anc. Laws, p. 9 (Alfred), and his Glossary, 'frith' and 'grith.' At Beverley and at Hexham the seat of him who claimed the 'peace' or privilege of sanctuary was called the Frith-stool. Compare the 'Peace of St. Oswin' at Tynemouth. See also Bede, Vit. Cuthb. 37; Stevenson, Pref. to Chron. of Abingdon, p. xlviii; and Lingard, A.-S. Ch. i. 273 ff. At Durham 'the culprit who sought the "grith" or "peace" of St. Cuthbert was safe as soon as he clasped the ring in the north door.' As to British churches Giraldus says (Descr. Camb. i. 18) that a wide extent of ground around them was thus privileged, and that fugitives often abused their 'immunity' by sallying forth on fresh raids; see too Haddan and Stubbs, i. 225. For Gaul, compare first Council of Orange in 449, c. 5, Mansi, vi. 437, and first of Orleans, in 511, c. 1, ib. viii. 350; and Gregory of Tours, Hist. Fr. v. 14, on his own refusal to give up Meroveus: also ib. ix. 3, 38. See also Gregory the Great, Ep. x. 50; and generally, Bingham, b. viii. c. 11 (vol. ii. p. 565), and Gothofred, Codex Theodos. t. iii. p. 388, on laws of Theodosius I, Arcadius, and Theodosius II, as to 'fugitives to churches.'

[3] Lingard, A.-S. Ch. i. 295: comp. Egbert's Pontifical, p. 58 ff. Some variations remained up to the Council of Clovesho, in 747, can. 13.

[4] P. 55. Council of Clovesho, c. 16, 'secundum morem priorum nostrorum.' The Roman 'litanies' on St. Mark's day was adopted by that Council. Archd. Freeman (Princ. of Div. Serv. i. 246) conjectures that certain peculiarities in the Old-English daily offices as compared with the Roman were originally brought in by Augustine from the South Gallic rites, as

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We infer from a letter of Alcuin to Eanbald II, archbishop of York, in the end of the eighth century, that there were then in use some 'larger sacramentaries' representing 'an old use,' which did not entirely agree with the Roman[1]. That Augustine never thought of a vernacular Liturgy as at least ultimately attainable for the English was indeed an error, but under the circumstances 'natural and pardonable[2].' His interest in the last year of his episcopate was much taken up, we may assume, by the progress of his new monastery outside the walls of Canterbury[3]. He saw the walls of the church rise higher and higher, but was not permitted to witness its completion. He could, however, make all the essential arrangements for the foundation and constitution of the house: by his exhortation, says Bede[4], Ethelbert built the church, and enriched it with divers gifts; and he selected his old companion Peter to be the first abbot[5] of this house

Monastery of SS. Peter and Paul.

probably constructed by Cassian on an Eastern model. But it is not on the whole a likely conjecture. The Council of Clovesho, c. 15, prescribes adherence to the Roman use for the canonical hours. A few features long peculiar to the Old-English Ordinal are thought by Maskell to be probably traceable to the Celtic Church; Mon. Ritual. ii. 209, 211, and see Haddan and Stubbs, i. 140.

[1] Alcuin, Ep. 171: Op. i. 231. Cp. Ep. 50, 'Non despiciant Romanos discere ordines.'

[2] Freeman, Norm. Conq. i. 32.

[3] Elmham, p. 111, says that at Christmas, 605, Ethelbert, in a council of clergy and laity, confirmed and enlarged the grants to this monastery. He then gives the so-called second charter, reciting the boundaries of the property. See Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 55. Elmham becomes rhapsodical: 'Eja, vere nostra Augustea regia!'

[4] Bede, i. 33: 'Fecit autem . . . in quo, ejus hortatu,' &c.

[5] A document called a 'bulla,' or 'privilegium sub bulla plumbea,' professing to come from Augustine, and exhorting his successors to 'ordain' the abbots of this monastery, but not to claim authority over them,—to treat them as colleagues in the Lord's work,—is clearly an 'Augustinian' invention; see it in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. i. 6; Elmham, p. 119. Such 'privilegia' were, at this period and later, often granted by bishops, e. g. St. Landry's, or Landeric's, to St. Denis (Mansi, xi. 61); but the language of the Augustinian charter betrays it. Comp. a privilegium of Bertfrid of Amiens to Corbey (ib. 107), and one of Marculf (ib. 113). On such privilegia see Guizot, Civil. in Fr., lect. 15. He gives the usual formula. See a curious letter of Archbishop Peckham to the convent of St. Augustine's, 'Licet in ipso vestro sancto monasterio, et quibusdam locis aliis et ecclesiis, a jurisdictione nostra exempti esse credamini,' &c.: Peckham's Registr. No. 64 (vol. i. p. 74).

of SS. Peter and Paul, a choice which, according to the monastic documents, was confirmed by the royal nomination[1]. The last year of Augustine's life must have been either 604 or 605. For the earlier date—in the absence of any help from Bede or the Saxon Chronicle—is cited the alleged charter of Ethelbert to the Church of Rochester, which is dated April 28, 604, and ignores Augustine, referring to his successor as the bishop of Canterbury: but this would place Augustine's death earlier than the May of that year, whereas he died on the 26th of *a* May[2]. Later authorities differ: the chronicles of St. Augustine's Abbey (i.e. SS. Peter and Paul's) give 605, an earlier annalist[3] 604: and there is a difference as to whether the day of his death was a Tuesday or a Wednesday, May 26 being a Tuesday in 604, a Wednesday in 605. Probability would point to 605, as allowing more time for the arrangements of Augustine and Ethelbert in regard to London and Rochester, after the return of the former from his conferences at Augustine's Oak[4]. One act which the archbishop performed 'while yet in health,' but shortly before his end,—his last public act,—was the consecration of Laurence to be his future successor[5]. It was an act, strictly speaking, which the ancient canons forbade: his own great namesake[6] had been ill at ease on observing that the text of a Nicene canon[7] seemed to tell against the consecration of a bishop as coadjutor and future successor by the actual bishop of the see;—but, fairly interpreted,

[1] The (spurious) charter of Ethelbert, ranked as 'third,' uses remarkable language: 'Cum consilio . . . Augustini . . . Petrum elegi, eisque . . . abbatem praeposui.' Elmham, p. 114.

[2] See the epitaph in Bede, ii. 3; 'Septimo Kal. Junii' (May 26).

[3] Florence of Worcester. Thorn says, c. i. 11 (X Script. 1765), that Augustine's death has been erroneously placed by many in 613, and that he died in 605. Smith adopts 605, and says that the chronology from which Thorn took his computation clearly points to a Wednesday as the day of the week, and to 605 as the year (p. 81). See the 'Chronologia' in X Script. 2229.

[4] Hussey decides for 605, Haddan and Stubbs for 604.

[5] Bede, ii. 4: 'Successit Augustino . . . quem ipse idcirco adhuc vivens ordinaverat.'

[6] St. Augustine, Ep. 213.

[7] Nic. Can. 8: *ἵνα μὴ ἐν τῇ πόλει δύο ἐπίσκοποι ὦσιν.*

CHAP. III. the words did not condemn such a proceeding, which had been resorted to in several cases before Augustine of Hippo was thus raised to the episcopate[1]. However, exceptions were recognized in regard to such rules as were embodied in a canon of the Council of Antioch in 341, prohibiting the consecration of a future successor by a living bishop[2]. St. Athanasius (who, indeed, did not recognize that council) had thus consecrated his friend Peter[3]; and, what seemed more to the purpose, the majority of the 'Latins' in Jerome's time[4] held that St. Peter, as bishop of Rome, had consecrated Clement to succeed him;—so that Bede expressly describes Augustine as having followed the example of the chief of the Apostles. 'But why did he not pass on the archiepiscopate to Mellitus?' The question is twofold. Why did he ignore Gregory's evident intention that the metropolitan see should be fixed in London? Clearly because, being better acquainted than the Pope could be with the local circumstances, among which, probably, the difficulties of mission-work among the inhabitants of London would hold a chief place, he deemed himself free to act on his own judgement, which, no doubt, coincided with his personal feeling; for his affections had become closely entwined with the church and the monasteries of Canterbury, and he naturally wished the archiepiscopate to be permanent in that beloved home[5]. His resolution has determined the history of the Church of England as depending on the see of Canterbury. 'But

Archbishopric fixed at Canterbury.

[1] Bingham, b. ii. c. 13. s. 4 (vol. i. p. 180).

[2] Mansi, ii. 1317. A later canon, called the 76th Apostolic, had forbidden a bishop to consecrate a relative to succeed him.

[3] Chronicon Acephalum: 'Five days before his death he ordained (consecrated) Peter.'

[4] Jerome, de Vir. Illustr. 15; comp. Comm. in Isai. b. 14. Rufinus suggested a modified view, that Linus and Clement were both bishops at Rome before Peter's death. Cp. Lightfoot's St. Clement, i. 173, 274. To this Bede refers in Hist. Abb. 6. That Rufinus was but inventing a hypothesis, see Duchesne's ed. of Lib. Pontif. i. p. lxx.

[5] See the letter of Kenulf king of Mercia to Leo III, stating that Gregory had intended London to be metropolitical, but that because Augustine died and was buried in Canterbury, it seemed good to the Witan (nostrae gentis sapientibus that the 'metropolitanus honor' should abide there. Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 522. See above, p. 75.

why not transfer Mellitus to Canterbury, or else, leaving him to his London work, summon Justus to the greater Kentish see?' If the question presented itself to Augustine, he probably answered it by considering that episcopal translations were technically, at any rate, discouraged by Church law[1]; and that he saw a man well qualified for the archbishopric among those who had been his original companions,—whose hearts he had comforted and inspirited by the letter brought from Gregory, who had travelled with him though Frankish districts, had stood by his side when he first confronted Ethelbert, and had raised their voices in the litany along the slope of St. Martin's hill. This friend was Laurence. On his head the feeble hands of Augustine were laid, and Augustine's voice uttered the solemn prayers of benediction with which the prelates of Latin Christendom were set apart for their work[2]. Laurence was now qualified to preside over the 'Church of the English'; and although Augustine's last days may have been partly saddened by the thought that this Church had not 'broken forth, on the right hand and the left,' with anything like the amplitude and vigour of self-extension which the joyful Christmastide of 597 had seemed to promise, he would take comfort in hoping that those who came after him would 'see the glory of the Lord revealed' in some richer spiritual conquests, and some stronger and broader consolidation of the Church's organic unity. It was in fact the latter work, rather than the former, which was reserved for the see of Canterbury,—and that after some sixty years had passed.

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Augustine died, as we have seen, in the last week of May, and probably in 605; and his body was temporarily laid 'outside, but close to[3],' the yet unfinished church of

The work of Augustine.

[1] See Bingham, b. vi. c. 4. s. 6.

[2] See Muratori, Lit. Rom. ii. 357, for the long 'consecratio' beginning, 'Deus honorum omnium.'.. 'Comple in sacerdote tuo ministerii tui summam . . . Abundet in eo constantia fidei, puritas dilectionis, sinceritas pacis. Tribuas ei cathedram episcopalem,' &c. Cp. Egbert's Pontif. p. 2.

[3] Bede, ii. 3. See Gocelin's Hist. Minor, 39: 'Regnas, Augustine, Augustis saeculi nomine et dignitate sublimior. . . . In monasterio . . . reconditur pretiosissimum corpus ejus festivo cum jubilo.' (Angl.-Sax. ii. 70.)

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his new monastery. The brief period allotted to him for work as a missionary bishop should modify any unkindly estimate of the amount of work that was done. He had at any rate laid the foundation 'nobly[1]': he had converted a typical English monarch; he had baptized multitudes of Kentish proselytes; he had secured a formal and public acceptance, by a national assembly, of Christian obligations, and of the Church as an organized institution; he had rooted in Canterbury a future centre for any amount of Church extension; he had started a mission in London; he had connected the reviving Christianity in Britain with the culture and discipline of the continental Church. Briefly, he had made the beginning, opened the door, formed the precedents: later missionaries in England, who had other opportunities, whose successes covered a wider area, were, consciously or not, carrying on the impulse first given by the Gregorian mission, and therein, by him whom an ancient English Council[2], when appointing a festival in his honour, described as having brought to the English people 'the knowledge of their heavenly country.' In this sense, as the first preacher to men of their race, he had been their 'apostle.' So much as to what he did. As to what he was in himself, it cannot be said that he was a man of genius, or of signal insight into human nature, or of any such qualities as exercise a commanding power over men's admiration, or an attractive influence on generations of human hearts. He was not a Boniface, not an Anskar, not a Xavier, not a Martyn. His monastic training, carried on probably until he was past middle life, had tended to stiffen his mind and narrow his range of thought; something of smallness, something of self-consciousness, some want of consideration for unfamiliar points of view and different forms of experience, may be discerned in him without injustice, and thus explained without any ungenerous forgetfulness of the better side of the monastic character. Whatever were his shortcomings, Augustine of Canterbury was a good man, a devout and laborious Christian worker, who could, and

[1] Bede, ii. 4, 'nobiliter jacta.'

[2] Council of Clovesho, c. 17; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 368.

did, face threatening difficulties and accept serious risks in loyalty to a sacred call; a missionary whose daily conduct was a recommendation of his preaching, who could impress and convince men of various classes in a Teutonic people that had little in common with his Italian antecedents: who, as archbishop, did his duty, as he read it, with all his might, if not without mistakes or failures, such as we may be tempted to judge more harshly than they merit; who, acting thus, accomplished more than appears at first sight, in that he originated so much of the work which was to make England Christian. CHAP. III.

'Laurence began his archiepiscopate with strenuous efforts to extend the foundations of the Church, and took pains to carry up its fabric to the due height, by the frequent utterance of holy exhortation, and the continual example of pious conduct.' Such is Bede's eulogy[1]. It was part of Laurence's plan to make a fresh attempt in the direction of co-operation and union with the Celtic bishops and Churches. He had, at first, some hope that the Irish might be more amenable than the Britons. But he became in some way aware of the resolute Celticism, in regard to Paschal observance, of the great Irish-born abbot and missionary Columban, who had now for about fifteen years[2] been presiding over three monasteries in the wild country of the Vosges, and in spite of the exacting severities of a rule far more onerous than Benedict's[3], had exercised a strong moral and spiritual fascination over many earnest souls that recognized in him a true zealot for Christian

Laurence Archbishop.

Overtures to Irish Church.

Columban.

[1] Bede, ii. 4: see above, p. 56.

[2] Columban came into Gaul, in order to preach the Gospel to heathen tribes on the continent, about 590. He settled at first among the pine-forests of Burgundy; disciples gathered round him; he founded four monasteries in succession, at Anegray, Luxeuil, Fontenay, and (after his removal into Italy) at Bobbio. See Lanigan, ii. 261; Milman, Lat. Chr. ii. 285; Maclear, Apostles of Med. Eur. p. 58; King, Ch. Irel. i. 249; Hodgkin, Italy and her Invaders, vi. 110 ff. He died in 615. For his writings, see Migne, Patrol. Lat. lxxx. 201 ff.

[3] See the Rule (in Galland. p. 324), c. 10. The elaborate rules of penance embodied in 'Penitentials' originated in 'the overstrained and indiscreet zeal of Cummian and Columbanus;' Haddan's Remains, p. 267; see ib. 278, and Dict. Chr. Biogr. i. 605, and Columban. Reg. Coen. c. 10.

CHAP. III. strictness, whose passion it was, as the historian of French civilization expresses it, to 'cast the Divine fire abroad on every side, without troubling himself about the conflagration[1].' With all his intense Christian devotion[2], the Irishman's *perfervidum ingenium* made itself apparent in his conduct. He had denounced the Gallican Easter cycle, that of Victorius, as ridiculous in the eyes of scholarly Irishmen[3], and had upheld the reckoning which included 'the fourteenth of the moon' among the days on which Easter Sunday could be kept[4]. This he did in a letter to Pope Gregory; and about the time when Mellitus and his companions were passing through Gaul, he excused himself from attending a Gallic synod by a letter[5] in which he claimed the authority of all the Western Churches for not extending the Paschal limits beyond the twentieth of the moon, and upheld the cycle of eighty-four years as representing the mind of venerated writers, and contrasting with the 'doubtful and indefinite language of Victorius[6];' while at the same time he was content to deprecate intolerance, to ask 'leave to dwell quietly in these woods

[1] Guizot, Civil. in Fr, lect. 16.

[2] See his tenth 'Instruction' and second 'Carmen.'

[3] Columb. Ep. 1. He says that Victorius transgressed the rule that Easter could not precede the equinox, and that by admitting the twenty-first moon within the limits, a *Pascha tenebrosum* was introduced, *because* that moon rises after midnight. He opposes to Victorius the authority of 'Anatolius' and Jerome (but cf. above, p. 89; Jerome referred to the genuine work of Anatolius). Compare Greg. Turon., H. Fr. x. 23: 'In cyclo Victor luna decima-quinta Pascha scripsit fieri; sed ne Christiani, ut Judaei, sub hac luna haec solemnia celebrarent, addidit, Latini autem luna vigesima-secunda,' &c. There is a strong vein of pedantry in Columban, together with a curious ignorance on some important points to which he refers: but he was a genuine classical scholar, and the library at Bobbio was 'for many centuries probably the richest in Italy' (Hodgkin).

[4] He says that the plea for excluding the fourteenth, 'cum Judaeis Pascha facere non debemus,' was 'once urged by Bishop Victor, but no one of the Easterns (!) *suum recepit* commentum.' We must, he insists, keep Easter from the fourteenth to the twentieth inclusive, not from the fifteenth to the twenty-first. See above, p. 89.

[5] Columb. Ep. 2.

[6] 'Victorium nuper dubie scribentem, et ubi necesse erat, nihil definientem . . . who wrote under Hilarus, 103 years after the times of . . . Pope Damasus.' His chronology is inaccurate. See too Ep. 5. 9.

beside the bones of his seventeen departed brethren,' and to 'pray that Gaul might find room for all,' of whatever race, who were on their road to 'the heavenly kingdom[1].' But it was obvious that Columban would not depart in any particular from the Irish usages on this point. Laurence may have learned from some Gallic bishops, or from a personal visit to the abbot of Luxeuil, how strong was his resolve against any conformity to their practice: and the tenacity of the Irish Churchmen's adherence to Celtic rules was painfully brought home to the archbishop when an Irish bishop, named Dagan[2], having come to Britain[3], for the purpose, as we may suppose, of conferring with the three bishops[4], was apparently so much irritated by what passed in the discussion that he flatly refused to eat with them, or even to eat in the same place in which they were taking their meal. Laurence wrote, in his own name and in those of his two suffragans, to their 'most dear lords and brothers, the bishops and abbots throughout all Scotia,' i. e. Ireland. Only part of the letter is given by Bede; but he tells us that in the rest Laurence entreated them to be at one in 'Catholic observance' with the Church throughout the world. Another letter to the like effect was sent to the British bishops[5], evidently in order that Laurence might discharge his conscience, and be able to feel that he had done all he could to promote unity. 'How much good he got from it,' says Bede with something of condensed bitterness, 'even our present times can show,'—for he well knew how, in the days of his own elder con-

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[1] 'Ut mihi liceat . . . in his silvis silere et vivere juxta ossa . . . as up to this time we have been free to live among you twelve years. . . Capiat nos simul, oro, Gallia quos capiet regnum coelorum, si boni simus meriti,' &c. See Milman, ii. 288; Maclear, p. 64; King, i. 294.

[2] Probably the bishop of Inverdaoile (co. Wexford) of that name.

[3] Bede, ii. 4. 'Ad nos veniens' might imply a visit to Canterbury, although the words 'in eodem hospitio quo vescebamur' have been understood otherwise. See Lingard, A.-S. Ch. i. 59.

[4] See Lanigan, ii. 367. He adds that on this supposition, Dagan could not have intended all along 'to keep up no sort of communion with them.' He also quotes the appellation *praeplacidum*, given to this prelate, who was consecrated about 600, and died in 640.

[5] Bede, ii. 4: 'Misit idem Laurentius . . . etiam Brettonum sacerdotibus.'

CHAP. III. temporary, Aldhelm bishop of Sherborne, the British priests beyond the Severn used to cleanse elaborately the plates or cups from which Saxons had fed, after throwing the remnants of their food to dogs and swine[1]; how, at the time at which his History was written, the Britons 'regarded the Christianity of the English as a thing of nought[2].' In effect, the Southern Irish gave up their Paschal reckonings in deference to Papal exhortations, to the opinion of some of their own leading men, e. g. St. Cummian, and to evidence obtained as to the prevalence of the 'Catholic Easter,' not only at Rome, but in other leading Churches,—about A. D. 634[3]: the latter part of 640, in the north of Ireland, five bishops and other ecclesiastics consulted the Roman see on the subject, and received from the Pope elect, John IV, and other Roman dignitaries a letter implying that the Irish practice was in effect Quartodeciman[4]: but the majority, at least, of the Northern Irish paid more regard to the authority of the Columban monastery of Hy than to that of Rome itself, and retained their own 'Pasch' until 704, while Hy stood out until 716[5]. The Strathclyde clergy yielded about the same time as the North Irish: the North Welsh, under the influence of Elbod bishop of Bangor, in 755 or 768; the South Welsh, under strong pressure, in 777[6]. It was then, and not until then, that the English Church, which had been founded and organized without the aid of the British, absorbed the latter into its own body. It was thus, and only thus, that it acquired continuity with the Church which had been represented at Arles and at Ariminum,

[1] Aldhelm, Ep. 1. See p. 99.

[2] Bede, ii. 20.

[3] Lanigan, ii. 389 ff. King dates the Synod of the Field of Lene in 630, and distinguishes it from the Synod of the White Field, held (after the return of the Irish delegates from Rome) in 633 or 634; Ch. Irel. i. 171. Another view identifies the two Synods: but Lanigan observes that Maghlene and 'Whitefield' are in different counties. He gives the substance of Cummian's letter in defence of his adoption of the Roman Easter, so King, i. 154. See the original in Usher's 'Sylloge,' Ep. 11.

[4] Bede, iii. 19. Cf. Lanigan, ii. 409 ff.

[5] Bede, v. 22; Haddan and Stubbs, ii. 114.

[6] Haddan and Stubbs, ii. 6; i. 203.

which could look back to Alban as its protomartyr, and to German as its deliverer from the heresy invented by one of its own sons.

The ecclesiastical society at Canterbury sustained a loss at the close of 607, when the abbot Peter, sent by Ethelbert as an envoy to Gaul, was drowned in the bay of Ambleteuse; his body was recovered, and buried in St. Mary's church at Boulogne[1]. John, one of 'the Forty,' succeeded him: and in the same year, 608, bishop Mellitus went to Rome to consult Pope Boniface IV on the affairs of the English mission, and was honourably received in a Roman synod held on Feb. 27, 610, the decrees of which he subscribed[2]. The Pope sent back with him a letter to Ethelbert, and others to Laurence and his clergy[3]: and after his return he was probably present at the long-delayed dedication of the monastery church of SS. Peter and Paul, outside the east wall of Canterbury. Laurence performed the ceremony, and then transferred the remains of Augustine, with all honour, to a grave in the northern 'porch' of the church[4]. The monastery, as it grew in resources, became a conspicuous specimen of monastic exemption from diocesan rule; it was called 'the Roman Chapel in England,' as being immediately subject to the Pope[5]. Its community

Mellitus at Rome.

Dedication of SS. Peter and Paul's.

[1] Bede, i. 33. He is still commemorated yearly at Ambleteuse.

[2] 'Confirmaret,' 'assent to;' Bede, ii. 4; cp. Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 459. The decree ascribed to this synod, on the right of monks to officiate as priests, is an absurd forgery.

[3] Bede, l. c.: 'Una cum epistolis,' &c. But the letter beginning 'Dum Christianitatis vestrae,' Malmesb. G. P. i. 30, Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 65, professing to grant the king's request that a regular community of monks might be established in the cathedral monastery, is clearly an 'Augustinian' invention, meant to establish the seniority of that community over the former. Cf. Elmham, p. 85. Elmham says that Mellitus brought home this letter after a second journey in 615; p. 134. A letter or bull ascribed to Boniface, in Elmham, p. 129, is spurious. See Hardwick's Introduction to Elmham, p. xxviii.

[4] Bede, ii. 3; 'Mox vero,' &c. 'Porticus' occurs in Bede, iii. 19, v. 20. It means an adjunct to a church, whether vestibule, apse, or side-chapel.

[5] 'Life of St. Augustine,' p. 133. See Elmham, pp. 386, 392, 404 (Eugenius III said that the monastery was 'beati Petri juris,' &c.). An earlier Pope, Agatho, forbade any 'sacerdos' (bishop) to exercise authority in the monastery, 'praeter sedem apostolicam,' it being specially under the jurisdiction of Rome; p. 247. Guizot says of the Frankish monasteries

CHAP. III. carried on a tradition of jealous independence as regards the archbishop, and a sort of standing feud with their neighbours of the metropolitan cathedral, and did not shrink from documentary frauds in support of their programme [1].

Death of Ethelbert.

King Ethelbert, when he witnessed the removal of Bertha's corpse as well as Augustine's, to the minster newly dedicated, may well have felt that his life's work was done. Yet he lived three years longer, probably saddened in his last days by apprehensions as to the fortunes of the Church under his son Eadbald, who, according to the Chronicle, had been baptized, but, according to the higher authority of Bede, 'had refused to receive the faith of Christ [2]:'—if this phrase is to be taken literally, it implies that Eadbald had resisted the exhortations of his father's religious guides. Ethelbert's reign of fifty-six years came to a close on the 24th of February, in 616: but in assigning to him twenty-one years of Christian life, the historian [3] is inconsistent with his own date of 597 for the arrival of Augustine. Ethelbert was buried in St. Martin's 'porch,' within the church of SS. Peter and Paul [4]. 'Eadbald, on assuming the government, did much harm to the Church, which was still in its tender growth.' He would have none of the new lore: he would cleave to the old worship: and he followed an old Teutonic rule [5] by uniting

Eadbald refuses Christianity.

that Fulda was the first to be placed under the direct jurisdiction of Rome; Civil. in Fr. lect. 15.

[1] See Hardwick's remarks in Introduction to Elmham, p. viii. For the story of the monk of St. Medard, who on his death-bed confessed that he had forged bulls of exemption in favour of St. Augustine's and other monasteries, see Palgrave, Eng. Comm. p. ccxi. See the spurious deeds in Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 54–59, 67–70; and cp. Freeman, iv. 408.

[2] See Elmham, p. 87, for a sample of animosity on the side of the cathedral monks; and cf. ib. 317 for archbishop Cuthbert's successful scheme for ensuring his own burial in the cathedral. After Bregwin's similar burial the Augustinians were on the point of having recourse to arms; ib. 328.

[3] Bede, ii. 5. Elmham corrects this to 'nineteen.'

[4] In the south part of the church, Elmham, p. 137, where Bertha and Liudhard were buried. Against the story of his having been buried at Reculver, see Stanley, Mem. Cant. p. 46.

[5] See above, p. 66, on this custom, and Robertson's Hist. Essays, p. lxvii. The Council of Agde, in 506, had included those who married their step-

himself to his father's widow, the successor of Bertha. CHAP. III. We can well understand how, as Bede tells us, those who under Ethelbert had acquiesced, without conviction, in the creed which he adopted,—had 'accepted the laws of faith and chastity[1] either for fear or for the sake of favour' (although indeed Ethelbert had never imposed Christianity on any of his subjects), took occasion to resume their heathenism under a king who, as they would express it, was not the dupe of the shavelings from Rome. 'Eadbald was troubled with fits of madness, and by the attacks of an unclean spirit:' such is Bede's statement, and in these moods, as they probably were, of wild excitement the Christian subjects of Eadbald would deem that they beheld a corrective visitation. But Eadbald appeared obstinate: and to add to the anxieties of Laurence, Mellitus was just now exposed to an equally trying reverse of his former prosperity. Sabert was just dead: the East-Saxon realm was left to his three sons, named Sæward, Sexred, and Sigebert. Although 'in their father's lifetime they had seemed to give up a little of their idolatry[2],' they now openly resumed it. One day they came into St. Paul's church, while the bishop was administering the Holy Communion[3]. 'Why do you not,' they rudely asked him, 'give us also a share in the white bread[4], which you used to give

mothers among the incestuous who were never to be absolved, 'nisi cum adulterium separatione sanaverint;' c. 61; Mansi, viii. 335.

[1] Compare St. Boniface's bitter complaints about those whom he had taken for sheep and who proved to be goats, Ep. 22; and Ep. 27, on 'false Christians.'

[2] 'Aliquantulum intermisisse;' Bede, ii. 5.

[3] Bede says, 'celebratis missarum sollemniis,' meaning, the mass which was being celebrated, and which was then considered to be in one sense finished by the celebrant's communion. 'Censebantur sollemnia missarum consummata priusquam communio, saltem laicis, distribueretur;' Ruinart, Praef. ad Greg. Turon. s. 46. A single celebration was often called 'missae' in recollection of the ancient dismissal, first of catechumens, finally of 'fideles.' Cp. first Council of Orleans, c. 26 (Mansi, viii. 355), and Caesarius in App. to Aug. Serm., no. 281, that the 'missae solennitas' was 'completed' when the bishop gave his benediction (see above, p. 64). Mellitus might have done this before the princes came in. See also Cyprian de Lapsis, 25.

[4] Hook, i. 97, 'slips in' (see Haddan's Remains, p. 301) a mention of 'wine.' Of course, 'both kinds' were administered; but 'something in

CHAP. III. to our father Saba[1], and which you still continue to give to the people in the church?' 'If,' answered Mellitus, with calm dignity, 'you are willing to be washed in that font of salvation[2] in which your father was washed, then you may also partake of the holy bread of which he used to partake; but if you despise the laver of life, you cannot possibly receive the bread of life.' They answered, 'We will not go into that font, for we know not what need we have of it: but for all that, we choose to eat of that bread.' It was sheer barbaric curiosity, combined with the self-will of young princes suddenly left to their own guidance. They could not brook any curb on their caprices: and when Mellitus 'repeatedly and earnestly' set before them the necessity of baptism as a pre-requisite for 'communion in the most holy oblation[3],' they cut him short in senseless wrath, saying, 'If you will not give us our way in so small a matter, you shall not remain in our province:' and 'they commanded him, and all who belonged to him, to leave their kingdom.' Thus it was that for adhering to the principle that religious privileges implied religious obligations, and were not to be had without them,—for refusing to degrade his religion by imparting its holiest treasures to outsiders who would not qualify themselves for such reception by the one indispensable initiatory rite,—Mellitus lost his church and bishopric, and had perforce to see his work

the bread . . . attracted the eye of the heathen princes.' And they would naturally look at Mellitus, not at his deacon who would be administering the chalice.

[1] A familiar abbreviation of Sabert (itself a familiar 'short' name), as 'Ceol' for 'Ceolwulf' the father of Kynegils, and for Ceolric, king of the Hwiccas. Comp. Elmham, p. 338: 'It is a Saxon fashion nomina transformare . . . syncopando, ut pro Thoma *Tomme* . . . pro Johanne . . . *Jacke*.'

[2] Comp. Bede, ii. 14, 'lavacrum sanctae regenerationis;' iii. 21, 'fidei fonte;' iii. 23, 'lavacri salutaris;' iv. 16, v. 19, 'fonte Salvatoris;' v. 6, 'salutari fonte . . . vitali unda.'

[3] Comp. Bede, iii. 2, 'victimam sacrae oblationis;' iv. 14, 'sacrificiis caelestibus . . . de sacrificio Dominicae oblationis particulam;' iv. 22, 'oblationem hostiae salutaris . . . victimas sacrae oblationis;' iv. 28, v. 10, 'sacrificium victimae salutaris.' Compare Gildas, 28, 'sacrificii caelestis sedem,' and 67, 'manus . . . sacrosanctis Christi sacrificiis extensuri;' and Adamn. iii. 17, 'sacram oblationem consecrantis.'

abruptly arrested: and from that day, for nearly forty years, London and Essex were lost to Christianity. CHAP. III.

The expelled bishop hastened to Canterbury, whither Laurence had summoned Justus from Rochester; and the three prelates held a sorrowful consultation, which tended to increase their despondency as it were by infection, and ended in the resolution to abandon the mission. It was an access of such faint-heartedness as was only too natural, when all around seemed hopelessly dark: but its character was probably concealed from themselves by the use of religious phraseology. 'Better,' they said, 'return to Italy, and there serve God in freedom, than stay here where no good is to be done, among barbarians who have revolted from the faith.' Accordingly, Mellitus and Justus crossed the Channel, and took up their abode in Gaul, intending to await events. Laurence was to follow: on the night before his intended departure, he caused his bed to be prepared within the church of SS. Peter and Paul. After praying long, with tears, for his people, he lay down, and slept. Bede then reports what he had received from his informants[1], that St. Peter appeared to Laurence, scourged him, and demanded 'why he was forsaking the flock whom he himself had entrusted to his care' (a phrase which obviously refers to the origination of the mission from a successor of St. Peter); and that this rebuke was enforced by a reference to the apostle's own endurance of suffering and even martyrdom 'for the little ones of Christ.' Next morning Laurence hastened to Eadbald, 'drew aside his garment,' and showed the actual marks of nocturnal castigation. 'Who has dared,' asked the king, 'to inflict such blows on a man of your rank?' Laurence told what had happened: Eadbald was deeply awed, cast away his idols, 'renounced his unlawful marriage, embraced the faith of Christ, and after receiving baptism, took pains to promote in all things, to the utmost of his power, the interests of

[1] The story is referred to by Alcuin in his letter of remonstrance to archbishop Ethelheard; see Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 519; and in Laurence's epitaph, Elmham, p. 149,—

'Pro populo Christi scapulas dorsumque dedisti.'

CHAP. III. the Church.' It has been suggested that this story of the appearance of St. Peter and the scourging is probably the legendary exaggeration of a dream, in which Laurence imagined himself to receive such discipline from his heavenly visitor[1], and after which in compunction he perhaps inflicted it on himself[2]; that he may have succeeded in producing a salutary effect on Eadbald by the mere recital of his dream,—possibly also by the visible tokens of his penance; and that there is therefore no necessity for imputing to him a fraud, such as, doubtless, a lax casuistry has often miscalled 'pious,' in forgetfulness of the condemnation of 'lying for God.' Yet writers so equitable as Haddan and Hardwick have found it difficult to dispense with this unfavourable supposition[3]. As it stands, the story belongs to a class of which the first specimen is given by a writer of the third century, to the effect that a certain Natalius, who having been a confessor had afterwards become a 'bishop' among heretics, was scourged all night long by angels, and showed his bruises next day to the orthodox Roman bishop and church[4]. There is, at any rate, no doubt that an impression was made on Eadbald, which produced a conversion of the most genuine and practical kind, such as Bede has described in words already quoted, and in a sentence a little further on: 'He gave himself up in good earnest to the Divine precepts[5].' He sent into Gaul to summon home

[1] Hook, i. 89; Green, Making of Engl. p. 247.

[2] This suggestion is Churton's; Early Engl. Church, pp. 53, 54.

[3] Haddan, Remains, p. 309, Hardwick, Ch. H. Mid. Ages, p. 9. Cf. Church, Beginning of M. Ages, p. 85, 'sometimes evidently fraudulent miracles played their part,' &c.

[4] The author of the Little Labyrinth (Caius?) in Euseb. v. 28. Compare Tertullian de Idololatria, 15, 'Scio fratrem per visionem . . . castigatum,' &c.; and Jerome's strange story of his having been rapt 'in spirit' before the Divine Judge (while his body seemed stiffened in death from the effects of fever), and scourged for his love of heathen literature. 'Liventes fateor me habuisse scapulas;' Ep. 22. 30. And the story in Adamn. Vit. S. Columb. iii. 5, that 'quadam nocte in ecstasi mentis' Columba was 'struck with a whip' by an angel, and retained the mark through life.

[5] Bede, ii. 6. On 'mancipare,' cf. iv. 25. He built a church of St. Mary to the east of SS. Peter and Paul's, beyond the cemetery of the monks. See Elmham, p. 144.

the two fugitive bishops; they however, somewhat unaccountably, delayed their return for about a year. Eadbald could uphold Justus, as his father had done, at Rochester: but he was not, like his father, supreme over Essex. The young kings who had expelled Mellitus were soon afterwards[1] slain in battle by the West-Saxons: and whatever Sigebert the Little, their successor[2], may have done or wished to do in the matter, we are expressly told that 'the Londoners would not receive Mellitus back as their bishop, preferring to be under their own idolatrous high priests,'—that 'the common people, after having been stirred up to the crime' of apostasy, 'could not be corrected and reclaimed to the faith,'—and that 'Eadbald had not power enough to restore the prelate to his church in the teeth of heathens saying him nay[3].'

The year after Eadbald's accession—the year of this obstinate rejection of the faith by the greatest of English cities—was marked by an event which, in its ultimate results, was a momentous gain to English Christianity. The East-Anglians of Norfolk and Suffolk were now ruled by a king named Redwald, grandson of that Uffa from whom the dynasty took the name of Uffingas. He is reckoned as fourth of the 'Bretwaldas[4].' He had visited Kent in Ethelbert's time, and had even accepted baptism; but on his return home, his Pagan wife 'and certain perverse teachers,' appealing to his lingering superstitions or to his political self-interest, drew him into a compromise which Bede likens to the mixed worship of the old Samaritans, who 'feared the Lord and served their own gods[5].' He had 'in the same (heathen) fane an altar for Christ's sacrifice,' and a smaller one for the worship of idols[6]:—it

Redwald of East-Anglia.

[1] Bede, ii. 5: 'Sed non multo tempore,' &c.

[2] Bede, iii. 22. He was son of Sæward, and had a long reign.

[3] Bede, ii. 6: 'Mellitum vero Lundonienses episcopum recipere noluerunt . . . Non enim tanta erat ei, quanta patri ipsius, regni potestas,' &c. And ib. ii. 5, fin.: 'Nec, licet auctoribus perditis . . .' &c.

[4] He 'gave this ascendency to the East-Saxons' when Ethelbert's energies had begun to fail; Bede, ii. 5.

[5] 2 Kings xvii. 33. His wife, though unhappily adverse to Christianity, was a high-minded woman; see below.

[6] 'In eodem fano et altare ad sacrificium Christi, et arulam ad victimas

CHAP. III. was a combination essentially resembling the attempt of many in that age to keep terms with both religions by attending indiscriminately the churches and the old heathen temples[1], or the subsequent expedient of a Norwegian king who, while signing the cross over his cup, told his people that it meant 'the hammer of Thor[2].' Redwald had a consciousness of the claims of Christianity, but he durst not admit them without reserve, and in their exclusive absoluteness;—he fancied that he could treat his baptismal creed as one form of religion with which older forms might be associated[3]: or perhaps he persuaded himself that, in exceptional circumstances, the baptized king of heathen subjects might reasonably accommodate himself, to a certain extent, to the religious prejudices of his people. Be this as it may, Redwald, in the beginning of 617, was still harbouring at his court an exiled Northumbrian prince, whose name of Edwin[4] should not be uttered by any Englishman without grateful respect, although his early life gave little promise of such a career as in fact awaited him. A son of the Northumbrian Ella whose name had been played with by Gregory as suggestive of

Early life of Edwin.

daemoniorum.' King Aldwulf of East-Anglia, when a boy, saw this 'fane.' Bede, ii. 15. Compare Maclear, Conv. of Slavs, p. 136, on a case in Pomerania of a pagan altar set up within a church.

[1] Gregory, Ep. ix. 11 : see too ib. viii. 18. Compare Willibald's Vit. S. Bonifacii, c. 8, that some of the Hessian converts would not receive Christian teachers 'integre,' but sacrificed to trees or fountains, some 'clanculo,' some openly Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxix. 619. So the Magyars who had conformed to Christianity often kept up the worship of their god Isten within the forests or beside the fountains. See above, p. 80.

[2] Hacon, son of Harold Haarfager. See the story in Maclear's Conversion of Northmen, p. 57.

[3] Pearson calls this 'the first authentic mention of a process of development which purified and rationalized Odinism during several centuries,' and 'irradiated it with gleams of love and hopefulness from Christianity' (Hist. Engl. i. 127, 155), as the bright and beloved Baldr was invested with some attributes of 'the White Christ'; see Kemble, i. 367. Cp. Maclear, Apost. of Mediaev. Eur. p. 18, 'Baldr . . . "the restorer of peace, the maker-up of quarrels."'

[4] If antiquarian precision gains by adherence to such forms as Eadwine, Eadward, Ælfred, for names which have become part of English speech, the sense of reality loses. It is not a question in which historical truth is interested, as in the use or disuse of the French 'Charlemagne' for the great German king.

Alleluia, Edwin, as a child[1], had been despoiled of his royal inheritance by Ethelric, the father of Ethelfrid—had been sheltered, according to a Welsh tradition, by king Cadvan of North Wales[2]—had certainly at some time fled into Mercia[3], and thence into the more remote East Anglia. Thither, however, Ethelfrid's hate pursued him: Redwald received message after message, offering 'a large sum of money for the slaughter of Edwin:' at last, threats of war were combined with the promises, and Redwald, allured or alarmed, gave consent. It was then, according to the famous and impressive story[4], that a friend of Edwin entered the exile's bedchamber, called him out, told him what the king had promised to do with him, and offered to conduct him, that very night, out of the province, and out of the reach of Ethelfrid or Redwald[5]. Edwin declined the offer, not thanklessly, but, according to Bede's representation, partly from a scruple of honour, partly from moody hopelessness. He would not be the first to break friendship with Redwald, who as yet had never wronged him; if he was to die, let his death come by Redwald's hand rather than by any less noble. What new refuge could he find after nearly thirty years of wandering? His friend retired, leaving him seated on a stone outside the palace, and distracted by 'many a tide of thought' as to what he should do, or whither he should go. When he had spent a long time in silent distress, he seemed to see, in the dead stillness of night, a man approaching him whose face and garb were alike strange,

CHAP. III.

[1] Edwin was born in 585, three years before his father's death. Then Ethelric, the Bernician, seized Deira, and Edwin's troubles began, in 588.

[2] So Lappenberg, i. 145. But would he not, in that case, have been bred up a Christian? See Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 75. The Welsh story was that Cadvan, who became king in 603, 'hazarded a war with the persecutor of Edwin, which ended in the battle of Chester;' Lappenberg, i. 145. Cadvan was described in his epitaph (found in Anglesey) as 'wisest and most renowned of kings.' He was fourth in descent from Maelgwyn, and died about 616; Rhys, p. 127.

[3] He married a Mercian princess, who died before 625.

[4] See it exquisitely told by Bede, ii. 12, 'Quod ubi fidissimus quidam,' &c.; and the rendering in Freeman's Old-Engl. Hist. p. 52.

[5] 'Si ergo vis, hac ipsa nocte,' &c.

CHAP. III. and who, after greeting him, asked why he was sitting there, alone and sorrowful, while every one else was taking repose. 'What matters it to you,' asked Edwin impatiently, recovering from a momentary dread, 'whether I pass the night within doors or here?' 'Do not think,' rejoined the stranger, 'that I am unaware of the reason of your sleeplessness and anxiety. I know who you are, and what you are now afraid of. But tell me what you would give as a reward to any one who could deliver you from your peril.' 'I would give all I could.' 'What if he could also assure you that you should crush your foes and become a king, and a mightier king than your forefathers, or even than all who have been beforetime kings of the Angles?' Again Edwin promised to requite such service as it merited. 'But,' said the stranger, 'what if he whose predictions should have been thus made good were able to give you better counsel for your life and safety than any of your kindred ever heard of? would you then follow his guidance?' Edwin promised that he would do so absolutely. The stranger laid his hand on Edwin's head, saying, 'When this token is given you, remember our conversation, and fulfil your promise:' and instantly, as Bede heard the story, he disappeared. Edwin was still sitting on the stone seat, gladdened by the encouraging words, but much perplexed as to their mysterious speaker[1], when his friend returned with a glad countenance. 'Rise up, and go to rest without fear. The king told his wife of his resolution against you, and she told him that it was nowise meet for a great king to sell for gold a good friend in distress, or rather for love of gain to ruin that which was more precious than all ornaments, his honour. This has changed his mind again.' It was true: Redwald had determined not only to protect Edwin, but to anticipate the threatened attack of Ethelfrid. He gathered all his forces, marched rapidly northward, and giving the 'Destroyer' no time to make full preparations, met him

Battle of Retford.

[1] Bede says he knew him to be a spirit. The St. Gallen 'Life of Gregory' says, 'Quidam cum cruce Christi coronatus,' a supposed 'apparition of Paulinus'; who, in fact, may have been visiting Redwald.

on the borders of Mercia, on the east bank of the Idle, probably at Idleton near Retford [1], and, as we infer from a calculation of Bede, before the 11th of April in 617 [2]. Here Ethelfrid was defeated and slain: a popular saying commemorated CHAP. III.

> The day when Idle flood
> Ran foul with Angle blood [3];

and Edwin, the hunted and all but betrayed fugitive, became at once the sovereign of the whole Northumbrian region, uniting his hereditary Deira to Bernicia. 'He drove out the Ethelings, sons of Ethelfrid [4],' says the Saxon Chronicle; and we must mark three names,—Eanfrid, Oswald, and Oswy,—one destined to a brief and shameful elevation, the two others to a high rank among Old-English monarchs, and one of these to the purest form of royal glory—but all three at present cast aside into the gloom of a common ruin. To all appearance, Edwin was simply another mighty prince of the Northern Angles, with something of the terrible energy of Ethelfrid, as the Christian Britons of Loidis [5] would feel to their cost, when in revenge for the poisoning of his nephew Hereric, the father of the future St. Hilda, Edwin expelled their king Cerdic, and annexed Loidis to Deira [6]. Edwin, King of Northumbria.

[1] See Pearson, Hist. Engl. i. 127.

[2] For the baptism of Edwin, on April 11, 627, took place within the eleventh year of his reign; Bede, ii. 14.

[3] Henry of Huntingdon, ii. 30. As a canon of Lincoln he must often have heard this saying. On this battle see Palgrave, English Commonwealth, p. 428; Green, p. 252.

[4] 'Eanfrid, Oswald, Oswy, Oslac, Oswudu, Oslaf, Offa,'—all Edwin's nephews, for Acha his sister had married Ethelfrid; Bede, iii. 6.

[5] See Bede, ii. 14, iii. 24, for Loidis; it was a district dependent on the Cumbrian British realm, and embracing the lowest portion of the valleys of the Calder, the Aire, and the Wharf; Whitaker, 'Loidis and Elmete,' p. 1; Palgrave, Engl. Comm. p. 435. The name of course survives in Leeds. Green, Making of England, pp. 64, 254, speaks of the whole territory as 'Elmet.' Rhys distinguishes the two, Celt. Brit. p. 130. The name of Elmet is still attached to Barwick, N.E. of Leeds. Bede mentions it in ii. 14.

[6] Compare the App. to Nennius, and Bede, iv. 23, with Hussey's note. 'Nepotis,' nephew, not (as Florence took it) grandson. Hereric was the son of Edwin's elder brother, and probably but little younger than Edwin himself (Green, p. 248). His other daughter was Hereswid.

CHAP. III. Two years after the battle of the Idle, Laurence died, on the 2nd of February, 619, having added, as it would seem, to the churches of Canterbury a 'martyrium' on the south of the cathedral, in honour of 'the Four Crowned Brothers,' Roman martyrs in the time of Diocletian[1]. He was succeeded by Mellitus, whose character, as we have already seen, was that of a man faithful in his stewardship of sacred ordinances, although in a great trial of patience he despaired of the English mission. He exhibited, as archbishop, a truly pastoral zeal; which, as in Gregory's case, overcame the painful infirmity of the gout from which he suffered. As Bede expresses it[2], his *mind*, if not his feet, 'could walk healthily, leaping over all earthly considerations, ever winging its way upward, to love and follow after things heavenly: noble in birth, nobler still in loftiness of spirit,—a true man of God, enkindled with the fire of Divine love,' which, says Bede, was manifest in him when he caused himself to be carried towards a conflagration that was laying waste a large part of Canterbury, and occupied himself in prayer while a number of strong men were vainly struggling to quench it; whereupon the wind shifted round to the north, and the rest of the city—including the cathedral and the episcopal house—was saved. This incident, and the dedication of the chapel of St. Mary, built by Eadbald within the precinct of SS. Peter and Paul, are all that we know of the archiepiscopate of Mellitus. He died on the 24th of April, 624, and Justus of Rochester was removed to Canterbury, the circumstances requiring this technical departure from old canons. Boniface V speedily sent him a pall, and authorized him to consecrate, single-handed[3], a new bishop for Rochester—the person selected being Romanus. This letter contains an allusion to the disappointment of those more brilliant hopes which had been centred in the Gre-

[1] Bede, ii. 7. For these martyrs see Alb. Butler, Nov. 8. Their church on the Caelian was founded by Honorius I in 622.

[2] Ib.: 'Erat autem Mellitus corporis quidem infirmitate, id est, podagra gravatus, sed mentis gressibus sanis' (qu. sanus?).

[3] The permission, indeed, was general: 'Exigente opportunitate.' Above, p. 67. This pope sat from 618 or 619 to 625.

gorian mission. The Pope consoled Justus by observing that what had been done was a pledge that in due time all would be done. The slow progress was a trial of 'patience and endurance[1]:' let it be borne in faith, and with a humble confidence that the actual consolidation of Christianity in Kent would promote its extension among the neighbouring realms. Justus may well have needed this encouragement at the end of those twenty-three years of experience; the programme drawn out by Gregory, in one of the letters brought by himself and his companions, appeared still to be so far from fulfilment: outside Kent, not a single kingdom had been secured for Christianity, and one had been lost. If hopes had been entertained as to East-Anglia, they had been blighted. The Celtic bishops and clergy had repelled successive overtures. One bright spot there was, which of itself suggested a coming revival of prosperity; for Eadbald, who had once been such a cause of despondency, was now, as it were, a second Ethelbert. He who had refused baptism, and emphasized his opposition to Christianity by contracting a marriage which it abhorred, was now, as Boniface had written after reading a letter from him[2] on the occasion of the accession of Justus, a signal example of 'a real conversion and of an unquestionable faith.' With him the archbishops and their clergy could work cordially: at his bidding churches rose up;—one such has already been mentioned, and another may substantially exist in that venerable church of St. Mary, which, attached to a far older Roman lighthouse, and

CHAP. III

[1] 'Laudabili patientia redemptionem gentis illius expectatis ... Salvati ergo estis spe patientiae et tolerantiae virtute ... quatenus ... consummati operis vobis merces ... tribuatur,' &c. He quotes Matt. x. 22, xxviii. 20. Compare a despondent letter of St. Boniface, Ep. 22, asking some nuns to pray for him that he might not die 'omnino sine fructu evangelii sterilis,' and receive 'ultionem infructuosi laboris.' Other great missionaries had their faith and patience sorely tried by apparent failure. When St. Anskar, amid the 'angustiae' of his work, asked Ebbo of Reims for comfort, the answer was, 'I am assured that what we have begun to work out for the name of Christ fructificare *habet* in Domino. ... Veraciter scio quia etsi aliquando propter peccata quodammodo impeditum fuerit ... non tamen unquam penitus exstinguetur,' &c. Vit. Ansk. 34 (Pertz, Mon. G. H. ii. 717).

[2] The pope, by some mistake, calls him *Adul*wald; Bede, ii. 8.

CHAP. III. 'partly built out of Roman materials,' crowns the southern cliff within the limits of the castle of Dover[1]. Eadbald also built a church at Folkestone, and his daughter Eanswith, who founded there a religious society, is still remembered as the local saint[2]. But it is with the king's sister Æthelburh or Ethelburga, whom her family called by the fond name of Tata, 'the darling,' that our history is now concerned.

Marriage of Ethelburga to Edwin.

It must have been very soon after the receipt of the Pope's letter that envoys from Edwin of Northumbria presented themselves to Eadbald. In the name of their master they asked for Ethelburga's hand[3]. Eadbald answered like a Christian, and more uncompromisingly than his own Frankish grandfather had replied to Ethelbert. 'I cannot give my sister to a heathen: my religion forbids it[4].' The answer thus returned produced a second request from Edwin: if only he might obtain the Kentish princess, he would give to her and her attendants full liberty of worship,—and, more than that, he would himself be willing to adopt her faith, if wise men, after examining it, should pronounce it better than his own. We can easily

[1] Freeman, iii. 535; J. H. Parker, Introd. Goth. Archit. p. 10; Allen, Monum. Hist. of Brit. Ch. p. 28.

[2] See Dugdale, Mon. Anglic. i. 451, that Eanswith chose this place as 'a vulgi frequentatione remotum,' and her father built there a church of St. Peter, about A.D. 630. See also Alb. Butler, Sept. 12. This church was washed away by the sea in the tenth century. In 1885 some workmen employed in the present church found behind the altar a reliquary containing a skull and some bones, which had evidently been hidden there at the Reformation. These relics of the foundress are preserved in a closed recess, on the north side of the sanctuary.

[3] Bede, ii. 9. He writes her name 'Ædilbergae.'

[4] Bede amplifies the refusal: 'Ne fides et sacramenta caelestis Regis consortio profanarentur regis qui veri Dei cultus esset prorsus ignarus.' 'Sacramenta' is with Bede an elastic term; cp. ii. 15, 'fidem et sacramenta Christi,' iii. 7, 'fidem et sacramenta regni caelestis,' and iii. 23, 'verbum et sacramenta fidei . . . ministrare.' Here one naturally thinks of 'sacred rites' or 'ordinances': as in iii. 3, 'baptismatis sacramenta,' and iii. 25, 'celebratione sacramentorum caelestium.' But elsewhere 'sacramenta fidei' seems to mean the mysterious truths of the faith, with a knowledge of which persons can be 'imbued,' iv. 16, 27, which they can 'keep,' iv. 44, 3, or can 'abandon,' iii. 30; and so 'fidem et sacramenta' must be explained in iv. 23, and 'sacramenta fidei' in ii. 9, 15; iii. 1, 30; iv. 14, 16, 27.

see how Justus would exhort Eadbald to accept this offer. What if this were the opening of a door, the first beginning of new successes which should verify the assurances of Boniface, the long-expected opportunity which might fulfil Gregory's aspirations by setting Deira free from 'the ire of God?' Eadbald took his resolution: Edwin's terms were accepted, and Paulinus, one of the three companions of Justus in 601, was consecrated by him to the episcopate, on the 21st of July, 625, in order that he might be to Ethelburga in her Northern home what Liudhard had been to her mother in the still heathen Kent. We have now reached another landmark: the mission of Paulinus was the first onward step that had been taken since Mellitus addressed the East-Saxons; and it soon proved to be, what that attempt was not, a great event for Christianity.

Consecration of Paulinus.

CHAPTER IV.

Paulinus at York.

It was, then, in the late summer of 625 that Edwin of Northumbria received his bride from Kent. He had been previously married to Cwenburga, 'the daughter of Cearl king of the Mercians[1],' and she had left him two sons, Osfrid and Eadfrid. He himself was just forty years old[2]. He treated his new wife's chaplain with respect, and never interfered with their religious practices; but he showed no disposition to fulfil the second part of his promise by instituting an examination of their creed. Paulinus lived in the Northumbrian court for some months, without any apparent prospect of doing anything as a missionary. His personal appearance must have given an impression of grave dignity: a few words of Bede have pictured it from the description transmitted by one who had reason to remember it well. He was 'tall, with a slight stoop, black hair, a thin face, an aquiline nose, an aspect at once venerable and awe-striking[3].' He had with him as his confidential attendant a deacon named James, who was alive in Bede's own childhood, and whom he justly describes as 'a man of great zeal and fame in Christ's Church[4].' Paulinus made some attempts to win over the heathens of Deira; but in all these he failed. As Fuller in his quaint way words it, 'Seeing he could not be happy to gain, he

[1] Bede, ii. 14.

[2] For he was forty-eight when he died in 633; Bede, ii. 20.

[3] 'Venerabilis simul et terribilis,' Bede, ii. 16. An old man whom Paulinus had baptized in the Trent gave this account to Deda abbot of Partney, who related it to Bede. See Wordsworth's Eccl. Sonnets, No. 15:—

'Mark him, of shoulders curved, and stature tall,
Black hair, and vivid eye, and meagre cheek,' &c.

[4] See Bede, ii. 16, 20; iii. 25; iv. 2.

would be careful to save[1].' If 'the god of this world had blinded the eyes' of the Yorkshire folk, he could at least, by daily exhortations, do his best to guard the queen's attendants from the contagion of Yorkshire heathenism. So passed the winter: on the 19th of April, Easter-eve in 626, Edwin, then living at a royal country-house near Stamford-bridge, had a narrow escape from sudden death[2]: a West-Saxon named Eumer, sent as an envoy by the West-Saxon prince Cwichelm, who was then reigning under his father Kynegils[3], struck at Edwin with a two-edged and poisoned dagger; Lilla, the king's most trusted personal retainer[4], rushed forward to receive the blow, but Edwin himself was wounded through the body of this devoted servant. On that same 'most holy night of the Lord's Passover,' Ethelburga bore a daughter; Edwin thanked his gods in the hearing of Paulinus, who thereupon assured him that *he* had been praying for this happy event. The king, well pleased, promised that if he should succeed in his meditated vengeance on Wessex, he would

CHAP. IV.

Baptism of Eanfled.

[1] Fuller, Ch. Hist. p. 72. Compare Bede, ii. 9, 'Laboravit multum,' &c. He cites 2 Cor. iv. 4.

[2] Bede, ii. 9: 'juxta amnem Deruventionem' (Derwent, the white or clear water, a tributary of the Ouse). The 'villa regalis' was probably at Aldby. 'There stood a royal house of the Northumbrian kings, the apparent site of which . . . a mound surrounded by a fosse, still looks down on a picturesque point of the course of the river;' Freeman, iii. 355. For other 'villae' see Bede, ii. 14; iii. 17, 22; v. 4. Compare ib. iii. 21, 'vico regis.'

[3] Kynegils began to reign in 611: he and his son Cwichelm fought against the Britons at Bampton in 614, and slew 2065: see the Chronicle.

[4] 'Minister,' here used as equivalent to 'miles': 'alium de militibus.' Imma is a 'miles' and 'minister' of Alfwin, iv. 22. We have 'ministri' in ii. 13: 'ministri' attend Edwin on his progresses, ii. 16: Oswald has a 'minister' charged to look after the poor, iii. 6. Oswin sits at the hearth 'cum ministris,' iii. 14. Owin is 'primus ministrorum' for Ethelfred, iv. 3. Sebbi is attended on his deathbed by two 'ministri,' iv. 11. Benedict Biscop was a 'minister' of Oswy, Hist. Abb. 1, and Easterwin of Egfrid, ib. 7. Alfred and the Chronicle call Lilla a thegn or thane, a title variously explained as 'servant,' 'freeman,' and 'warrior.' See Kemble, Saxons, i. 168; Freeman, i. 87; Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 181, &c. In 'Cædmon's' paraphrase the angels are called thanes of God. Compare the offices of 'bower-thane' (cubicularius), dish-thane, rede-thane. 'Ministri' often subscribe royal charters; see Cod. Dipl. ii. 13, 29, 74, &c. One, by Egbert, is signed by eight 'ministri'; ib. i. 320.

CHAP. IV. take Christ for his Lord: in earnest of which, he at once gave over the infant to Paulinus 'to be dedicated to Christ.' Accordingly, at Pentecost[1], she was brought to baptism, being the first of the Northumbrian race who received it, with eleven[2] others of her household. The little Eanfled was reserved for a high place among the Christian princesses of England[3]. Her father, when his wound was cured, descended like a 'Destroyer' on Wessex, slew five of its sub-kings[4], and returned triumphant: but he still deferred full performance of his promise, although he absented himself from idolatrous observances. A man of thoughtful[5], cautious temperament, trained by his early misfortunes in reticence and vigilance, with nothing of the enthusiast about him,—a man of middle life, whose impulsiveness, if he had ever had any, was extinct,—hating the notion of taking a false step, determined not to be hurried in any grave matter,—can we not easily imagine what Edwin was in those eventful months, during which, no doubt, Ethelburga felt the sore sickness of hope deferred? She was urged by a letter from the Pope[6] to use all her influence in behalf of her husband's conversion: the letter

[1] 'On the holy day of Pentecost,' Bede: but he means, of course, the eve, a solemn time for baptisms: so S. Chron. Whitsun-eve, that year, fell on June 7. Compare the Gregorian 'prayers at mass' after Whitsun-eve baptisms, Muratori, ii. 88; the collect prays 'ut . . . lux tuae lucis corda eorum, qui per gratiam tuam renati sunt, Sancti Spiritus illustratione confirmet.' See above, p. 57.

[2] One form of the Chron., 'twelve,' includes Eanfled.

[3] See Bede, ii. 20; iii. 15, 24, 25; iv. 26; v. 19.

[4] On these five sub-kings, as indicating the lack of unity in Wessex, see Freeman, i. 27. Yet they were apparently 'princes of the line of Cerdic;' ib. and 99. A king had often a prince of his house associated with him as sub-king of a district: as were Cwichelm in Wessex, Egric (for a time) in East Anglia, Ethelwald, Alchfrid, Alfwin in Northumbria, Peada, Merewald, and Osric in Mercia.

[5] 'Thoughtful Edwin;' Wordsworth, Eccl. Sonnets, No. 15.

[6] Bede, ii. 11. Boniface says in this letter that he has heard with grief that Edwin 'up to that time has delayed to listen to the preachers:' and this suggests a difficulty, in that Ethelburga could not have reached York until the end of July, and the tidings of Edwin's 'delays' could hardly have reached Rome before the end of October, when Boniface was dead. Could 'Boniface,' in the address of the letters, be a scribe's error for 'Honorius'?

had been delayed, if we are to take Bede's words literally [1], on its journey to Britain, for Boniface V had died in the October of 625, and was therefore near the end of his life when he thus wrote, reminding Ethelburga of the text about 'the unbelieving husband,' and in a companion letter exhorting Edwin to forsake the senseless worship of idols, the 'follies of Pagan temples, the deceitful flatteries of auguries' (such, for instance, as Ethelbert had employed), and to secure eternal life by confessing the undivided Trinity. The latter epistle expressly suggests the breaking to pieces of idols as a demonstration of their impotence. 'You, who have received a living spirit from the Lord, are assuredly superior' to things 'framed by your own subjects[2].' These arguments were perhaps no longer apposite; Edwin was in an untenable half-way position, neither an idolater nor a believer; his difficulty consisted in the humiliation demanded by Christianity; it was hard for the self-reliant Teuton 'to bow down and receive the mystery of the life-giving Cross[3]. Paulinus, whenever he had opportunity, argued, pleaded, exhorted: still the king was undetermined, and used 'often to sit for hours in silence[4],' pondering the great alternative. At last, during one of these moods, Paulinus drew near, laid his right hand on his head, and asked, 'Do you recognize this sign?' The allusion to words and gestures which had either formed part of a dream, and had as such been communicated, in some way

CHAP. IV.

[1] 'Quo tempore . . . accepit,' Bede, ii. 10. The pope's reference to 'the preachers' implies that Paulinus had some attendant clergy. He sends Ethelburga a silver mirror and a gilt ivory comb, and to Edwin a soldier's shirt (so Jerome, Epist. 64. 11, uses 'camisia') ornamented with gold, and a camp-cloak of Ancyran fashion,—all these as 'blessings (i.e. gifts) of their protector St. Peter.'

[2] For 'constructioni' we must read 'constructione.' In the corrupt passage, 'Ejus ergo,' for 'dilatandi subdi' we might read 'dilatanda (sc. misericordia) subsidio,' to be extended far and wide for the assistance of His whole creation. The letter is interesting as dwelling on the attainableness, through revelation, of a knowledge of God which is real, though it does not amount to 'comprehension,' and also on the interior unity (= 'coinherence') of the Holy Trinity.

[3] Bede, ii. 12.

[4] Bede, ii. 9, 'saepe diu solus residens:' and ib. 12, 'horis competentibus solitarius.'

CHAP. IV. unexplained, to Paulinus [1], or had been really employed by an unknown visitant with whom Paulinus was acquainted [2], or who may have been Paulinus himself [3], struck home at once, and told on Edwin decisively. Trembling with awe, as if in the presence of one who could read his secret history, he was about to throw himself at the bishop's feet.

Conversion of Edwin.

Paulinus was master of the situation; he raised him up, and in a tone of friendly confidence referred to what had been done for him, and what he was pledged to do in return. 'See, you have escaped those perils;—see, you have been elevated to this kingship: delay no longer to embrace the faith and the precepts of Him who wrought that deliverance, and who granted that exaltation.' 'I will do so,' said Edwin: 'but I will first confer with my chief friends and counsellors, so that, if they are willing, they may become Christians also.' Paulinus assented: Edwin assembled his 'Witan [4]' near 'Godmundingaham,' now Goodmanham, some twenty-three miles from York; it was probably about the close of 626, or very early in 627.

Witenagemot of Goodmanham.

At this memorable gathering he asked his 'wise men' individually what they thought of the new faith, which now for more than a year had been impersonated in Paulinus, the bishop, there present. The chief Pagan priest, whom Bede calls Coifi [5], answered with a frank avowal of self-interest which showed a nature of coarse

[1] Lingard (Hist. E. i. 83) and Turner (Angl.-Sax. i. 356) suppose that Edwin had had a dream, and that Paulinus had heard of it.

[2] Churton thinks that the strange visitor was a Christian who had accompanied Redwald from Kent; E. E. Ch. p. 56.

[3] Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 75; Hook, i. 103; Raine, Fast. Ebor. i. 38.

[4] See Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 148. Godmundingaham has been explained as the place under the *mund* or protection of the gods; Taylor's Words and Places, p. 335; but also (Murray's Yorkshire, p. 131) as the home of the sons of Godmund. It is near Weighton, which means 'sacred enclosure.' This Witan certainly did not include the people as such, see Bede, ii. 13.

[5] This has been called a *Celtic* name for a pontiff; and Palgrave infers that Druidism had won its way in Deira; Engl. Commonw. p. 155. But it is answered that Coifi is an equivalent to the Saxon Coefig, and means 'the active one.' Collier's version of this speech is a curious specimen of his humour, and also of his utter want of the sense of congruity; i. 196. Coifi puts bluntly the argument used by a Swedish 'elder,' Vit. S. Anskar. 27: 'Nobiscum quando nostros propitios habere non possumus deos, bonum est *hujus* dei gratiam habere.'

mould: 'The old worship seems to me worth nothing: no man has practised it more than I, and yet many fare better, and have more favour at your hand. If the gods had any power, they would rather help *me*, who have served them more than others. Let us then see what this new lore is good for; if it is better than the old, let us straightway follow it.' Far different, and indescribably suggestive and pathetic, was the speech of a thane[1], who expressed in a vivid simile that bewilderment as to the mystery of life which weighed heaviest on the worthiest of the heathen: 'I will tell you, O king, what methinks man's life is like. Sometimes, when your hall is lit up for supper on a wild winter's evening, and warmed by a fire in the midst[2], a sparrow[3] flies in by one door, takes shelter for a moment in the warmth, and then flies out again by another door, and is lost in the stormy darkness. No one in the hall sees the bird before it enters, nor after it has gone forth; it is only seen while it hovers near the fire. So it is, I ween, with this brief span of our life in this world[4]; what has gone before it, what will come after it,—of this we know nothing. If the strange teacher can tell us, by all means

CHAP. IV.

[1] The speech is versified simply and touchingly in Professor Palgrave's Visions of England, p. 27; and compare Wordsworth's Eccl. Sonnets, No. 16:—

'Man's life is like a sparrow, mighty king,' &c.

Cp. Lingard, A.-S. Ch. i. 29; Milman, ii. 238; Freeman's Old-Engl. History, p. 57; Green, Making of Engl. p. 263. The speaker is called by Bede one of the 'optimates': Alfred renders, 'Ealdorman.' We find 'optimatibus' in iii. 30. As to the winter banquets, see Bede's 'Cuculus;'—Hiems says,

'Sunt mihi divitiae, sunt et convivia laeta,
Est requies dulcis, calidus est ignis in aede.'

[2] 'While you are sitting at supper cum ducibus ac ministris tuis.' The 'dux' appears in Bede, iii. 24 (three Mercian duces), iv. 13. 15 (of Sussex). It seems to be here equivalent to ealdorman. So Alfred, 'with thine ealdormen and thanes.' See Kemble, ii. 125 ff.

[3] Cp. M. Aurelius' 'Ad Seipsum,' vi. 11, that 'to set one's heart on what is in continual flux is as if one were to begin to love τι τῶν παραπετομένων στρουθίων, while it has already passed away out of sight.'

[4] 'The Northern nations . . . demanded immortality,' and hence 'they took Christianity to their hearts;' Merivale, Conversion of Northern Nations, p. 130. He gives a free rendering of this speech, and proceeds to dwell on the 'intense realization of another life,' which characterized the converted Teutons.

CHAP. IV. let him be heard.' The words struck home to the listeners' hearts, as fraught with a solemn and urgent reality; they felt, with the speaker, that they must not miss such an opportunity of learning more about the 'whence' and the 'whither' of their existence, of obtaining some sure warrant for the hopes which struggled with dark uncertainties as they thought of death and of the Beyond: and just then, at the right moment, the chief priest proposed that Paulinus should set forth his doctrine. Paulinus, of course, welcomed and used the opportunity: and Coifi, as if lifted up by the power of the discourse into a higher strain of feeling, spoke out: 'Now I understand what the truth is: I have long known that it was not with us; but now I see it shining out clearly in this teaching. Let us destroy those useless temples and altars, and give them up to the curse and the flame!' Then, at last, Edwin, as king, publicly accepted the Gospel, and asked Coifi who should begin the work of desecrating the altars and temples of idolatry. 'That will I do,' was the prompt answer: 'who could more fittingly destroy, as a lesson for all, what once I reverenced in my folly?' It was unlawful for a high priest to bear arms, or to ride except on a mare: therefore Coifi emphasized his resolution by calling for arms and a horse, and, thus equipped, he rode straight at the venerated temple of Goodmanham, hurled his spear against it, and bade his companions set fire to the building together with its surrounding sacred precinct[1]. Thus did Northumbria, by a national act, accept Christianity. The king caused a little wooden chapel to be hastily reared at York, on part of the ground now covered by the glorious Minster; and within its walls he went through the training of a catechumen[2], and received baptism on Easter-eve[3], April 11, 627. His nobles were baptized with him; and among the neophytes was

Baptism of Edwin.

[1] 'Cum omnibus septis suis'—the whole *τέμενος* or 'frith-geard'; Thorpe's Glossary; also called 'healh-tun,' Chron. Abingd. ii. 483. Here Bede shows his fondness for Virgilian quotation: 'Quas ipse sacraverat aras.' Cp. Aen. ii. 502. See too Bede, ii. 12; iv. 26.

[2] 'Cum catechizaretur.' Bede, ii. 14; see below, p. 137.

[3] 'Die sancto Paschae' means here the eve. The Cambrian Annals

his grandniece Hild, the future St. Hilda, abbess of Whitby[1]. Many of the people followed his example. It was the birthday of the Northumbrian Church. CHAP. IV.

The realm of Edwin, stretching from the Humber to the Forth, and including 'Edwin's burgh[2]' on its northern frontier,—the widespread supremacy which he exercised throughout all the kingdoms save that of Kent, and also over the Britons of the Isle of Man, over 'British' territory between the Dee and the Cumbrian Derwent[3], and that of Mona[4], which after his conquest of it was called 'Anglesey,' may represent to us the great political importance of the baptism of the fifth 'Bretwalda.' So effective was the 'peace[5]' established under his government that, according to a proverb still current in Bede's time:—

> When Edwin ruled in Angle-land,
> Mother and babe from strand to strand
> Might pass unscathed by Angle hand[6].

say, 'Run filius Urbgen baptizavit eum.' So the 'Appendix' to 'Nennius,' 'Si quis scire voluerit quis eos baptizaverit, Rum map Urbgen baptizavit eos, et per quadraginta dies non cessavit baptizare omne genus Ambronum.' This is plainly a Welsh fiction (possibly based on some confusion between Paulinus and Paul Hên, the Welsh founder of Whitland), in which Bede's account of Paulinus' baptizing Northumbrians during thirty-six days is simply transferred to 'Rum.' Urbgen, or Urien, had fought against Theoderic some forty years before this event: even if his son were then alive and were a priest, Paulinus would never have yielded to him the privilege of baptizing Edwin. Two MSS. of 'Nennius,' appealing to the authority of two Welsh bishops, read 'Run . . . id est, Paulinus.' This identification is to me incredible, although Bp. Browne inclines to think that Paulinus *may* have been a Briton trained in Rome, Lessons from E. Engl. Ch. Hist. p. 53. See Haddan and Stubbs, Councils, i. 213.

[1] Bede, iv. 23.

[2] Freeman, i. 35; Burton, Hist. Scot. i. 281; Green, p. 253. Its old name was (not Eiddin, but) Agned.

[3] Rhys, Celt. Brit. p. 138. He uses the form 'Brythons' as more distinctive.

[4] 'Mevanias insulas,' Bede, ii. 5, 9. See Lappenberg, i. 149. Aberfraw in Anglesey was the capital of Gwynedd or North Wales.

[5] Bede, ii. 16; Malmesb. G. R. i. 48. See Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 208: 'The peace, as it was called, the primitive alliance for mutual good behaviour . . . was from the beginning of monarchy under the protection of the king,' and it was in later days that the 'national peace of which he was the guardian' became, in a personal sense, *his* peace. For Edwin's overlordship see Freeman, i. 553, and Engl. Towns and Districts, p. 276.

[6] Compare the Irish saying about the reign of Malachy 'of the Collar of Gold.'

CHAP. IV. At every clear spring along the high roads, he set up posts with brazen drinking-cups; and no man durst use them for any other purpose—so greatly was he feared or loved. He loved state and kingly display: not only in battle, but in times of peace, wherever Edwin was on a progress, a banner-staff with a tuft of feathers—'the standard,' says Bede, 'called by the Romans *tufa*[1]'—was borne before him and gave warning of his approach. Such was Edwin as a monarch and suzerain; as a convert, he was thoroughly true to his tardily-formed convictions. He established Paulinus as bishop of York, and 'began to build a larger and more august church of stone, square in form, in a space enclosing' the wooden one[2] in which he had kept his first Easter, and listened to the 'Alleluias' then at last poured forth by 'Anglian' worshippers in the realm and royal city of 'Ella.' This new church was to be dedicated to St. Peter; but Edwin did not live to see its walls raised to their full height,—and its non-completion during his reign was symbolic of much that he saw begun and not finished in the work of Christianizing his kingdom.

Paulinus Bishop of York.

There was, indeed, a great impulse given, a great ardour excited: not only were royal baptisms solemnized, as when Edwin's sons by his former wife entered the 'laver[3],' and when children of Ethelburga followed,—of whom two died while still clad in their white christening-garments[4],—but

[1] Cp. Ducange in v; a standard 'ex consertis plumarum globis.'

[2] Bede, ii. 14: 'Mox autem ut baptisma,' &c. See Chron. of Anc. Brit. Church, p. 137. This wooden sanctuary was carefully preserved, and enriched with splendid altars and vessels, by archbishop Albert; Raine, i. 104. See the plan of the ancient Eboracum in Freeman, iv. 202. Some stones of Edwin's church *may* still exist in the crypt of York Minster; Freeman, Norm. Conq. v. 610; Ornsby, Dioc. Hist. York, p. 19; Raine, Historians of Church of York, i. p. xxiii; but they have been assigned to the time of archbishop Albert (A.D. 767–781). Edwin now restored the temporal glory of the city which had been imperial; Freeman, Engl. Towns and Districts, p. 272.

[3] Bede, ii. 14. Osfrid and Eadfrid; also Osfrid's child Yffi, and Osric the nephew of Ella and first-cousin of Edwin; cp. ib. iii. 1; Green, p. 248.

[4] 'Albati.' Cp. Bede, v. 7, Cadwalla fell sick 'in albis adhuc positus.' On the white garments or 'chrisoms' of the new baptized, see Bingham, xii. 4. 1–3. Gregory I alludes to a 'birrus albus' as put on just after baptism; Ep. ix. 6. See too ib. viii. 1 and 23, on his supplying such

the people crowded eagerly to hear the bishop, and to present themselves as candidates for reception into his fold. In one of his missionary journeys, he was occupied for thirty-six days, from morning to night, at the royal 'vill' of Yevering under the Cheviots, in the work of 'catechizing[1] and baptizing,' in other words, 'instructing the people, who flocked to him from all the villages and places, in the word of Christ's salvation, and washing them, when instructed[2], with the laver of remission, in the river Glen[3] which flowed close by.' Another place in the same Bernician district, not mentioned by Bede, preserves the tradition of a similar visit in its name of Pallinsburn, where a lake, probably used for baptism, lies some three miles off the Tweed. But, as bishop of York, Paulinus naturally spent most of his time in Deira: the scenes of the Glen were reproduced, to some extent, at that tranquil and beautiful spot where the Swale glides, soft and shallow, beside the high wooded bank that represents the Roman camp of Caractonium, just above the existing Catterick-bridge. In these general baptisms, as in other ministrations, Paulinus would be 'served' by his deacon James[4], who afterwards laboured many years in the neighbourhood

CHAP. IV.

Baptisms in Bernicia,

and in Deira.

garments for poor converts. For the death, 'in albis,' of the infant son of Clovis, see Greg. Tur. H. Fr. ii. 29; and St. Patrick's letter to the men of Coroticus, mentioning 'neophyti in veste candida,' and on the death of some converts while 'albati,' Vit. Anskar. 24. Compare the Baptismal Office of 1549.

[1] See Bingham, b. x. c. i. s. 5.

[2] In utter defiance of this expression Whitaker says, 'There were no opportunities of previous instruction;' Loidis and Elmete, p. 300. Compare, on the combination of instruction and baptism, Bede, iii. 1, 'catechizati, et baptismatis gratia recreati;' iii. 7, 'rex ipse catechizatus;' iii. 22, 'in verbo fidei et ministerio baptizandi;' iii. 26, 'praedicandi, baptizandi;' iv. 16, 'instructos . . . ac . . . ablutos.' See also v. 6.

[3] The Glen appears in the Arthurian legend, in connexion with the first of the 'twelve' battles; Nennius, 64. But this transference of Arthur's activities to the North is an addition to the genuine story; Freeman, Eng. Towns and Districts, p. 438. See above, p. 26.

[4] Cp. Bede, iii. 20, on Thomas, 'the deacon of' Felix. For the ancient close relation of the deacon to his bishop see S. Athan. de Fuga, 24; and the story of St. Laurence. So Const. Apost. ii. 44: 'Let the deacon be the ear, eye, and mouth of the bishop.' Cp. Bingham, b. ii. c. 20. s. 16-18 (i. 302).

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of Catterick. Yorkshire traditions bring Paulinus to Dewsbury and to Easingwold: but if we ask whether he raised any permanent memorials of these circuits, the answer might be that neither church nor altar, nor even a cross such as might mark a service-station, was erected during his episcopate in Bernicia[1]; while as to Deira, not only were there no baptisteries, but Bede mentions as exceptional a (wooden) 'basilica,' with a stone altar, near a royal 'vill' at Campodonum, a place which Alfred's version names Donafeld, and which may be probably identified with Doncaster[2], and in that case must be distinguished from the Roman station of Cam*bod*unum, which has been variously placed at Slack near Huddersfield, and Tanfield near Ripon[3]. Paulinus had not time to consolidate his work in Bernicia: and even in Deira he could only lay a foundation, on which another saint was destined to build.

Paulinus' work.

Such, for the six years of his Northumbrian episcopate, was the work of Paulinus,—a work of foundation, not properly of construction. He had, it seems, but few clergy: he could do little else than travel about, planting wherever he best could, in the hope that he might afterwards be enabled to water: and we may best judge of his capacity for organizing a church by what he did in the way of preparing for its organization. 'The labours of this great missionary must have been prodigious[4].' He

[1] Bede, iii. 2; ii. 14. The cross which Camden heard of as having once existed at Dewsbury, with the inscription 'Hic Paulinus praedicavit et celebravit,' must have been of later date: an imitation of it, in form of a Saxon wheel-cross, was accidentally destroyed in 1812; Whitaker's Loidis and Elmete, p. 299. There was another cross near Easingwold in the reign of Edward I; Raine, i. 42. Near Easingwold, too, is Brafferton, where local tradition says that Paulinus baptized; Murray's Yorkshire, p. 230. The erection of crosses at preaching-stations is said to have been a practice of St. Kentigern: see above, p. 34.

[2] See Whitaker's Loidis, p. 152, and Hunter's Deanery of Doncaster, i. 5. One argument for Doncaster (the Roman Danum) is that this church was burned after Penda had slain Edwin at Hatfield, a few miles east of Doncaster. See also Ornsby's Dioc. Hist. York, p. 20.

[3] For these two views see Whitaker, Loidis and Elmete, p. 374, and Raine, Fast. Ebor. i. 43. Cambodunum is in the second 'Iter,' between Tadcaster and Manchester.

[4] Raine, Fast. Ebor. i. 42.

has been blamed for appealing to temporal motives, by promising earthly prosperity as the reward of conversion; but it is remarkable that in his recorded words to Edwin, when he reminded him of 'the token,' his assurances as to the future take a purely spiritual form[1]. Within certain limits, he might not unreasonably believe that 'the promise of the life that now is' might be included among the topics of a missionary sermon: but to say that his converts were 'encouraged' by him to test 'the merits of a religious scheme by the temporal advantages which followed its reception[2]' is a grave unfairness to his memory, and to the evidence furnished by Bede. That solemn setting forth of 'the way of salvation' through the Cross, that emphatic warning as to a choice made in time for all eternity, that assiduous indefatigable 'catechizing' and 'preaching of the word of God,' came, we must needs think, from the heart of a man 'whose whole mind was set on bringing the Northumbrian people to the recognition of the truth[3],' and characterized an episcopate which, though short in itself, endeared his name for ages to their memory. CHAP. IV.

Paulinus at Lincoln.

But he was not content to work for them alone. Very soon after the baptism of Edwin, he had not only thought, but acted, in behalf of their neighbours in the district of Lindsey[4], just south of the Humber. He preached in the old Roman hill-town of Lincoln[5]; and its reeve, or 'prefect' as Bede calls him[6], Blæcca by name, became

[1] Bede, ii. 12: 'A perpetuis malorum tormentis te liberabit, et aeterni secum regni in caelis faciet esse participem.'

[2] Hook, i. 107, 117. Correct this by Raine, i. 44. Hook owns that, when he went about Northumbria, 'the Spirit of God blessed the preached word;' p. 112.

[3] Bede, ii. 9: 'Ipse potius toto animo intendens.'

[4] Lindsey occurs in Bede, Praef.; ii. 16; iii. 11, 27; iv. 3, 12. Its name is obviously derived from Lindum; see Green, Making of Engl. p. 58. It was then subject to Northumbria, but was soon annexed to Mercia. This ancient connexion of Lincolnshire with York led archbishop Thomas I of York to claim jurisdiction over it when a Mercian bishopric had been removed to Lincoln: but the claim was overruled, Raine, Fast. Ebor. p. 150.

[5] Bede, ii. 16. See Freeman, iv. 212; Engl. Towns and Districts, pp. 199-201.

[6] On the burgh-reeve see Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 106 (or 93).

CHAP. IV. a convert, and began to build 'a stone church of noble workmanship,' the roofless walls of which were standing in Bede's own day. In this church, represented now by one that is corruptly named St. *Paul's*, and stands at some distance to the north-west of the cathedral on the platform of that 'sovereign hill[1],' an important ceremony took place, probably at some time in 628[2]. Justus had died in the preceding November[3], his last days cheered by the happy tidings from the North. His successor-elect was Honorius, whom Bede calls one of the 'disciples of Pope Gregory[4]'—a phrase which naturally means that he belonged in some sense to the same class as Augustine and his three successors, as having personally received instruction from the great Pope, so that he was, as Bede further tells us, 'a man who had received the highest training in things ecclesiastical[5].' But who was to consecrate Honorius? Romanus of Rochester, sent by Justus on Church business to Rome, had met with the same death by drowning, in the Mediterranean[6], as befell the abbot Peter of Canterbury in the British Channel. To Paulinus, therefore, as the only English bishop, Honorius repaired: they met at Lincoln, and here the fifth archbishop of Canterbury was consecrated by the sole ministry of the first of a new line of bishops of York. It may here be mentioned that at some time during his episcopate, Paulinus, accompanied by Edwin, visited Nottinghamshire, and baptized a multitude of people, at midday, in the Trent, near a town whose uncouth Saxon name of 'Tiovulfingacæstir[7],' or castle of

He consecrates Honorius.

Baptisms in the Trent.

[1] Wordsworth. 'Urbs situ splendida,' Hen. Hunt.

[2] So Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 73, 82. We want twenty-two years for two East-Anglian episcopates, the first of which began some time after Honorius' consecration, while the third began before his death, which took place in 653. His consecration, therefore, must be prior to 630, and may probably be dated in 628.

[3] Nov. 10; Bede, ii. 18. For the date of 627, see Chronicle. It is interesting to find his name preserved in the remote Cornish village of St. Just-in-Penwith. See Gilbert's Paroch. Hist. of Cornwall, ii. 282.

[4] Bede, ii. 20; v. 19, 20; Hist. Abb. 3.

[5] Bede, v. 19. He may have been one of Gregory's choir-boys; Hook, i. 112.

[6] Bede, ii. 20.

[7] Bede, ii. 16. See above, p. 128.

the Tiovulfing family, has otherwise entirely perished, but which may be conjecturally identified with Littleborough, where the river was crossed by the Roman road from Lincoln northwards[1]. It seems also that he visited the southern Cumbria, and left a tradition of his having preached and officiated at Whalley[2]. CHAP. IV.

His royal convert was also active in extending Christianity beyond the Northumbrian border. Edwin's old protector, Redwald of East-Anglia, had been succeeded by a son named Eorpwald; and Edwin made the best return for old kindness by 'persuading Eorpwald, with his province, to embrace the faith[3].' This conversion, traceable through Edwin to Paulinus, and so to the 'Gregorian mission,' may probably be assigned to the year 628[4]. But the Pagan antipathy of the East-Anglian nobles, which had contributed to produce the 'Samaritan' policy of Redwald, was fiercely aroused against a new king who was far more resolute in his new religion. One of these men, named Ricbert, inflicted on him a death which was virtually a martyrdom, in the very year of his conversion. For three years afterwards, East-Anglia was again for the most part 'heathen'[5]; and Edwin must have grieved over Conversion of East-Anglia.

[1] I am indebted for this suggestion to Mr. James Parker, who has pointed out that Littleborough is the Segelocum of Antoninus' fifth Iter, and was a station between Lindum and Danum, so that Paulinus, coming to, or returning from Lindum, would naturally cross the Trent there. Torksey, to the south, on the Lincolnshire side, has also been thought of, but it was not on that road. Southwell would hardly have been proposed but for the local tradition that its venerable church, now a cathedral, was originally founded by Paulinus,—a tradition which probably grew out of the fact that from Saxon times St. Mary's of Southwell was subject to St. Peter's of York.

[2] Raine, i. 42; Whitaker, Hist. of Whalley, p. 33.

[3] Bede, ii. 15. This, then, was a fruit of Paulinus' mission.

[4] There is a difficulty here as to dates. The Chronicle dates Eorpwald's baptism in 632, and the coming of Felix in 636. So Florence of Worcester. But (see above) by tracing back twenty-two years before the year 653, in which Honorius died, we reach 631 at latest for the coming of Felix (which followed the accession of Sigebert), and must go back some three years further for Eorpwald's baptism and death which Haddan and Stubbs place in 628 (iii. 89).

[5] Not wholly: it was the 'whole province' which Sigebert took pains to make Christian, Bede, ii. 15: cp. iii. 3, as to Northumbria.

CHAP. IV.

Sigebert the Learned.

this failure of his efforts in behalf of the land where he had once found refuge. But again, unexpectedly, 'the day broke.' Eorpwald's half-brother[1], Sigebert, had formerly been driven by his step-father Redwald into Gaul. The family quarrel and the exile were overruled for good of the truest kind. During his sojourn among the Franks, Sigebert was 'instructed in the mysteries of the faith,' and moreover, in some of the Church schools of the country[2], acquired whatever learning they could impart, and a genuine intelligent sense of its value. He now returned to be king of the East-Anglians: and as a man 'thoroughly Christian and very learned, a good man and religious,'—so Bede sketches his character[3],—he made it his first object to carry out the work which his brother had begun at the cost of his life: and just then, by one of these coincidences which betoken a far-reaching providential order, there arrived at Canterbury a bishop named Felix, from that Burgundian territory, bounded by the Rhone and Saone and the Alps[4], which had now for nearly a century

[1] Florence, Append.: 'Frater ex parte matris.' For him see Bede, ii. 15; iii. 18.

[2] The ancient fame of the Gallo-Roman schools, as of Lyons, Autun, Marseilles, had been to some extent revived by the Frankish ecclesiastical and monastic schools, in which the literature of the age was studied together with theology, as at Vienne, where Bishop Desiderius, to the disgust of Gregory the Great, gave lessons in 'grammar,' i.e. profane literature, and also at Treves, Troyes, and Poitiers, where youths were trained in 'liberal' and 'secular' studies of all kinds. See Smith's Bede, p. 723. Guizot, Civil. in Fr. lect. 16, mentions as the most flourishing cathedral schools in France, from the sixth to the middle of the eighth century, those of Poitiers, Paris, Le Mans, Bourges, Clermont, Vienne, Chalons, Arles, Gap. These schools, he says, superseded the great civil schools. Monastic schools were also numerous. Sigebert was in Gaul during the brilliant opening of the reign of Dagobert I as sole king of the Franks; see Fredegar, Chr. 58.

[3] Bede, ii. 15; iii. 18.

[4] See Freeman, Hist. Essays, pp. 172, 201; Gibbon, iv. 356. The name was derived from the burgs or castles built by this race; Fredegar, Fragm. 2. Clovis took his wife Clotilda from Burgundy; his sons conquered it in 534; Greg. Tur. Hist. Fr. iii. 11. It accepted the Catholic faith, having been previously Arian, and became one of the Merovingian kingdoms; but in 628 it was united to the others under Dagobert I. See Kitchin, Hist. Fr. i. 59, 85; Guizot, Hist. Fr. i. c. 7; Church, Beginning of M. Ages, p. 18.

CHAP. IV. Felix bishop of Dunwich.

been subject to the Franks. Felix had been strongly moved to preach the Gospel to English heathens, and Honorius, after hearing his wish, recommended him to go into East-Anglia. Sigebert at once recognized him as the very man he needed for his object. King and bishop accepted each other: Felix, settled at Dunwich, then a city on the Suffolk coast, now annihilated by the ocean [1], began in 631 an episcopate of seventeen years, so full of 'happiness' for the cause of Christianity that Bede might well describe his work with an allusion to the good omen of his name [2]. 'He delivered all that province,' adds Bede, 'from longstanding unrighteousness and infelicity:' as 'a pious cultivator of the spiritual field,' he 'found abundant fruit in a believing people:' and an important feature of this mission, as it was of the Kentish, was the combination of education with religion by means of a school such as Sigebert had seen abroad, and as by this time existed at Canterbury in connexion with the house of SS. Peter and Paul. This school, for which Felix provided teachers 'after the model of Kent,' was probably attached to the primitive East-Anglian cathedral [3]. It must have been about two years after the coming of Felix that Sigebert 'honourably received [4]' an Irish monk famous for learning and holiness, named Fursey (or, more properly,

[1] Under the Conqueror, Dunwich, though it had long ceased to be an episcopal city, had 236 burgesses and 100 poor; and it was prosperous under Henry III. Spelman heard that it was reported to have had fifty churches. When Camden published his 'Britannia' (vol. i. p. 448) in 1607, it lay 'in solitude and desolation,' the greater part being submerged by the effect of the sea on the soft cliff on which it stood. One local tradition places the first preaching of Felix at Saham.

[2] 'Sacramentum sui nominis.' So in Bede's Life of St. Felix of Nola, c. 1, 'Felix, nominis sui mysterium factis exsequens.' This most successful mission was in direct connexion with the (often disparaged) Gregorian mission at Canterbury. Bede says that Honorius 'misit eum,' ii. 15. The date 631 for his coming seems on the whole more probable because more consistent with earlier time-marks than 630.

[3] See Churton, p. 63. Smith, as against 'Oxonian' zealots, argues that this school *might* have been at Cambridge, but concludes that, if it was not, it was most probably at Dunwich, or else at Saham; App. to Bede, No. 14.

[4] Bede, iii. 19. For St. Fursa's life see Lanigan, ii. 449.

CHAP. IV. Fursa), who had come over with two brothers of his, and two priests[1], into East-Anglia, and there 'taking up his accustomed work of preaching the Gospel, did much, by example and by exhortation for the conversion of unbelievers, and the confirmation of believers in faith and love.' Receiving a piece of ground within a 'camp' called Cnobheresburg, previously Garianonum, now Burgh-castle, in Suffolk, which still exhibits huge masses of Roman fortress-work[2], he built what Bede calls a 'noble monastery,' where he used to tell how, years before, during his early life in Ireland, he had seemed, in a trance, to see visions of the punishments of the wicked in the other world[3], such as the weird imagination of the author of the 'Apocalypse of Peter' and his imitators, fed rather from Pagan than from Jewish or Christian sources, had popularized among the simpler Christians of the early period; such, also, as were reproduced after Fursey's time in the dream of Drythelm of Melrose[4], and in the story told by the monk of Wenlock to St. Boniface[5]; such, again, as received their fullest development in the sterner parts of the 'Divine Comedy.' It was probably under Fursey's influence that Sigebert ere long set the bad precedent of abandoning his royal duties while in full vigour of life, and retiring into a cell which he had made for himself, and in which, according to Bede's

[1] His brothers Fullan and Ultan (of whom the latter lived as a hermit in East-Anglia), and two priests, Gobban and Dicul. For the other Dicul of Bosham, see Bede, iv. 13.

[2] 'Rock-rampart huge, work worthy Roman hands,
Indurate flint and brick in ruddy tiers,' &c.
Palgrave, Visions of England, p. 20.
It is five miles from Yarmouth; the walls enclose a large area, 640 feet long and 370 broad. It was the station of a 'praepositus equitum.'

[3] When Bede wrote, an old monk was still living at Jarrow, who had heard from a 'very veracious' monk that he had heard Fursey, in East-Anglia, tell his marvellous tale, and that while he told it, though it was in a hard frost and he was sitting in a thin garment, 'quasi in media aestatis caumate sudaverit.' Fursey died in Gaul, in 654. On the severe asceticism of the Irish saints, see Whitley Stokes, Tripartite Life, Introd. p. cxcv.

[4] Bede, v. 12. See Card. Newman's Verses on Various Occasions, p. 201. Compare Gregory's Dialogues, iv. 36.

[5] Bonif. Ep. 20.

estimate, he might 'play the soldier rather for the sake of a *heavenly* kingdom[1].' CHAP. IV.

But while the Church was being quietly built up in East-Anglia, it was on the verge of a terrible catastrophe in the North. Cadwallon, or Cadwalla, king of Gwynedd[2] or North Wales, had, some years before, invaded Northumbria, in requital of the 'devastating' fury of Ethelfrid. Edwin had defeated him near Morpeth, driven him into Wales, fought battles with him, and besieged him in the isle of Priestholm[3] near Anglesey. He found refuge in Ireland, and thence returned, and in his thirst for vengeance allied himself, Briton and Christian as he was, with a Saxon prince who combined in his own person the fiercest energy of a Teuton warrior with the sternest resistance to the progress of the new creed: who, succeeding to power at fifty years old[4], was for thirty years the prop and the sword of Heathenism, and also came near to reducing the various kingdoms to a monarchy centred in the youngest of them all[5]. This was Penda, 'the strenuous[6]' king of the Mercians, 'the first ruler of the united Midland kingdom,' whose name was long a terror to the inmates of cell and minster in every Christianized district. There is a sort of weird grandeur in the career of one who in his time slew five kings, and might seem as irresistible as destiny. He

[1] Bede, iii. 18: perhaps at Bury St. Edmunds. The example was followed by Kenred of Mercia and Offa of Essex, and others not in their prime, as Ceolwulf and Ethelred.

[2] 'Catgublaun, king of Guenedotia,' App. Nenn.; Catguollaaun, al. Catwallaun, Ann. Camb. p. 7, Rolls Series. He was son of Cadvan (Angl. Sac. ii. p. xxxii); see above, p. 121. Rhys, Celt. Brit. p. 128.

[3] Ann. Camb. a. 629, calling the island Glannauc. In Giraldus' time it was inhabited by hermits, Itin. Camb. ii. 7. See Rhys, Celt. Brit. p. 131. 'The British Triads characterize Edwin as one of the three plagues which befell the isle of Anglesey;' Turner, i. 364. Reginald, Vit. S. Osw. c. 9, says that Edwin chased 'Cadwallon into Armorica': this seems to be a confusion with the fictitious retirement of his son Cadwalader into Armorica; see Ann. Camb. p. 8.

[4] So the Chronicle, a. 626.

[5] Freeman, i. 36; Lappenberg, i. 164.

[6] So Hen. Hunt. calls him, from Bede's 'viro strenuissimo,' ii. 2), and adapts Lucan, Phars. ii. 439,

'Nullas nisi sanguine fuso
Gaudet habere vias.'

CHAP. IV. had begun to reign in 626, on the death of Edwin's father-in-law Ceorl: in 628 he had encountered at Cirencester the West-Saxon king Kynegils with his son and sub-king Cwichelm (the prince who had sought Edwin's life), and after a day of exhausting but indecisive conflict, had made a treaty with them, implying a cession of West-Saxon land[1]: and now, in order to humble Northumbria, he joined forces with Cadwallon, and attacked Edwin at Heathfield or Hatfield[2], in south-east Yorkshire, on the 12th of October, 633. Here ended the glorious course of the great Edwin. After seeing his son Osfrid fall[3], he was himself slain, and 'his whole army destroyed or dispersed[4].' The victorious confederates made 'a very great slaughter throughout the church and nation of the Northumbrians,' one of them, as Bede remarks, being a Pagan, and the other, because a barbarian (i.e. a Briton), 'more cruel than a Pagan.' The Mercians burned the royal mansion and church at 'Campodonum': but its altar, being of stone, escaped the fire, and was preserved in Bede's time at a monastery in the wood of Elmet[5]. But it is of the Welsh king that we read, 'He spared neither women nor children, but put them to torturing deaths, raging for a long time through all the country, and resolving that he would be the man to exterminate the whole English race within the bounds of Britain[6]: nor did he, though a Chris-

Battle of Hatfield.

Devastation of Northumbria.

[1] Chron. a. 628; Hen. Hunt. ii. 31; Green, Making of England, p. 267. Wessex was just then weak, after Edwin's invasion.

[2] See Hunter's Deanery of Doncaster, i. 152. The scene of the battle was probably west of Hatfield church. The country is flat for miles, and in those days was a fen. The Welsh called the place Meiceren, or Meicen; Ann. Camb. and Nennius. Alb. Butler places 'St. Edwin, king and martyr,' on Oct. 4.

[3] 'Juvenis bellicosus,' son of Cwenburga, and father of the child Yffi. His brother Eadfrid threw himself on Penda's mercy, and was afterwards put to death by him 'in spite of his oath.' But Bede, ii. 20, does not say that this was done 'at the pressure of Oswald,' Green, p. 291.

[4] Bede, ii. 20. The Annales Cambriae patriotically ignore Penda, and ascribe the victory to 'Catguollaaun.'

[5] Bede, ii. 14. This monastery of abbot Thrydwulf was 'probably on the site of the existing parish church of Leeds'; Murray's Yorkshire, p. 345.

[6] 'Erasurum se esse.' So iii. 1, 'tragica caede dilaceraret,' &c. His idea was to purge 'Lloegra,' our present England, of its foreign invaders.

tian in profession, show any respect to the Christian religion which had grown up among them[1].' However, two princes of the Northumbrian line secured for a while a precarious and shameful royalty: Edwin's cousin Osric[2] was regarded as king in Deira; and the sons of Ethelfrid returned from their exile, and the eldest, Eanfrid, became king in Bernicia. Both kings had been baptized, the former by Paulinus[3], the latter among the 'Scots[4]': but both, in order to gain Penda's favour, and the support of those Northumbrians who clung to Paganism, disowned their Christian belief[5]: and both were slain by the Christian Cadwallon. Osric, while 'rashly' besieging the Britons in York[6] during the summer of 634, was cut off by an unexpected sally: and in the autumn, Eanfrid, with still greater folly, came to Cadwallon 'to sue for peace, and met with a similar doom.' Flushed with these successes, Cadwallon vaunted himself as irresistible[7], and ravaged Northumbria 'not like a conquering king, but like a raging tyrant.' This year which followed the battle of Hatfield was even in Bede's time 'hateful to all good men[8].' It was the year of foreign tyranny, exercised by a fierce conqueror who deemed himself irresistible; it was also the

Eanfrid and Osric.

Lloegrians originally meant a supposed invading force from Gaul: they were said to have united with the Saxons. Elton, Origins of Engl. Hist. p. 12.

[1] Bede adds that even in his own day the Britons were wont to regard English Christianity as no better than Paganism. See above, p. 112.

[2] Son of Elfric the brother of Ella, and father of St. Oswin.

[3] Bede, iii. 1.

[4] Eanfrid had become, during his exile, the father of Talorgan, afterwards king of the Picts; Robertson, Scotl. under Early Kings, i. 12; ii. 185. This, together with Bede's phrase, 'apud Scottos sive Pictos' (iii. 1), and with the legend of Columba's appearance to Oswald before his victory, would favour the current opinion that he had taken refuge in Dalriada, not, as Lanigan thinks, in Northern Ireland (i. 418). See also Haddan and Stubbs, ii. 106.

[5] 'Anathematizando prodidit' is Bede's phrase.

[6] 'In oppido municipio;' Bede means York. Roman York was a 'colonia.' See Raine's 'York' (Historic Towns), p. 11.

[7] Bede, iii. 1: 'Copiis quibus nihil resistere posse jactabat.'

[8] Bede, iii. 1: 'Infaustus . . . exosus usque hodie permanet.' It was not reckoned by the reigns of the two apostates, but of their saintly successor. Cp. iii. 9, 'adnumerato etiam illo anno, quem feralis impietas . . . et apostasia . . . detestabilem fecerunt.'

CHAP. IV.

year of two kings' apostasy, and, it must be added, the year in which the Northumbrian Church was abandoned by its chief pastor. Paulinus may well have been bowed down by the shock of seeing Edwin's head brought to York[1], and of knowing the misery which had come on the whole kingdom. He thought that it was a case for 'flying from persecution'; and this, as it would seem, without any such sufficiency of clergy in the bishop's absence, as, in St. Augustine's carefully formed opinion, would alone justify a chief pastor's flight[2]. But he persuaded himself that he had a primary duty to the widowed queen whom he had escorted to Northumbria, although a brave thane[3] named Bass was at hand to guard her return. He set sail with her, and with her younger son and daughter, Wuscfrea and Eanfled, and Yffi, the infant son of her stepson Osfrid[4]: 'he took with him a large golden cross[5], and a golden chalice hallowed for the service of the altar[6],' which were long shown in the church of Canterbury: and the fugitive party, under the care of Bass, arrived safely in Kent, where Paulinus accepted from Honorius and Eadbald the long vacant see of Rochester. It was not till the following autumn that he received a pall, intended for him as archbishop of York[7]; it came too late for him, but with a similar one for archbishop Honorius from his namesake,

Flight of Paulinus.

[1] Bede, ii. 20: 'Adlatum est autem caput,' &c. The body was also recovered, and afterwards buried at Whitby; iii. 24.

[2] S. Aug. Ep. 228. See Fleury, b. 25. c. 25; Newman, Ch. of the Fathers, p. 238. Augustine also allowed a bishop to fly if his flock fled, or if he had no flock left. Malmesbury describes Paulinus as expelled from his see by foes; Gest. Pont. i. 72, p. 134 (Rolls Series).

[3] He is called 'miles.' See above, p. 129.

[4] He and Wuscfrea were afterwards, says Bede, sent by Ethelburga, for fear of her brother Eadbald and of Oswald, to the court of her friend the Frankish king, Dagobert, where they died in their childhood.

[5] St. Willibrord used to carry with him on his journeys a golden cross; Vit. 30.

[6] See the prayer 'ad calicem benedicendum' in St. Gregory's Sacramentary; Murat. Lit. Rom. ii. 186, and Egbert's Pontif. p. 48.

[7] So that he was never really archbishop. Egbert, who was bishop of York in Bede's last days, became the first archbishop in 735. Wilfrid has often been called 'archbishop,' but quite erroneously: so too Bede's epitaph in Durham cathedral gives the title to St. John of Beverley.

the first Pope of that name, whose letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, evidently the duplicate of one addressed to Paulinus, and dated on June 11, 634, empowered the surviving metropolitan in case of a vacancy to consecrate a successor, 'so that their churches might suffer no loss[1] through the necessity of a long journey.' Another letter then received must have been read with mournful interest: it exhorted the Pope's 'most excellent son, Edwin king of the Angles,' to persevere in the pious course which he had begun[2]. We may here observe that when Paulinus settled down to his tranquil work at Rochester, Ethelburga founded a convent at Lyminge, where to the west of the existing church, which contains much Roman brick-work, are the excavated remains of an original 'basilica of St. Mary,' belonging to the Roman period[3]; where the place of her burial is marked by a modern tablet on the south wall of the church[4], and her name of endearment is still perpetuated in a neighbouring common called 'Tatta's Leas[5].' CHAP. IV.

It has been too much the fashion to speak of the work of Paulinus as utterly ruined by the catastrophe of Hatfield, as if all the impressions left by it had in a single year been clean effaced, so that the next missionary bishop had simply to begin over again. This would be antecedently very improbable; and it is contradicted by the language of our only real authority. The Northumbrian Christians were

[1] Bede, ii. 18. The pope here quietly assumes that, but for this permission, an archbishop elect would have to travel to Rome for consecration; as if he could not, like Augustine, seek it in Gaul. In the same letter he speaks of the 'advance' made by archbishops on 'the beginnings' due to Gregory. The so-called second letter of Honorius I to Honorius is one of the ten spurious documents which were forged in the interest of the see of Canterbury; see Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 65.

[2] Bede, ii. 17. He advises Edwin to have the writings of pope Gregory frequently read to him, and to realize his own kingship by loyalty to the Divine King. Edwin, it seems, had asked for a pall for Paulinus as well as for Honorius: 'Ea quae a nobis pro vestris sacerdotibus,' &c.

[3] Haddan and Stubbs, i. 38; Murray's Kent and Sussex, p. 154.

[4] 'The burial-place of St. Ethelburga the queen, foundress of this church and first abbess of Lyminge.'

[5] I owe this information to the kindness of the late Canon Jenkins, rector of Lyminge. 'St. Ethelburga's well' is to the east of the church.

CHAP. IV. 'cast down, but not destroyed.' They had lost their bishop, but they had still with them one who, though not even a priest, did a true pastor's work among them, keeping the fire of faith alive in those dark days, and, as Bede expresses it [1], 'taking away great spoil from the old enemy by teaching and baptizing.' This was James the Deacon, otherwise known as the Chanter, from his skill in Roman church music [2]; a really noble instance, in the third rank of the ministry, of courageous steadfastness under exceptional trial, and simple fidelity to a sacred trust. His name was attached in Bede's time to the 'township' near Catterick, which was his centre of operations [3]. It was within Deira, but near the Bernician frontier: and after the renegade kings of Deira and Bernicia had fallen in the summer and autumn, James would hear with wonder and thankfulness that a younger brother of Eanfrid was preparing, in the character of a Christian prince, to make a stand for the independence of Northumbria. This was he who for ages was honoured throughout the North-country, and far beyond it, as Saint Oswald. When the Christians for whom he was to fight remembered that he was the heir of the 'fierce' Pagan Ethelfrid [4], they would also hail him as the nephew of Edwin, whose sister had been the wife of her brother's early foe [5]. 'With an army small in number, but fortified by faith in Christ,' he took up his position within

James the Deacon.

Oswald.

Battle of Heavenfield.

[1] Bede, ii. 20: 'Reliquerat autem in ecclesia sua,' &c. In the same context Bede goes on to speak of Oswald's reign as a period in which 'the number of the faithful *increased*.'

[2] On the ecclesiastical chant as brought from Rome, see Smith's Bede, p. 719. We must connect with James's name those of Eddi Stephen, John the archchanter (Bede, iv. 18), and Maban the chanter of Hexham (v. 20).

[3] Akeburgh, a farm not far from Catterick,—on the site of a village,—is supposed to be 'Jacobsburgh.' See Churton, p. 63; Raine, i. 44 (although the place is not mentioned in Domesday; Murray's Yorkshire, p. 284). At the neighbouring church of Hauxwell is a cross, on which the inscription could once be read, 'Haec est crux Sti Gacobi;' Hübner, p. 68.

[4] 'Ille ut rosa de spinis effloruit;' Simeon of Durham, de Dunelm. Eccl. i. 1 (Op. i. 18, Rolls Series). He came with twelve companions; Adamnan, Vit. Col. i. 1.

[5] See p. 123.

a few miles of Hagulstad or Hexham [1], on a rising ground [2] to the north of the Roman wall [3], where now stands the humble chapel of 'St. Oswald's,' commanding a wide view. The time was apparently at the close of 634 [4]. The winter morning had just dawned [5] when Oswald caused a cross [6] of wood to be hastily made, and a hole to be dug for it in the earth, and held it up with his own hands while his men heaped the soil around it. Then, when the symbol of their faith stood firmly fixed, and pointing heavenwards, he raised his voice, and bade his soldiers kneel with him, and 'entreat the true and living God, who knew how just was their cause, to defend them from the proud and fierce enemy.' They charged Cadwallon's greatly superior force; and their onset was overpowering. Far away he fled, down

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[1] Also called Hestaldesige, Sim. Hist. Reg. c. 58; or Hestoldesham, from the brook Hestild, Richard of Hexh. in X Script. p. 289.

[2] 'Ad locum ejusdem sanctae crucis *ascendere*;' Bede, iii. 2.

[3] On the great Roman 'Wall' from the Tyne to the Solway, see Burton, Hist. Scotl. i. 21; Freeman, Engl. Towns and Districts, p. 435; Bishop Creighton, 'Carlisle,' (Historic Towns), p. 8. Near St. Oswald's the track of the wall clearly exhibits the northern foss, the line of the stations and forts, and the southern vallum-line. A fragment of the wall, some thirty yards long, stands not far off. It is curious that Bede, i. 12, post-dates this 'murus' by more than two centuries, attributing it to the Romans in the last days of their occupancy of Britain, whereas 'after a long debate the opinion now prevails that the wall and its parallel earthworks, its camps, roads, and stations, were designed and constructed by Hadrian alone;' Elton, Origins of Engl. Hist. p. 312.

[4] See Bede, iii. 1, 2. There is some difficulty about the date. Cadwallon, according to Bede, tyrannized over Northumbria for an entire year from October, 633. 'After this,' Osric having been slain in the summer of 634, 'at length' Eanfrid met a like fate. The year from Oct. 633, to Oct. 634, was 'the year abhorred,' afterwards reckoned as a regnal year of Oswald. His victory cannot well have taken place *before* December, 634: Bede does not say how soon it followed on 'the slaughter of his brother Eanfrid'; iii. 1. He reigned eight years, without counting the 'annus infaustus'; Bede, iii. 9; A.-S. Chr. a. 634; and he was slain August 7, 642; therefore the eight years must begin within A. D. 634. The Chron. dates his accession in that year, but modern writers have usually dated it in 635 (e. g. Lingard, A.-S. Ch. i. 32).

[5] The day before, Oswald dreamed that Columba appeared to him and promised him victory. This he afterwards told to abbot Seghine; Adamn. V. Col. i. 1.

[6] This was the only cross, as far as Bede could learn, that had been set up in Bernicia. He tells us that splinters of it had a healing virtue on men and cattle. See Alcuin's apostrophe to it, de Pontif. Ebor. 427.

CHAP. IV. the slope into the valley, till he reached the Denisburn, as Bede calls it, probably a brook near Dilston [1], eastward of Hexham; and there he fell, amid carnage long-remembered,—

> The slaughter of Cadwalla's men
> That stayed the Denis' flow.

This was the battle of 'Heavenfield [2],' for that significant name had already belonged to the place: the Welsh called it, in their accounts, 'Catisgual,' the battle below the wall [3]. Few fields of conflict should be more interesting to Englishmen than this which witnessed not only the death-blow to Welsh schemes of reconquest, but the definitive triumph of the Christian cause in Northumbria. Heavenfield had fully made up for Hatfield: for Oswald, as not only the son of the Bernician Ethelfrid, but nephew of the Deiran Edwin, could 'weld together the two provinces into one people,' and at once became to Northumbrian Christians all that Edwin had been, and more: in reading of him, we think instinctively of Alfred. Strength and sweetness were united in a character which almost represents the ideal

Oswald, King of Northumbria.

[1] 'Caedes Cedwalensium Denisi cursus coercuit;' ap. Hen. Hunt. Smith, p. 720, supposes the Denisburn to be the Erringburn, north of St. Oswald's and of the Wall, and places the scene of the battle in that neighbourhood, e. g. near Hallington or Bingfield. But see Bruce's Hist. of the Wall, p. 142, that a charter of the thirteenth century describes twenty acres of land as between Denisburn and Divelin (Dilston). Oswald would cross the Wall-line.

[2] Not so called by 'after times' (Green, Making of Engl. p. 275). Bede expressly says that the name was earlier.

[3] Ann. Camb. (dating it wrongly in 631) 'Cantscaul'; App. Nenn. 'Catscaul, cum magna clade exercitus sui.' On the death of Cadwallon, see Lappenberg, i. 156. He had fought, it was said, in fourteen battles and sixty skirmishes: he was succeeded by his son Cadwalader, called 'the Blessed,' who died of 'the plague' in 664 (Catgualart, in App. to Nennius), or later according to other accounts. See Rees, Welsh Saints, p. 301; Haddan and Stubbs, i. 165, 202. Skene, on the authority of Welsh records, would prolong Cadwallon's life to 659, supposing his father Cadvan to have been the 'Catgublaun' who fell 'in bello Catscaul'; Four Ancient Books of Wales, i. 71; comp. Reginald, Vit. Osw. i. c. 9, in Sim. Op. i. 345. But the Ann. Camb. clearly identify the victor of 'Meiceren' (Hatfield) with him who 'fell' in 'Cantscaul'; and Bede's 'infandus Brettonum dux,' who fell at the Denisburn, is clearly his 'rex Brettonum Cadvalla.' 'Catguollaun,' in Nennius, seems to be only another form of 'Catgublaun.'

of Christian royalty. He was now about thirty years old [1], in the prime and glow of a pure and noble manhood; he was granted to his country in her extreme need for some eight years, in which he signally 'fulfilled a long time.' On the one hand, so able a captain and ruler that he extended the area of an overlord's supremacy until it included not only the 'Britons' of Wales and 'Strathclyde,' but the southern Picts, and the 'Scots' of western Scotland [2], —on the other hand, as devout as if he lived in a cloister, thinking little of half a night spent in devotion [3], and accustomed from such habits to keep his palms instinctively turned upward, even while sitting on his throne; thus 'wont, while guiding a temporal kingdom, to labour and pray rather for an eternal one [4];' withal, as generous and affectionate as he was pious, 'kind and beneficent to the poor and to strangers,' humble of mind and tender of heart, amid all that might have 'lifted him up to arrogance [5],' Oswald was altogether a prince of men, one born to attract a general enthusiasm of admiration, reverence, and love. CHAP. IV.

His first object was to restore the national Christianity; not to inaugurate, but to carry on the work which the death of Edwin had interrupted; as Bede expresses it, to bring 'the whole of the nation over which he had begun to reign' under

[1] Bede, iii. 9. Tradition describes him as tall, with a rather long face, bright glancing eyes, yellow hair, and a very thin beard; Hist. Transl. S. Cuthb. 6, in Bed. Op. vi. 409; Reginald, Vit. Osw. c. 50.

[2] Bede, iii. 6: 'Denique omnes nationes,' &c. So that Oswald anticipated the over-lordship of such a 'Basileus' of Britain as Athelstan or Edgar. See Freeman, i. 554. 'Totius Britanniae imperator,' Adamnan, i. 1. Elsewhere Bede attributes this extension of Northumbrian overlordship to Oswy; ii. 5. Probably he consolidated it.

[3] Bede, iii. 12: 'Denique ferunt quia a tempore matutinae laudis saepius ad diem usque in orationibus perstiterit.' Comp. 'matutinae laudis,' iv. 7.

[4] Bede, l. c.: 'Nec mirandum,' &c.

[5] Bede, iii. 6: 'Quo regni culmine sublimatus, nihilominus, quod mirum est . . . semper humilis,' &c. See Alcuin de Pontif. Ebor. 269: 'parcus sibi, dives in omnes, Excelsus meritis, submissus mente sed ipsa.' Reginald says, 'Neminem fidelem esse pauperem publice pertulit,' c. 10. See the story of the silver dish of food at the forenoon meal of Easter-day, Bede, iii. 6. On Oswald's character see Lightfoot, Leaders of the Northern Church, p. 33, that he was at once a true saint and a true king.

CHAP. IV. Icolmkill.

the influences of the faith[1]; and for this, he needed a bishop. He naturally applied to the 'elders' of that Northern Celtic Church which had been for years his religious home. Of these elders the principal[2] were the community of Hy or Icolmkill, where Seghine was then ruling, as fifth abbot[3], and, although only a presbyter, was exercising, by what Bede calls 'an unusual arrangement,' a supreme jurisdiction over all that province, the bishops not excepted[4]. The explanation of this anomaly lay in the extraordinary reverence[5] paid to the great Founder-Abbot and missionary saint, in whom the Church of 'Alban' felt herself, as it were, impersonated, and who was in some sense regarded as still living in his successors. There were in 'Alban' no diocesan limits[6]; the centre of unity was the monastery of Hy, and the idea of local authority was concentrated in its abbot, the 'coarb' or 'heir' of 'Columbcille[7].'

[1] Bede, iii. 3. Cp. ii. 20, 'recuperata . . . pace in provincia, et *crescente* numero fidelium;' and iii. 5, '*fideles*, in ipsa eos fide confortare' (Aidan).

[2] Bede's phrase, 'majores natu Scottorum,' seems to include others besides the monks of Hy.

[3] Baithen succeeded Columba; after him came Laisrean; then Virgnous or Fergna; then, in 623, Seghine. Bede warmly praises the successors of Columba for their strict, pure, and holy lives; iii. 4. For 'Segenus,' see also Bede, ii. 19. See a list of abbots of Hy in Reeves's Adamnan, p. 370 ff.

[4] Bede, iii. 4: 'Cujus juri et omnis provincia, et ipsi etiam *episcopi*, *ordine inusitato*, debeant esse subjecti, juxta exemplum primi doctoris illis, qui non episcopus, sed presbyter exstitit et monachus.' So A.-S. Chr. a. 565. See Skene, Celtic Scotl. ii. 44.

[5] See Lanigan, ii. 249 ff.; Grub, i. 69, 137; Todd, Life of St. Patrick, p. 10 ff. The primacy passed, in effect, from Hy to Dunkeld, and then to Abernethy, in the middle of the ninth century; Reeves's Adamnan, p. 297; Skene, ii. 307, 310.

[6] See The Book of Deer, ed. Stuart, pp. cii, cxxvi. The old British episcopate was diocesan, the old Irish might rather be called monastic. Men were often made bishops in recognition of their learning or piety, and employed to consecrate or to ordain.

[7] See Reeves's Adamnan, p. 364; Todd's St. Patrick, p. 156; Book of Deer, p. cvii; Skene, ii. 148; Grub, Eccl. Hist. Sc. i. 138; Haddan and Stubbs, ii. 106, 115. The Scotic colony, in fact, was ruled by Irish church customs, and in Ireland there was then, and for centuries afterwards, no diocesan system; the ecclesiastical centres were the great tribal monasteries, and the abbots, revered as 'coarbs' of the respective founders, exercised such jurisdiction as was possible in an unorganized Church, without prejudice to the bishop's exclusive right to perform certain functions.

From 'Iona,' then, we are told, a bishop[1], whom Scotch tradition has called Corman, was sent into Northumbria, but his first experience of its rude indocile heathens drove him home again in hopeless disgust[2]. 'It is of no use,' he told the assembled monks, 'to attempt to convert such people as they are.' A voice was raised in gentle remonstrance: 'Did you not, then, forget the Apostle's maxim about milk for babes? Did you not deal too rigidly with those untaught minds, and expect too much, and too soon, as the fruit of teaching too high for them to follow[3]?' All eyes were fixed on the speaker, a monk named Aidan[4]: all said at once that he was the right man[5]. 'And so,' says Bede, '*ordaining him*, they sent him forth to preach' to the Northumbrians; a phrase which, taken in connexion with the 'unusual arrangement,' has raised a question on which we must for a moment pause. These monks and their abbot were simple presbyters; did they, then, profess to 'ordain' Aidan as bishop? We may answer with certainty that they did not. First, the phrase 'ordaining' is used elsewhere for 'causing to be ordained[6].'

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Mission of Aidan to Northumbria.

[1] See Bede, iii. 5: 'Cum ... rex ... postulasset *antistitem* ... missus fuerit primo alius,' &c.

[2] The community had had two 'Saxon' members, Genereus and Pilu, in Columba's time; Adamn. iii. 10, 22. On this see Grub, i. 60, that in them, as far as we know, 'Columba offered the first-fruits of the English nation to God;' and Lanigan, ii. 174.

[3] Among the many writers who give this speech after Bede, see Bishop Lightfoot, Leaders of the Northern Church, p. 43.

[4] We find this name borne by a monk of Hy in Columba's time, Adamn. iii. 6, and by the Scottish king whom Ethelfrid defeated, Bede, i. 34. So too Adamnan speaks of Columba's 'ordaining' Aidan to be king, Vit. Col. iii. 5. This Aidan died in 606. The 'Chronicon Scotorum' mentions two abbots named 'Aedhan,' a. 663, 887.

[5] 'That he was worthy of the episcopate, because he had in an eminent degree the grace of discrimination, which is the mother of virtues;' i. e. he could adapt his teaching to the capacities of various hearers.

[6] Compare Greg. Turon. H. F. iii. 17, 'episcopi ... ordinante Chrotechilde regina ... rexerunt ecclesiam:' and viii. 22, king Childebert II had promised 'se nunquam ex laicis episcopum ordinaturum'; and Rudborne, Hist. Maj. Winton. c. 3 (Wharton, Angl. Sac. i. 191), that Kenwalch, king of the West-Saxons, 'ordinavit in episcopum Agilbertum.' So Marcellinus and Faustinus, that the Catholic people of Oxyrinchos 'episcopum sibi per tunc temporis episcopos catholicos ordinavit,' Sirmond, Op. i. 152: and Capit. Caroli M. a. 802, 'ut nullus ex laicis

CHAP. IV. Secondly, Bede's language about Aidan's ecclesiastical position shows that he, a Latin monk, accustomed to a strict system of episcopal administration, never doubted that Aidan had validly 'received the rank or degree of a bishop[1]:' he speaks of him just as he speaks of other prelates indisputably consecrated; he tells us that Aidan was revered by archbishop Honorius and by bishop Felix[2]. Thirdly, the very point of the anomalous 'arrangement,' in Bede's view, is that 'even bishops' were subject to the abbot of Hy; and these bishops would of course perform the functions of their order, such as the consecration of new bishops[3]. Fourthly, Columba himself is recorded to have honoured bishops as invested with peculiar prerogatives: on one occasion, when a bishop came to Hy, and attempted in his humility to pass himself off as a simple presbyter, Columba discovered his episcopal character when they were just about to join in consecrating the Eucharist, and desired him, for the honour of the episcopate, to 'break the bread alone in the manner of a bishop[4].' On the whole,

presbiterum . . . praesumat ad ecclesias suas ordinare absque licentia . . . episcopi sui,' Pertz, Monum. Hist. Germ. Leg. i. 106. Cp. Tillemont, Mem. iv. 95, as to Cyprian, Ep. 52; 'Novatus . . . diaconum constituit.' And Renaudot, Lit. Orient. i. 381, that Eutychius once uses 'ordained' for 'caused to be ordained.' See Reeves, p. 340, that the consecration was performed by a bishop or bishops 'in the name of the community.'

[1] 'Accepto gradu episcopatus,' Bede, iii. 5. Moreover, Bede calls him a 'pontifex' in iii. 3, 6, 17, an 'antistes' in iii. 14, 15, 16, 17. See too Bede's language about his successor Finan, iii. 17, 21, 25; and Cedd who was consecrated by Finan, 'accepto gradu episcopatus,' iii. 22; and Colman who 'succeeded Finan in the bishopric,' iii. 25, and 'held the pontificate,' iii. 26. See Bp. Russell, Hist. Ch. Scotl. i. 32. Bede has no doubt that those whom they ordained were really 'sacerdotes,' iii. 5, 26. See Skene, ii. 157.

[2] Bede, iii. 25.

[3] More than one bishop, then,—probably, according to Irish usage, many more,—dwelt in the 'province' of Alban; Lanigan, ii. 253. Reeves says that there were at all times bishops resident at Hy *or* some dependent church, subject to the abbot's monastic jurisdiction (Adamnan, p. 340); and see Skene, ii. 133, on the bishops at Lismore and Kingarth.

[4] The stranger being asked by Columba 'Christi Corpus ex more conficere,' called Columba to him, 'ut simul, quasi duo presbyteri, Dominicum panem frangerent' (Maskell, Mon. Rit. iii. 215). Columba approached the altar, looked in his face, and said, 'Benedicat te Christus, frater; hunc solus *episcopali* ritu frange panem; nunc scimus quod sis episcopus. Quare hucusque te occultare conatus es, ut tibi a nobis debita non redderetur veneratio?' Adamn. Vit. Col. i. 44. The stranger's name was

therefore, if there was not at that time a resident bishop in Hy [1], as in St. Brigid's convent at Kildare, in St. Martin's at Tours, and in St. Denis' near Paris [2], we may be sure that the ministrations of one or more of the non-diocesan Scotic prelates would be employed by abbot Seghine when a 'bishop' was to be sent to king Oswald.

Arrival of St. Aidan.

So it was that in the summer of 635 [3], just ten years after Paulinus came to Northumbria, his successor arrived from a quarter which he himself would have regarded with no friendly feeling,—with something of mistrust, and even of resentment, on account of the obstinacy, as he would call it, with which, in his own experience, the Irish Church,—the mother Church of Columba's monastery and its dependencies,—had rejected the 'Catholic' Easter-rules, and adhered to their own 'erroneous observance [4].' Aidan, however, though a true son of his national Church [5], was

Cronan, from Munster. Lanigan, ii. 179, thinks that the 'episcopalis ritus' was the benediction given by bishops only, 'after the breaking of the Host,' in Gallican and other Churches. But it was clearly the prerogative of a Celtic bishop to consecrate alone, whereas priests used to 'concelebrate,' or repeat the words and acts of consecration together; Warren, Lit. and Rit. of Celt. Ch. p. 128, and Reeves, p. 86 (as the priests of 'titles' at Rome did with the pope, Duchesne, Origines du Culte, p. 167). See also the story of the ordination of Columba, indicating 'that the distinction between bishops and priests was well understood in Ireland;' Lanigan, ii. 130; and that of the ordination of Aedh the Black, see Todd's Life of St. Patrick, p. 8, and Reeves, p. 69. Cp. Tripart. Life, i. p. clxxx.

[1] Lanigan, ii. 253; Grub, i. 139.

[2] Lanigan, ii. 254; Russell, i. 26; Grant, Bamp. Lect. p. 330; Todd's Life of St. Patrick, pp. 12, 22. Todd also refers to the bishop of Aquino as under the abbot of Monte Cassino, and to the position of a bishop as resident in the monastery of Mount Sinai; p. 67. But these cases are not properly parallel to that of Hy; Grub, i. 137.

[3] Some time must be allowed for (1) Oswald's first request to the Scots, (2) the unsuccessful experiment, (3) the second request. Aidan could hardly arrive before the middle of 635. He died Aug. 31, 651, after the seventeenth year of his episcopate had begun; see Bede, iii. 17. The statement in Bede, iii. 26, that the year of the Whitby conference, i. e. 664, was the thirtieth year of the Scotic mission in Northumbria, may be a lax reckoning from the accession of Oswald at the end of 634. Simeon of Durham gives the date 635; de Dun. Eccl. i. 2 (Op. i. 19).

[4] See Bede, ii. 19, as to Pope Honorius' letter to the Irish: 'Quos in observatione sancti Paschae errare compererat.'

[5] 'He was son of Lugair, and of the same lineage as St. Brigid;' Reeves's Adamnan, p. 374; see Bp. Forbes, Kalendars, p. 269.

CHAP. IV. of very different temper from Dagan, and even, on this point, from Columban: and we shall see that, although he retained his own usages, he disarmed the suspicion or the hostility which Celtic fashions too commonly aroused. In another respect he indicated, at the very outset of his Northumbrian work, a love for Celtic ways as distinct from Roman. He did not establish himself in the capital of the kingdom, although York had been the seat, not only of Paulinus in Edwin's time, but of an ancient British episcopate [1]. It was not the mode of Celtic bishops to regard practical and administrative convenience in the selection of their seats: we have already observed how David chose the remote and lonely Menevia, doubtless for the sake of ascetic seclusion [2]. Aidan carried with him the perpetual remembrance of his old home in what was emphatically termed 'The Island': and he found an irresistible attraction in the resemblance between Hy and Lindisfarne [3], a place which Bede describes as 'twice a day contiguous to the mainland of Northumbria, and twice a day like an island enclosed in the sea, according to the ebb and flow of the tide [4]:' a description which is now somewhat less accurate, for the path which can be traversed

Lindisfarne.

[1] See Raine, Historians of Church of York, i. p. xxv, for the preference felt by king and bishop alike for Bernicia, though Oswald completed the church which Edwin had begun to build at York.

[2] Bp. Jones and Freeman, Hist. St. David's, pp. 237, 251. And see Freeman, Norm. Conq. i. 352: 'that remote bishopric whither St. David had fled from the face of man.' Above, p. 37.

[3] That is, the recess formed by the river Lindis. The Britons called it Medcaut; the Irish, Metgoet. The App. to Nennius says that Urien of Reged was treacherously slain while besieging some Anglian princes in the island.

[4] Bede, iii. 3. See Camden, Brit. ii. 1502, that the western point is joined to the main part 'by a very small strip of land; towards the south it has a small town, with a church and castle,' &c. Comp. Marmion, ii. 9:—

'For, with the flow and ebb, its style
Varies from continent to isle.'

See Raine, i. 19: 'Twice a day did a belt of living water encircle that little sanctuary; and when it was ungirt, there were the quicksand and the shoal.' The river Lindis, says Simeon, 'excurrit in mare,' and is visible at low tide; the isle is eight miles, or more, round; Hist. Reg. s. 56 (Op. i. 54).

about low water from Beal is over sands 'at best very wet and plashy[1].' No sacred spot in Britain is worthier of a reverential visit than this 'Holy Island' of Aidan and his successors[2]. As you stand on its beach, or look around from the little eminence that seems to guard the ruins of its monastery[3], you see that beside its general likeness to Hy, and its facilities for devotional retirement, it had a more material advantage in its nearness to the royal fortress-rock of Bamborough, which rises up majestically to the south. Here, then, the new bishop established his head-quarters; here was all that he could call his own,—the ground on which he built his humble church, and a few adjacent fields[4]. In entering on his episcopate, he neither sought nor received any sanction from Rome or Canterbury; he was a missionary bishop sent from the neighbouring Scotic Church, at the request of the Northumbrian king: this was his position, and he would never have admitted the principle that all episcopal jurisdiction must be derived from Rome[5], or that a Pope had a right to make an English archbishop supreme over 'all the bishops of Britain[6].' Yet Rome acknowledges him as a canonized bishop[7]. CHAP. IV.

Our next period, then, will be characterized by another great missionary effort, carried on in the north by St. Aidan of Lindisfarne.

[1] Murray's Durham and Northumberland, p. 226; Pearson, Hist. Maps, p. 2.

[2] 'Locus cunctis in Britannia venerabilior;' Alcuin to Ethelred, Ep. 12; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 493.

[3] This little hill must have reminded Aidan of the eminences in Hy called 'the Great Fort' and 'the Angels' Mount,' favourite seats of Columba; Adamn. i. 30, ii. 4, iii. 16.

[4] Bede, iii. 17: 'Utpote nil propriae possessionis,' &c.

[5] Collier, i. 203.

[6] See above, p. 70.

[7] See Alb. Butler, Aug. 31.

CHAPTER V.

Character of St. Aidan.

THE Scotic mission to King Oswald's people would engage historical interest by the wide area of its operation, affecting, as it did, not only the Northumbrian realm extending from Edinburgh to the Humber, or, during its first seven years, to the Trent, but also, ultimately, the great midland district, and even the country of the East-Saxons. But it has also a yet stronger and more personal attractiveness in the wonderful beauty of character which made 'the path' of its chief 'a shining light,'—which acted like a spell on the rough Northcountry-men whose language he had to learn after his arrival,—which made him so effective a converter of souls, because so potent a winner of hearts,—which proved too much for anti-Scotic prejudices, national or ecclesiastical, and through various lines of testimony[1] impressed itself on the English-born Church-historian as virtually a model of Christian excellence. His relation to English Christianity as a whole has indeed been somewhat seriously overrated, whether on account of his own rare merits or from the controversial instinct of underrating our religious obligation to Italy. A prelate whose personal energies found full occupation within his own great diocese, and who had no opportunity of promoting any mission beyond its limits, cannot with anything like historical exactness be called 'the apostle of England': he was not even, in a proper sense, the apostle of Northumbria[2]. But such exaggeration cannot in the least affect his claim on the reverence of all who appreciate true sanctity. Let us put together what Bede takes such evident delight[3] in

[1] 'Quantum ab eis qui illum novere didicimus;' Bede, iii. 17.

[2] I may refer, on this point, to my 'Waymarks in Church History,' p. 307.

[3] 'His virtues,' says Hook, 'were such as *compel* the *reluctant* admiration

telling us as to what Aidan was, and how he lived and worked in Northumbria. CHAP. V.

'A man,' he begins, 'of the utmost gentleness, piety, and moderation[1]:' and in subsequent passages he tells us that Aidan was earnest in promoting peace and charity, purity and humility, was superior to anger and avarice, despised pride and vainglory, and was a conspicuous example of entire unworldliness, strictly temperate in all his habits, sedulous in study and devotion, full of tenderness for all sufferers, and of righteous sternness towards powerful offenders[2]: that he 'took pains to fulfil diligently the works of faith, piety, and love, according to the usual manner of all holy men[3],' and, in a word, to 'omit not one of all the duties prescribed in the evangelical, apostolical, or prophetical Scriptures, but to perform them to the utmost of his power[4].' No wonder, then, that his doctrine was thus recommended by the absolute consistency of what he did with what he taught[5]. As for his daily life in Lindisfarne, it was that of a monk[6], governed by rules and habits which he brought with him from Hy. He obtained fellow-workers from his old country[7], whose spirit was as his spirit: he formed a school of English boys, twelve in number[8], who were trained up in holy ways under his own eye, that they might in due time preach to their own countrymen[9],—and among whom one was afterwards

of the candid Bede' (i. 120). This is not candid towards Bede, whose tribute of admiration for Aidan's character, recurring in several chapters, is unequivocally hearty: on its 'earnestness and eloquence,' as expressive of a 'thorough veneration,' see Burton, Hist. Scotl. i. 269.

[1] Bede, iii. 3. [2] Comp. Bede, iii. 5, 17.

[3] Bede, iii. 25: 'Opera tamen fidei . . . diligenter exsequi curavit.'

[4] Bede, iii. 17: 'Qui, ut breviter multa comprehendam,' &c.

[5] Bede, iii. 5: 'Cujus doctrinam,' &c. Compare i. 26, on Augustine and his companions; see above, p. 56. It is significant that Bede intimates the same combination as to Wilfrid, iv. 13.

[6] Bede, iii. 3; iv. 27. All the bishops of the line which began with him were monks, until 1072; Simeon of Durham, de Dunelm. Eccl. i. 2.

[7] Bede, iii. 3. Ireland is meant.

[8] Twelve was regarded as a sacred number. See instances in Reeves's Adamnan, pp. 299-303: and Tripart. Life, ii. 447. See above, p. 150, on Oswald's twelve attendants.

[9] Bede, iii. 26. So when St. Anskar began his work in Denmark, he

CHAP. V. famous as St. Chad[1]. Occasionally Aidan would retire for devotional solitude to the chief islet of the Farne group, lying off Bamborough, on which, in Bede's time, 'it was usual to point out the spot where he was wont to sit alone[2].' We find also that he brought in the practice of fasting on all Wednesdays and Fridays until 3 p.m. except during 'the fifty days of Easter[3].' In his actual mission work, he travelled on foot, unless compelled by necessity to ride: we shall see ere long what he did with a horse, which was a royal gift intended to facilitate these journeys[4]. This habit of walking enabled him easily to turn aside and endeavour to enter into conversation with any one whom he met, rich or poor,—if a heathen, to invite him 'to receive the mystery of the faith[5];' if a believer, 'to confirm him in that faith, and to stir him up by words and example to the performance of almsdeeds and good works.'—language which indicates clearly enough that many of Paulinus' converts had held fast their Christianity, and needed from Aidan nothing but the ordinary pastoral exhortations to persevere in it and live up to it. While he and his companions travelled, they used to 'meditate' on texts of Scripture, or recite psalms: 'this was' their 'daily work[6].' Aidan was happy

began to form such a school of twelve or more Danish boys 'who might be educated for God's service;' Vit. S. Anskar. 8 (Pertz, Mon. Germ. H. ii. 696). It is needless to refer to the practice of Bishops G. Selwyn and Patteson.

[1] Bede, iii. 28. Another was Fata, iii. 26.

[2] Bede, iii. 16. This is called the 'House Island,' about a mile and a half from the shore. See it described in Bede, iv. 28; Vit. Cuthb. 17. Comp. Adamnan, iii. 8, that Columba one day, in Hy, 'remotiorem . . . locum aptumque ad orationem in saltibus quaesivit.' A similar practice was attributed to Ninian; Lives of Ninian and Kentigern, ed. Forbes, p. 284; and Anskar had a cell made for such purposes, which he called 'locum quietum,' Vit. Ansk. 35.

[3] Bede, iii. 5. Cp. Adamn. i. 26; Warren, Lit. and Ritual, &c., p. 146.

[4] Bede, iii. 5, 14. On his preaching-circuits, see also Bede, iii. 17. While travelling, Aidan, as a monk, wore sandals; his garments consisted of a thick woollen 'cuculla' or 'cape,' or in winter an 'amphibalus,' and below it a shirt, 'tunica.' See Reeves's Adamnan, p. 356. The front of his head showed the Irish tonsure; behind, the long hair flowed down; see Reeves, p. 350, and Maclear, Apost. Mediaev. Eur. p. 57.

[5] 'Ad fidei suscipiendae sacramentum,' for 'ad fidei suscipiendum,' &c.

[6] Bede, iii. 5: 'In tantum autem,' &c. Bede contrasts this with 'the sluggishness of' his own 'time.' So Adamnan says, Columba 'never

indeed in having an Oswald for his king: and in the early days of his episcopate, Oswald was often to be seen employing that knowledge of the 'Scottish' or Irish tongue which he owed to his exile in interpreting the missionary addresses of the bishop,—a sight which Bede might well call 'truly beautiful[1].' In this, as in other matters, Oswald showed a depth and fervour of personal piety which we do not find in Edwin, and which reminds us of Alfred or St. Louis. He and Aidan worked together as Sigebert did with Felix. But knowing Aidan's ascetic habits, Oswald did not often invite him to the royal table: when the bishop appeared there, it was with one or two attendant clerics; 'and when he had taken a little refreshment, he would make haste to go out in order to read with his brethren, or to pray[2],' for he had 'a church and a bedchamber' near the 'royal city' of Bamborough[3]. We hear of his sharing the king's forenoon meal on a certain Easter Sunday, when 'a silver dish full of royal dainties was set before them on the board, and they were just about to stretch out their hands to bless the bread[4]:' then enters a thane, 'whose charge it was to relieve the poor, and informs Oswald that a great crowd of poor folk, assembled from all the country-side, were sitting in the streets begging some alms from the king: Oswald orders the contents of the dish to be carried to them, and CHAP. V.

could pass a single hour without employing himself in prayer, or reading, or writing, or some other work;' Vit. Col. praef. 2. On the frequent recitation of psalms, see Bede, iii. 27, iv. 23, v. 14, 19, H. Abb. 16.

[1] Bede, iii. 3: 'Ubi pulcherrimo,' &c. He implies that Aidan could speak English, though imperfectly. See iii. 14 for his conversation with King Oswin. Comp. Rich. Hexham, X Script. 290: 'The race of the Bernicians was converted in 634 by the preaching of the saints Oswald ... and Aidan.' So Simeon, Dun. Eccl. i. 1: 'Rex, utique Regis aeterni minister devotus, adsistere, et fidus interpres fidei, ducibus suis et ministris ministrare solebat verba salutis.' As Churton says, E. E. Ch. p. 72, it is 'a striking instance of the care of Providence turning the misfortunes of his youth to a means of blessing.' A much later case of a king interpreting a missionary's sermons was that of Gottschalk, king of the Wends in the eleventh century; Hardwick, Ch. Hist. M. Ages, p. 128.

[2] Bede, iii. 5: 'Et si forte evenisset,' &c.

[3] Bede, iii. 17: 'In hac enim habens ecclesiam,' &c.

[4] Literally, this implies that the king was to join with the prelate in this 'grace before meat.' The passage is another illustration of the fact that the Celts were not properly Quartodecimans.

CHAP. V. the dish itself to be broken and divided for their benefit.' On this Aidan seizes the king's right hand, and says, 'May this hand never decay[1]!' In his dealings with the rich, Aidan showed his superiority to 'fear or favour': he never withheld a rebuke deserved by misdoings of theirs, but always administered it with the authority befitting a bishop[2]. If a thane came to Lindisfarne, he was hospitably entertained, but got none of those money-presents which, in the Eastern Church, had been euphemistically called 'blessings[3],' and being professedly tokens of goodwill from ecclesiastics, were often little else than bribes to secure the interest of a powerful layman, or even payments regarded as his due. On the other hand, if a rich man offered money to Aidan, it went promptly to the poor[4], whose sufferings were ever in the thought of this true 'cherisher of the needy and father of the wretched[5]:' or else it was disposed of, as Gregory himself might have disposed of such gifts, in ransoming those who had been unjustly sold into slavery, many of whom, when thus delivered, became Aidan's pupils, and were ultimately promoted by him to the priesthood[6]. One thing alone Bede could not approve in Aidan,—the inevitable Celtic error about the Paschal reckoning. On this point Aidan's 'zeal

[1] The hand, Bede adds, was preserved in the royal city of Bamborough, and remained there, to his days, undecayed; iii. 6. Simeon of Durham (twelfth century) says that Swartebrand, a monk of that church, who had 'recently' died, declared that he had often seen this 'right hand,' undecayed; Dun. Ecc. i. 2. See Malmesbury's remarks on this marvel; Gest. Reg. i. 49. Oswald is called in Nennius 'Oswald Lamnguin,' the 'white hand.' See Green, Hist. Eng. People, p. 23; Lappenberg, i. 162, 'the fair or free of hand.'

[2] Bede, iii. 5, 17. So Anskar seemed 'terribilis' to 'potentes et divites' if 'contumaces,' while 'mediocres' regarded him as a brother, and the poor as a father; Vit. 35.

[3] 'Eulogiae,' Fleury, b. 27. c. 12. The word passed over into Western use for any presents, as in Greg. Ep. xiii. 42 (cp. 'benedictionem,' Bede, ii. 10, 11); and (like 'benevolence') gradually lost the sense of a *free* gift.

[4] Bede, iii. 5: 'Sed ea potius quae sibi a divitibus,' &c. Comp. iii. 26: 'Si quid enim pecuniae,' &c.

[5] Bede, iii. 14: 'Erat enim multum misericors,' &c.: ib. 5, 17. Compare Adamn. Vit. Col. i. 46.

[6] Bede, iii. 5: 'Denique multos,' &c.

was not fully according to knowledge[1]:' so Bede expresses himself, but takes off the edge of this gentle censure by suggesting in one passage that Aidan might be ignorant of the true reckoning[2], and by telling us in another that those in Northumbria who knew it were tolerant of his observance, because they understood 'that he was unable to deviate from the custom of those who had sent him; so that he was deservedly loved by those who differed from him about the Pasch,' and respected even by such dignified representatives of 'Catholic observance' as archbishop Honorius and bishop Felix[3]. And after all, says Bede, 'he did *not*, as some have thought, keep the feast, in Jewish fashion, on the fourteenth moon on any week-day[4], but always on a Sunday, from the fourteenth to the twentieth;' that is, if the fourteenth were on a Sunday, he would make that his Easter Sunday, and so on until the twentieth[5]; whereas, according to Catholic rules, he should in that case have deferred the festival until the next Sunday, the twenty-first. He would always, says Bede, 'celebrate' the 'Pasch' on a Sunday, 'because, with the Holy Church, he believed the Lord's resurrection to have taken place on the first day of the week, and hoped that our resurrection would in truth take place on the same day of the week[6], now called the Lord's day.' 'His keeping the Pasch out of

[1] Bede, iii. 3: 'Zelum Dei, quamvis non *plene* secundum scientiam,' for he kept Easter Sunday 'from the fourteenth to the twentieth moon.'

[2] Bede, iii. 17: 'Quod autem Pascha,' &c. Cp. iii. 4, 'Sciebant enim,' &c.

[3] Bede, iii. 25: 'Haec autem dissonantia,' &c. 'Pascha contra morem eorum qui ipsum miserant facere *non potuit*.' Cp. iii. 17, 'vel suae gentis,' &c.

[4] 'In qualibet feria,' Bede, iii. 17. See above, p. 90.

[5] So that the seven days on one of which, if it were a Sunday, Easter might be celebrated, were, for Aidan and the Celtic churches, 'fourteenth moon—twentieth;' for the Roman and other churches, 'fifteenth moon—twenty-first.'

[6] Bede, iii. 17: 'propter fidem videlicet,' &c. The British Christians thought that the Last Day would be a Sunday; Williams, Eccl. Ant. Cym. p. 299. Some early Christians believed that the Lord would return in the night of the great Easter vigil. So Lactantius, Div. Instit. vii. 19: 'Haec est nox quae nobis propter adventum Regis ac Dei nostri pervigilio celebratur; cujus noctis duplex ratio est, quod in ea et vitam tum recepit cum passus est, et postea orbis terrae regnum recepturus est.'

CHAP. V. its time I do not approve of nor commend. But this I *do* approve of, that what he kept in thought, reverenced, and preached, in the celebration of his Paschal festival, was just what *we* do, that is, the redemption of mankind through the Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension into heaven of the Mediator between God and men, the Man Christ Jesus.' In other words, the root of the matter was found in him.

Such was he whom a recent historian with no ecclesiastical prepossessions frankly calls the 'illustrious[1]' St. Aidan. Being such as he was, he did great things for the good cause in Northumbria, as a planter or a restorer of corporate Christian life. Churches, doubtless mostly of wood[2], 'were built in various places: the people flocked together with gladness to hear the Word: possessions and pieces of ground for founding monasteries were bestowed by the king's gift: English children were taught, by Irish preceptors, the rudiments of learning, together with more advanced studies and the observance of regular discipline[3].' To some extent, assuredly, Aidan was entering

[1] Burton, Hist. Scotl. i. 269, 297.

[2] See below on the wooden church of bishop Finan at Lindisfarne. The 'old church' of wicker and timber at Glastonbury on the site now occupied by the misnamed 'chapel of St. Joseph,' was Celtic; see Freeman, Engl. Towns and Districts, p. 98. For notices of primitive Irish churches built of wood or earth, see Reeves's Adamnan, p. 177, and Whitley Stokes's Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, i. p. clvi. When, in the twelfth century, Malachy archbishop of Armagh began to build at Bangor a church of stone, the natives wondered, 'quod in terra illa necdum ejusmodi aedificia invenirentur.' An opponent exclaimed against the innovation: 'Scoti sumus, non Galli . . . Quid opus erat opere tam superfluo, tam superbo?' S. Bernard. de Vit. Malach. 28. See Lanigan, Eccl. H. Irel. iv. 127, 392. But several primitive Irish churches were of stone (Petrie, Eccl. Arch. p. 127 ff.; Anderson's Scotl. in Early Christian Times, p. 80 ff.), while most of the smaller 'Saxon' ones were of wood, such as that of Bamborough, Bede, iii. 17; that of Dulting, where St. Aldhelm died; that at Wilton, superseded in 1065 by a stone church (Freeman, ii. 520); and the wooden chapel, built before the Conquest, outside the east gate at Shrewsbury, in which, in 1080, Orderic Vitalis as a boy served mass, and instead of which his father began to build a church of stone, the nucleus of a great abbey (Ord. Vit. v. 14, xiii. 45; Freeman, iv. 494). The little old wooden church of Greensted, in Essex, is the sole representative of this class of churches. Its nave is composed of 'the trunks of large oak trees, split or sawn asunder.'

[3] Bede, iii. 3: 'Construebantur ergo,' &c.; Stubbs, Constitutional History, i. 258.

into another man's labours, having found the soil prepared by Paulinus. But he left behind him a stronger impression of spirituality and saintliness than we are led to associate with his predecessor: we find that men believed his prayers to have special efficacy[1], and resorted to him, as to a second Columba, for such intercessory help. And he was manifestly happier than Paulinus, in that he was able to obtain a large supply of 'devoted[2]' clergy; and although he had his own heavy sorrows and serious anxieties[3], his work, in an episcopate of sixteen years[4], encountered no such shock as that which followed the day of Hatfield. The religion which he taught was essentially identical with that which prevailed at Canterbury or Dunwich, where his name was held in honour. Mass was celebrated at Lindisfarne on Sundays and holy-days[5], certainly with no splendour of visible surroundings, and probably with rites differing in some measure (not, of course, as to the essentials of the service) from those of the Gregorian liturgy which Augustine had brought into Kent, and cognate to the Gallican use which Felix, perhaps, had introduced into East-Anglia: but the usual language about 'the mysteries of the sacred Eucharist[6]' was as familiar to a disciple of Hy or of Lindisfarne as to the churchmen of Gaul or Italy. Much importance was attached by Celtic monks to acts of benediction[7]: and we find that Aidan was wont to consecrate land designed for sacred purposes by an elaborate process of fastings and prayers, performed CHAP. V.

[1] Bede, iii. 15. Comp. Adamn. Vit. Col. ii. 13, 'sociis ut pro eis Dominum Sanctus exoraret, inclamitantibus,' and ib. i. 50.

[2] 'Magna devotione,' Bede, iii. 3.

[3] Bede, iii. 9, 14, 16.

[4] Bede, iii. 17.

[5] In Columba's time there was not a daily celebration at Hy; Adamnan, iii. 11, 12. It seems also that at Lindisfarne, at the close of the seventh century, mass was said only on Sundays; Bede, Vit. Cuthb. 44. So, according to the Chronicle of Abingdon, it was on Sundays and chief festivals that the monks of its first monastery assembled for mass; Chron. Ab. ii. 273.

[6] See the description of Columba 'standing before the altar, and consecrating the sacred oblation,' Adamn. iii. 17; and ib. i. 40, 'the pure mysteries of the sacred oblation.' Cp. iii. 12. See above, p. 116.

[7] See Adamnan frequently; especially the simple and touching anecdotes in i. 3, 9; ii. 31; and iii. 23. Cp. Tripart. Life, i. 37, 71, 163.

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for days beforehand on the spot[1]. The Scotic conventual rule was severer than that of Benedict[2]: and heinous offences were visited with prolonged penances like those of antiquity[3]. The whole system had a rude and homely simplicity: it took no heed of sacred art, was untouched by the influence of the continental Church atmosphere, and kept its followers aloof from what might be called ecclesiastical civilization.

Birinus in Wessex.

From a very different quarter, and in the year before Aidan's arrival[4], came another great awakening, with which we in Oxfordshire are specially concerned: for this district was then[5] West-Saxon, and the apostle of Wessex was Birinus. His origin is not ascertained[6]; the statement that he was a Roman monk is probably a conjecture[7]. He went to Pope Honorius, and solemnly promised before him[8] 'that he would scatter the seeds of the holy faith in those furthest inland territories of the English, which no teacher as yet had visited.' Honorius sent him for episcopal consecration to Asterius archbishop of Milan, who, like his predecessors from 568, avoided contact with the dominant Arian Lombards by residing within the imperial territory at Genoa[9]. Thus it was that, in 634,

[1] This is implied in Bede, iii. 23, 'Dicebat enim,' &c., where he describes Cedd's dedication of Lastingham.

[2] This may be inferred from the rule of Columban; Columba's was probably milder, Reeves's Adamn. p. 355: but see Adamnan, i. 31, ii. 4, on the strict obedience required by Columba, and Reeves's Adamnan, p. 343. And on the 'exceedingly severe discipline' of St. Fintan at Clonenagh, Lanigan, ii. 228.

[3] See Adamnan, i. 22; ii. 39.

[4] The Chronicle dates it in 634.

[5] And on the whole, until the Mercian king Offa won the battle of Bensington in 777; A.-S. Chron. See Freeman, Old-Engl. Hist. p. 82.

[6] Malmesb. G. Pont. ii. 57; p. 157. Baring-Gould, Lives of Saints, Dec. 3, thinks that his name indicates a Teutonic origin.

[7] Bromton says that 'fama suavissimae opinionis sancti Birini presbyteri, de civitate Romana nati,' reached pope Honorius; X Script. 755.

[8] 'Illo praesente,' Bede, iii. 7.

[9] Gibbon, iv. 558: Duchesne, Origines du Culte, p. 84. It was a natural mistake on Bede's part to call him bishop of Genoa. He held the see of Milan from 628 to 638. He died at Genoa on the 4th of June, and was buried 'in the church of St. Syrus' (a bishop of Genoa, cp. Webb's Contin. Ecclesiology, p. 402); Ughelli, Italia Sacra, iv. 92. Birinus was made a 'regionary' or missionary bishop, and left free to choose his own

Birinus landed in Hampshire[1], and soon found that the West-Saxon districts contained heathenism so dark and intense[2] as to call for the immediate help of a missionary. These people were as truly sitting 'in the shadow of death' as any in parts more distant: why should he neglect them, and go further in search of others? Taking his discovery as a call to alter his original purpose, Birinus went about Wessex, preaching with such persuasive energy that he soon won a royal convert. Kynegils[3] had reigned for twenty-four years: he was probably weary of strife and bloodshed: he had, in his time, slain thousands of Britons, had seen his realm overrun by Edwin, had made terms, at some cost, with Penda. He listened to the foreign teacher[4]: Woden and Thunor and Tiu, the gods of war and storm and death, lost their hold upon him: he felt the strong 'drawing' of the Gospel, and asked to be prepared for admission into the Church. Birinus had succeeded speedily in a work which had kept Paulinus under suspense: Kynegils was more prompt than Edwin, and seemingly not less sincere. And observe another coincidence. The successor of Edwin, now 'Bretwalda,' was desirous of an alliance with the West-Saxon princes; Kynegils was asked to give his daughter[5] in marriage as wife to Oswald. He consented: and, according to our chronology, it was at some time—probably late—in 635,

Conversion of Kynegils.

centre of operations,—as had been Ninian's case, and as was the case with Swidbert, Boniface (at any rate at first), Amandus, &c. (Maclear, Ap. Med. Eur. p. 77, &c.). Milner suggests that at Genoa Birinus could learn Saxon from 'Franks who frequented that mart'; Hist. Winch. i. 67.

[1] Bromton gives a story of a miracle connected with a pallula or corporal, 'Corpusque Dominicum in eadem involutum,' which, he says, Honorius had given to Birinus, and which he carried 'collo suspensum.' See Milner, l. c.

[2] 'Paganissimos.' See Chron. Abingd. vol. ii. p. v. On his landing, said the legend given by Bromton, he preached the faith for three days; among his audience were many who had been converted by Augustine.

[3] See Chron. a. 611. In 614 he had defeated the Britons at Bampton. In 628 the Mercians had defeated him near Cirencester.

[4] Churn Knob, a hill near Chilton in Berkshire, is 'traditionally said to be the spot where Birinus' preached to Kynegils. See Murray's Handbook to Berks, &c., p. 74.

[5] Reginald calls her Kyneburg, Vit. Osw. c. 11.

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towards the end of Oswald's first year of royalty, that he himself came into Wessex to take home his bride. Her father was just ready for baptism; and it was agreed that he should then become a Christian, before the Christian Oswald became his son-in-law. And now we are brought very near home; for the place selected[1] was that same Dorchester, so familiar to us at Oxford, where the venerable abbey church of SS. Peter and Paul now occupies the traditional spot that witnessed the Christianizing of the dynasty which grew into the royal line of England. It is easy to realize the scene: the Saxon 'Dorcic[2],' retaining traces of the Roman Dorocina, and guarded, southwards, by the embankment still called the Dykes, and beyond them by the twin clumps of 'the mighty hill fort of Sinodum[3],' perhaps the scene of a dislodgement of Britons by Aulus Plautius[4] in A. D. 43. Briton and Roman have passed away from the Thames valley: there are kings here now, representing Ida the conqueror, and Cerdic the founder of a realm which is to absorb the rest: but the Kingdom here 'evidently set forth' is that which 'is not from this world.' There, in white pontificals, with attendant clergy on either side, stands its foreign representative, deriving his commission from the mighty Roman Church, and his episcopate from the great see of St. Ambrose: a font, large enough for immersion, is solemnly hallowed: the war-worn royal convert steps into it, and is baptized: and 'as he comes forth from the laver,' he is 'lifted up,' according to the usual rite[5], by the future son-in-law who

Baptism of Kynegils.

[1] Bede does not say so, but the Chronicle does, a. 635.

[2] So Bede calls it, iii. 7. 'The old home of Birinus by the winding Thames;' Freeman, iv. 419: once 'Caer Dauri.' It must have been at that time within the West-Saxon border: Kynegils could not have thus dealt with a town actually Mercian. Oxfordshire, therefore, was not included in the territory gained by Mercia after the battle of Cirencester: see Green, Making of Engl. p. 267.

[3] Freeman, l. c.: comp. iii. 543.

[4] See Mr. James Parker's paper in the Proceedings of the Oxford Architect. and Hist. Soc. for Mich. Term, 1862.

[5] 'Eumque de lavacro exeuntem suscepisse;' comp. Bede, iii. 22, iv. 13; and Greg. Turon. H. Fr. vii. 22: 'Eo quod filium ejus de sacro lavacro suscepissem.' So ib. v. 19: 'Filio meo . . . quem de lavacro regenerationis excepi,' and 23; vi. 27; x. 28, where a king says that no Christian

now acts as his sponsor[1], and who invests, for us, that river-side with the noble associations that attend the name of our truest royal saint.

It is natural, especially in Oxford, to dwell thus on an event only second in interest—when one considers the destinies of Wessex—to the baptism of Ethelbert himself. Its immediate consequence was the first organization of a West-Saxon Church. Oswald and Kynegils, united in a triple relation, political, domestic, and religious, concurred in establishing Birinus as bishop of Dorchester. From this act may be said to have proceeded in different senses the three episcopates of Winchester, of Lincoln, and of Oxford. The village which we can so easily visit, and which has so long a history to redeem its present insignificance, thus holds a real place in the annals of the Church of England. From 'Dorcic' Birinus went up and down among the West-Saxons, that is, from Dorset to Buckinghamshire, from Surrey to the Severn, preaching, catechizing, baptizing, 'calling many people to the Lord by his pious labours,' and 'building and dedicating churches which would probably be mission-stations[2].' This is Bede's summary of a work as to which he could get no detailed information, but which must have had its own incidents and characteristics, its own experiences of hope and anxiety, of partial failure compensated by general advance, which, if preserved to us, might have made the conversion of Wessex as living a fact to us as that of Northumbria. As it is, we cannot recover a single feature in those missionary journeys of Birinus: but it is reasonable to think that although Oxford as yet was not, he would come up the valley to the junction of our two rivers, find there

Birinus at Dorchester.

ought to refuse a request to perform this office, and 'etiam domini proprios famulos de sacro fonte suscipiunt.' So in Greg. Sacrament. ap. Muratori, Lit. Rom. ii. 157: 'Eo tenente infantem a quo suscipiendus est.' The phrase is as old as Tertullian: 'Ter mergitamur . . . inde suscepti,' &c.; De Cor. Mil. 3. Cp. St. Boniface, Ep. 40: 'Homo . . . alterius filium de fonte . . . elevans,' &c.

[1] 'Pulcherrimo prorsus et Deo digno consortio;' Bede, iii. 7. 'Satis perpulchro spectaculo;' Reginald, Vit. Osw. 3.

[2] See Add. Notes, F.

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some few 'ceorls' ready to hear the name of Christ, and perhaps deposit 'seeds' which, a century later, produced in St. Frideswide's humble foundation the nucleus of the priory and the cathedral, and, in another sense, of the city and probably of its earliest theological schools[1]. But one success Birinus had, which must have been specially welcome; Cwichelm, the son of Kynegils, followed his father's example within the year: it was just ten years since he had sent Eumer with the poisoned dagger to slay Edwin. He was baptized at Dorchester in 636; 'and that same year he died[2].' His name is perpetuated in 'Cwichelm's hlæw,' or 'hill,' now Cuckhamsley, a height crowned by trees at the summit of the Berkshire range, which we may see from Foxcombe hill, or from the Wantage road, beyond the turn to Cumnor[3]. His son Cuthred, who like him was a sub-king under Kynegils, was baptized in 639 by Birinus, who took him for his godson[4].

We do not hear of any relations being as yet formed between the mission in Wessex and the see of Canterbury. The archbishop does not seem to have had any communication with Birinus, who was doing so effectively the work which Canterbury had never essayed. In Kent all was tranquil and hopeful. Eadbald, whose genuine conversion had suffered no relapse, was succeeded in 640 by his son Erconbert, whose Christianity was more definitely aggressive upon heathenism[5]. He was the first English king who used his royal authority for the utter destruction

Erconbert King of Kent.

[1] See Parker's Early Hist. of Oxford, pp. 106, 119. The university grew into life subsequently to such unorganized schools. Cp. Rashdall, Universities of Europe in M. Ages, ii. 327–339.

[2] Chron. a. 636. Malmesbury says he was 'admonished by illness,' Gest. Reg. i. 22.

[3] Parker, p. 149. It is near West Ilsley. In 1006, says the Chronicle, the Danes made good their boast that they would reach Cwichelm's 'hlæw,' and get to their ships again. See Freeman, i. 332. A 'hlæw' (see Taylor's Words and Places, p. 212) frequently perpetuated the memory of celebrated personages; Chron. Abingd. ii. 483, and 'Oslafeshlau' in Kemble's Cod. Dipl. i. 283.

[4] Chron. a. 639. Another case in which the bishop who baptized acted also as godfather is Cadwalla's in 689; Bede, v. 7; and see Greg. Tur. H. Fr. v. 23, vi. 27.

[5] Bede, iii. 8: 'Hic primus regum Anglorum,' &c.

of idols[1], and the enforcement of the Lenten fast; and he appointed fitting penalties for disobedience to this law. He married Sexburga, the eldest daughter of Anna king of the East-Anglians[2], who had succeeded to that throne in 635 under strangely tragical circumstances[3]. Egric, who having been a sub-king in East-Anglia, had become sole king on his kinsman Sigebert's abdication, was menaced with invasion by Penda. His people, knowing themselves to be no match for the Mercians, and remembering the ex-king's former renown as a leader, besought him to come forth from his cell and aid them in the fight. He refused; whereupon, hoping that his mere presence might inspirit the national forces[4], they actually dragged him to the battle-field. There he stood, but, 'not unmindful of his profession[5],' or as we may think, in his overstrained scrupulosity, he would hold nothing but a wand. He and Egric were both slain, and the East-Anglians utterly routed, and Fursey, who had adopted the hermit life, was scared by 'the invasion of the heathen' into leaving East-Anglia for Gaul[6]. Anna, now chosen king, was son of Eni and nephew of Redwald, and 'a very good man,' says Bede, 'and the parent of very good children,' and 'happy in a good and holy progeny;' 'a man,' as he elsewhere says, 'truly religious, and altogether excellent in mind and conduct[7].' In fact, he is chiefly remarkable on account of the zeal for monasticism shown personally by princesses

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Anna King of the East-Anglians.

[1] Gregory had urged it; but Ethelbert and Eadbald had not ventured on such a method.

[2] Bede, l. c.: 'Cujus regis filia major,' &c. Properly, Sexburh.

[3] Bede, iii. 18.

[4] 'Sperantes minus animos militum trepidare;' Bede, l. c

[5] Yet, in the preceding century, Irish ecclesiastics had repeatedly taken part in warfare; Reeves's Adamnan, p. lxxvii. Gregory of Tours censures two Frankish bishops, Salonius and Sagittarius, for doing so; H. Fr. iv. 43: and ib. v. 21, 'tanquam unus ex laicis accincti arma,' &c. For two warrior bishops of Sherborne, see Chron. a. 845, 871 (in the Danish wars).

[6] He was well received by Clovis II of Neustria, or Erchinwald his 'patrician' (=mayor of the palace), built another monastery at Lagny, and died soon afterwards in 650.

[7] Bede, iii. 18 and 7; iv. 19. He enlarged and enriched the monastery of Burghcastle; iii. 19.

CHAP. V. of his house. 'At that time there were not many monasteries among the English; and therefore many used to go over from Britain to the monasteries of the Franks or Gaul[1], for the sake of monastic life,—and also to send their daughters to the same to be instructed and united to their Heavenly Bridegroom, especially at Brige,' or Brie, near Meaux, where an abbess, of noble Burgundian birth, named Fara had built a convent, and at Cale, or Chelles, near Paris, and Andilegum, or Andely, near Rouen. Such is Bede's statement[2]. Anna's sister-in-law Hereswid[3] herself became a nun at Chelles: her sister, the famous St. Hilda, spent a year in East-Anglia with the hope of 'imitating her example.' Anna's step-daughter, Sæthryd[4], actually did so. Anna himself had four daughters: Sexburga, wife of Erconbert, who after surviving her husband, and even acting as regent, became abbess of a convent which she had founded in the Isle of Sheppey, and afterwards first a simple nun and then abbess at Ely[5]; Ethelberga, who became abbess of Brie[6]; a third whose enthusiasm for conventual life had important results in Northumbrian Church history, and whose name still stands in our calendar as St. Etheldred[7], the foundress of the

[1] For monasteries founded in Gaul early in the sixth century, see Mabillon, Ann. Bened. i. 293, 295, 304, 310. Among those who resorted to them was St. Botulf.

[2] Bede, iii. 8: 'Nam eo tempore,' &c. Fara, or Burgundofara, had been 'dedicated' in her infancy by Columban, against her father's wish. The impetuous Irishman would think little of parental authority in such a case. She persisted in refusing to be married: she fled to a church, and said she would rather die on its floor than consent. Her father yielded: she founded a monastery (famous as Faremoustier) on some land of his in Brie, near Meaux. One of her nuns, Wilsinda, was a Saxon. She died about 655 (Mabillon, Ann. Bened. i. 304, 356).

[3] Compare Bede, iv. 23. Hereswid, says Bede, was mother of king Aldwulf; and in the appendix to Florence she accordingly appears as wife of Anna's brother and successor Ethelhere, father of Aldwulf (Flor. i. 249). She was grandniece of Edwin. Thomas of Ely is wrong in calling Aldwulf son of Anna; Hist. El. (Angl. Sac. i. 595).

[4] Bede, iii. 8. 'Sætrudis,' Ann. Bened. i. 434. She preceded Ethelberga as abbess.

[5] See Bede, iv. 19. 'Sancta Sexburga,' Florence, a. 640.

[6] Anna's 'filia naturalis,' step-daughter.

[7] Bede, iv. 19. Tho. El. Hist. Eliens. (Angl. Sac. i. 597). The name means 'noble troop'; Skeat, Etym. Dict.

famous church of Ely; and a fourth, Witberga, who lived as a recluse at Dereham[1]. Ercongota, daughter of Erconbert and Sexburga, became a nun at Brie, and is named in the Chronicle as a 'wondrous person,' because of a vision related by Bede, in which she was described as 'that golden coin which had come thither out of Kent[2].' Her sister Ermenild, after being queen of the Mercians, followed the family custom, received the veil under her mother at Sheppey, and succeeded her at Ely[3]. CHAP. V.

Erconbert had been reigning two years in Kent, and Anna six years in East-Anglia, when a dire calamity befell the Northumbrian realm and Church. Like that 'tender-hearted' and blameless king of Judah, of whom his life reminds us, Oswald fell in battle with the heathen. He was involved in a war with Penda and 'the South-humbrians[4],' to whom it was naturally of importance to recover the advantage temporarily gained at Hatfield. He had, it appears, reconquered the district of Lindsey from the Mercian: but on the 5th of August, 642, he was surprised by his enemy at a place named Maserfield[5], which the Cambrian Annals call Cocboy, and which may be Coedway, near the Shropshire town which still commemorates Oswald in its name of Oswestry[6]. It was, in a certain sense, Battle of Maserfield.

[1] Act. SS. Bened. ii. 740; Chron. a. 797.

[2] Bede, iii. 8: 'Aureum illud numisma quod eo de Cantia venerat.'

[3] Act. SS. Ben. ii. 756. It may be well to remember that Erconbert had a brother, Ermenred, as well as a sister, St. Eanswith. Ermenred, who was a sub-king, had two sons, Ethelred and Ethelbert (both cruelly murdered), and four daughters, Ermenburg or Domneva, wife of Merewald sub-king of the West-Mercians, another Ermenburg, Etheldrith, and Ermengith (Florence, App. Chron. i. 259).

[4] Chron. a. 642. Tighernach wrongly dates it in 639, just as he dates the defeat of Edwin in 631, and Oswald's victory over 'Cathlon' in 632.

[5] Bede, iii. 9. Reginald fixes it at half-a-mile from Offa's Dyke, and seven miles from Shrewsbury; and says that a church called 'White Church' (as being of stone) was afterwards erected there. Vit. Osw. c. 14 (Sim. Op. i. 352). For Offa's Dyke, which ran 'from the mouth of the Wye to the estuary of the Dee,' see Guest, Orig. Celt. ii. 273.

[6] 'Id est, Oswaldi arborem;' Giraldus, Itin. Camb. ii. 12. In Welsh, Cross-Oswald. Reginald tells how a large bird carried off the slain king's right arm from the stake (see below) to an old ash-tree, which thereafter put forth fresh leaves, and was still revered as 'St. Oswald's tree'; Vit. Osw. c. 17. Coed = wood; cp. Cotswold.

CHAP. V. another Hatfield. Bede tells us how the saintly successor of Edwin, seeing death inevitable, 'ended his life with prayer for the souls of his men[1];' and he quotes a saying, the point of which may be best given in a paraphrase:—

> 'For bodies whatsoe'er betide,
> On souls, O God, have mercy!' cried
> King Oswald, as he fell and died.

Another saying, probably a fragment of a ballad, is preserved in a later chronicle, to the effect that 'Maserfield was whitened o'er with bones of holy men[2].' Oswald was only in his thirty-eighth year. The ferocious Mercian who had thus added his name to a growing list of princely victims exposed the head and arms of the slain monarch on wooden stakes[3]: but they were rescued the next year, and carried into Northumbria. The hands were kept in a silver box, at St. Peter's church on the summit of the rock of Bamborough[4]: the head on which the death-blow had descended was interred by Aidan—one can well imagine with what intensity of sorrow—at Lindisfarne,—and removed in 875 within the coffin of St. Cuthbert[5]: hence the common representation of that saint,—visible, for instance, in a window of Oxford cathedral, and on the north side of the steeple of St. Mary's,—as holding the head of St. Oswald in his hands. About thirty years after the battle of Maserfield, his niece Osthryd[6], then wife to

[1] Bede, iii. 12; cp. iv. 14. See Churton, E. E. Ch. p. 75. Green mistakes this, as if he had been praying for his slayers; Making of Engl. p. 294.

[2] Hen. Hunt. iii. 39.

[3] Bede, iii. 12: 'Porro caput et manus,' &c. Bede tells this as if by an after-thought.

[4] Bede, iii. 6; Sim. Dunelm. Hist. Reg. c. 48 (Op. i. 45).

[5] Malmesb. Gest. Pontif. iii. 134, says that when (in 1104) the tomb of Cuthbert was opened in Durham cathedral, 'the head of Oswald, king and martyr, was found between his arms.' See Reginald's minute description of the head, as it was preserved in a purple bag 'beside the head of Cuthbert,' c. 51. He was told that it had for a time been taken away to Bamborough, and thence, by a stratagem, brought back to Lindisfarne; c. 49. A similar discovery was made in 1827; Handbook to North. Cathedrals, ii. 301.

[6] She imbibed her brother Egfrid's hostility to Wilfrid. She was killed by Mercian nobles, a. 697; Bede, v. 24.

a son and successor of Penda, removed 'the bones of her uncle' to the great Lincolnshire monastery of Bardney; where the Mercian monks afterwards told[1] how in their 'long-standing animosity' against the Northumbrian who had 'gained the dominion over them,' they refused to harbour his remains, 'although they knew him to be a saint,' and so left the wain which had arrived with them in the evening to stand outside their doors, with a covering spread over it: how, all that night, they saw a pillar of light blazing heavenward above the wain, conspicuous to nearly all the province of Lindsey[2]: how in the morning they eagerly threw open the gate, carried in the bones with all reverence, washed them, placed them in a chest, and hung up over it the gold and purple banner which had waved in battle before the holy king[3]. We cannot wonder that, in such an age, the very spot where he had fallen seemed 'greener and fairer' than the ground adjacent, or that wondrous virtues were ascribed to its dust, to that of the floor on which had been poured out the water used in washing the relics, or to a splinter of the stake to which the head had been affixed[4]; that a little boy in Bardney monastery was said to have been cured of the fen-country ague by sitting close to the saint's tomb[5]; that a North- CHAP. V.

[1] Bede, iii. 11. Florence says that Ethelred, king of the Mercians, Osthryd's husband, 'had himself built' this monastery, in which he afterwards became monk and abbot (on a. 716). Tradition said that it contained 300 monks; Mon. Anglic. i. 628. When the house, after long desolation, was restored in the eleventh century, it was dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul, and 'St. Oswald, king and martyr'; ib.

[2] An abbess, Ethelhild, surviving when Bede wrote, told queen Osthryd that she had seen this light, 'ad caelum usque altam.' Alcuin de Pontif. Ebor. 364, 'ad fastigia caeli.' Malmesbury, 'lucernam de caelo.'

[3] In 909, says the Chronicle, St. Oswald's body was removed from Bardney into Mercia (properly so called). So Florence, a. 910. It was interred at Gloucester. See Alb. Butler, Aug. 5; Monast. Angl. vi. 82. Only three small bones remained at Bardney; Reginald, c. 43.

[4] Bede, iii. 10, 11, 13. The last anecdote was told by Willibrord, who, while staying in Ireland, had put the splinter into water which he gave to a plague-stricken Irish scholar. It is painful to observe that the terrified sinner's hope of divine pardon is based on physical contact with any relic of Oswald.

[5] Bede, iii. 12. This was told to Bede by a monk, when the boy had grown up into a youth, and was still dwelling in the monastery.

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umbrian community of monks in Sussex believed an epidemic to have been stayed by the intercession of that 'king, beloved of God,' whose dying prayer might be available for men of his race, though dwelling far from home[1]; or that a great missionary, Willibrord archbishop of the Frisians, spoke of miracles wrought, even in that distant province, in presence of some relics of St. Oswald[2]. The collect prescribed, in the Sarum rite, for the 5th of August, referred to 'the joyous and blessed gladness' which had been associated with that day by his 'passion': and when we remember the issues at stake in his contest with Penda, we may think it not too much to say with a foreign historian of ancient England[3], that as 'his life was distinguished' at once by 'activity' and by a 'spirit of fervent Christian beneficence,' so 'his Christian merits and his *martyrdom* made him a hero of the Christian world.'

Importance of Northumbria.

The history of the Church in Northumbria during the larger part of the seventh century is conspicuously the backbone of the history of the Church in England. It is striking to see how the region which was first to come before St. Gregory's thoughts in regard to an English mission, and yet, for some thirty years, was inaccessible to missionary attempts, no sooner in any sense accepted Christianity than it concentrated into itself the chief interest of the great drama of national conversion: this being due, no doubt, in part, to the relative scantiness of our information as to other districts, but also largely to the force and impressiveness of the characters that walk the Northumbrian stage. We cannot help making Northumbria the main line of our subject, towards which any record of Church life in Kent, or Wessex, or elsewhere, may naturally radiate. And thus, the tragedy of Maserfield must have sent a thrill of grief and alarm through every Christian realm, whatever might be its political bearing towards the kingdom which

[1] 'Pro suae gentis advenis;' Bede, iv. 14. There is a vision of SS. Peter and Paul in this story, and an order to celebrate St. Oswald's anniversary by mass and communion. Acca, bishop of Hexham, is Bede's authority here. The monastery was Wilfrid's, at Selsey.

[2] Bede, iii. 13: 'Denique reverentissimus,' &c.

[3] Lappenberg, i. 161. 'Sancti sanguinis effusionem,' Miss. Ebor., Aug. 5.

had lost Oswald. We can imagine how the tidings would be received in Kent; how Paulinus, safe in Rochester, and Ethelburga in her minster at Lyminge[1], would think of Hatfield, and pray for the soul of another Edwin; how in East-Anglia, both king and bishop would feel renewed misgivings at a fresh victory of the arms that had struck down Sigebert and Egric; how among our own Oxfordshire valleys, as yet outside the Mercian limits, priests and converts would tremble for new-built churches, and mourn for the generous over-lord who had come among them as sponsor for their king. Why was such a prop of the cause removed? Did it mean that, after all, the work would be undone, that a heathen tempest would spread from 'the Wall' to the Channel, and root out the worship of Christ wherever it had been planted? Such questions might be a trial to faith in many a South-country Church settlement: what must the blow have been to Christians in Bernicia and Deira?

Oswy, King of Bernicia.

We may say, in Bernicia and *in* Deira; for, to add to the difficulties and perils of the crisis, the two realms, so thoroughly welded together by a hero who united the royal blood of both, were soon again to be shaken apart; Oswiu, or Oswy, the younger brother of Oswald, now about thirty years old, succeeding to the royalty of Bernicia, but failing to establish his hold on Deira, which had a strong leaning to the house of Ella, and in 643, according to Bede's reckoning[2], acknowledged the royal claims of Oswin, son of the unhappy Osric[3]. Oswy was fain to agree to this partition: indeed, he had for some time enough work in keeping

[1] It is interesting to observe that the little church of Paddlesworth, occupying the highest ground in Kent, 642 feet above the sea, was of old a dependency of Lyminge, and is dedicated to St. Oswald. In Yorkshire he was specially honoured at Oswaldkirk near Helmsley, at Nostel Priory near Wakefield, at Methley, Filey, and Flamborough; in Westmoreland at Grasmere; at Chester, the south transept of St. Werburga's (the present cathedral), was long used as St. Oswald's parish church.

[2] Bede says, iii. 14, that Oswin reigned between eight and nine years; and he died in August, 651. The date of 644, given by the Chronicler for his accession, is therefore a year too late.

[3] A desire to strengthen his interest in Deira led him to marry Eanfled, the daughter of Edwin; Bede, iii. 15.

CHAP. V. the lands beyond the Tees, whither Penda, now more than sixty, but as energetic and as ruthless as after the battle of Hatfield, had penetrated as if he meant to destroy Northumbrian independence by the one stroke of taking Bamborough[1]. We seem to see the grim invader first trying to storm the city, then pulling down the wooden huts of neighbouring hamlets, piling the materials[2] in a huge mass close to the wall, and finally taking advantage of a south-

Aidan and Penda. west wind to set the timber on fire. And then Bede shows us the figure of Aidan in his place of 'retreat' on the Farne island, nearly two miles off: he looks up, and sees fire and smoke carried by the wind high above the city wall, which was evidently of timber: he lifts up his eyes and hands in supplication[3]: 'See, Lord, what harm Penda is doing!' Immediately the wind shifts, drives back the flames, scorching some of Penda's men and scaring all of them, 'so that they gave up attacking a city which they understood to be divinely protected.' In effect, Penda did suspend, soon afterwards, the attempt to conquer Northumbria: he re-annexed Lindsey to Mercia, and Church history is concerned in his next attack on Wessex, where the eldest of the three royal proselytes of Birinus survived his sponsor and son-in-law about a year, dying in 643, the thirty-second year of his reign[4]. Cwichelm, as we have seen, had died before his father; and the crown passed, not to his son Cuthred, but, as was often the case in Old-English kingdoms,

Kenwalch. to his brother[5] Kenwalch or Coinwalch, the second son of Kynegils, probably a man of ripe years and full strength, but firmly set against the creed of his father and his nephew[6]. Naturally he would speak with bitter scorn of the new lore that the foreign priests had brought in to turn the sons of Woden into weaklings: he would have nought

[1] Bede, iii. 16: 'Pervenit ad urbem regiam, quae ex Bebbae quondam reginae vocabulo cognominatur.' Oswy, however, must have gained some advantage over Penda in Mercia during his first year; see Bede, iii. 12.

[2] 'Trabium, tignorum, parietum virgeorum, et tecti fenei,' &c.

[3] 'Fertur,' says Bede, on this.

[4] A.-S. Chron. a. 643, cp. 611.

[5] See Freeman, i. 108, that minors were often passed by in favour of uncles.

[6] Bede, iii. 7: 'Defuncto autem et rege,' &c.

to do with Birinus, who had wrought scathe enough to the house of Cerdic by womanish words and outlandish rites. Those must have been anxious days at Dorchester. But ere long Kenwalch, in the pride of newly-acquired kingship, was bold enough to divorce the sister of Penda, whom he had wedded, no doubt from political considerations, and to take another wife[1]. Penda seized the occasion, marched straight into Wessex, and drove out Kenwalch in 645. So it was, as Bede comments, that the prince 'who had refused to receive the faith and mysteries of the heavenly kingdom, not long afterwards lost the power even of the earthly kingdom[2];' but he was to furnish another instance of the old rhyming Greek proverb, 'Tribulation, education[3].' He found shelter in East-Anglia; and while living 'for three years in exile, he acknowledged and accepted the true belief[4].' He saw in Anna's household a royal family simply and thoroughly Christian, believing absolutely in the new faith, and leading pure and worthy lives under its influence. Felix, no doubt, found opportunities of touching and opening the heart of the discrowned fugitive: and no episcopal work that he had done since he came to Sigebert would be more utterly 'happy' than the baptizing of Kenwalch in 646[5]. The convert may have been present, with Anna, at the deathbed of the bishop, whose labours as an evangelizer, an educator, and a Church ruler, were closed on the 8th of March, 647[6]. St. Felix, as he was fittingly called in after-ages, was buried in his own city of Dunwich[7]: and it is interesting to find the memory of the apostle of East-Anglia preserved in the name not only of Felixstowe to the south-east of Ipswich, but also of a Yorkshire village, far away in the north, Feliskirk, near Thirsk. His deacon Thomas, a native of the 'Gyrvian' or 'Fen' district[8], was

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Death of Felix.

[1] Seaxburh or Sexburga, who reigned after him; Chron. a. 672.
[2] 'Qui et fidem et sacramenta,' &c.; Bede, iii. 7. See p. 126.
[3] *Παθήματα, μαθήματα*, Herod. i. 207. Cp. Malmesb. G. R. i. 19.
[4] Bede, iii. 7: 'Apud quem triennio exsulans,' &c.
[5] Chronicle, and Florence a. 646.
[6] See Bede, ii. 15; iii. 20; Maskell, Mon. Rit. iii. 214.
[7] He was ultimately transferred to Ramsey; Malm. G. Pontif. iii. 74.
[8] The northern Gyrvii held South Lincolnshire, and parts of Cam-

CHAP. V. chosen to fill his place, and was consecrated by Honorius, of Canterbury: he ranks second of native English bishops, the first being the Kentishman [1] Ithamar, whom Honorius had consecrated in 644 to succeed Paulinus, when the latter had been laid to rest in the church of St. Andrew, 'which king Ethelbert had built from its foundation in the city of Hrof [2].'

Restoration of Kenwalch.

In 648, Kenwalch was enabled, mainly by the help of his nephew Cuthred, to return into Wessex. Once more a king, he did not fall back from the promises made at his East-Anglian baptism. He showed his gratitude to Cuthred by giving him three thousand hydes [3]—each hyde being, in idea, an amount of land sufficient for one family—about Ashdown in Berkshire, east of 'Cwichelm's-law,' the scene of the defeat of the Danes by Ethelred and Alfred in 871. He showed his religious thankfulness by forthwith ordering the erection of a church in the royal city of Winchester [4]:

bridgeshire and Northamptonshire. The southern Gyrvii dwelt in South Cambridgeshire.

[1] 'But,' says Bede, 'equal to his predecessors in conduct and learning;' iii. 14. This is paraphrased by Malmesbury, Gest. Pontif. i. 72, 'in quo nihil perfectae sanctitatis . . . nihil *elegantiae* Romanae . . . minus desiderares.'

[2] Bede, iii. 14. 'Secretarium' usually means a room or building used for ecclesiastical business; here, and in ii. 1, iii. 26, it has the sense of 'sacristy.' Paulinus had been a bishop rather more than nineteen years. According to the Glastonbury traditions, he had visited that sacred place, and it was he who covered the church of wreathed osiers (above, p. 11) with wood and lead; Malmesb. de Antiq. Glaston. in Gale, i. 300. But this is probably a legend. Churches are dedicated to his memory at Crayford and Paul's Cray in Kent. Compare p. 136. Rochester Cathedral contains his grave. See Cod. Diplom. i. 183 (No. 152): 'Hrofescester ubi beatus Paulinus *pausat.*'

[3] Chron. a. 648. See Kemble, i. 92, 487 ff., Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 83 (or 74, ed. 1) on 'the vexed question of its extent.' Bede uses 'familia' to express it: e. g. Thanet is of 600 familiae, i. 25; Hilda's land at Whitby is of 10 familiae, iii. 24; her former property on the Wear had been of one, iv. 23; Sussex contains 7,000, iv. 13; Selsey, 87, ib.; the Isle of Wight, 1,200, iv. 16; Wilfrid's land at Stamford, 10, v. 19; at Ripon, 30, ib.; the abbey-land at Wearmouth, 70, Hist. Abb. 4; at Jarrow, 40, ib. 6. Another Latin equivalent is 'cassatus,' a 'housed' or married man; Kemble, i. 92.

[4] According to a Winchester story of later date, this foundation had been designed by Kynegils. See Rudborne, Hist Maj. Wint. c. 1 (Angl. Sac. i. 189). In Annal. Winton. (Ann. Monast. ii. 5) Kynegils is said to have made Kenwalch swear by his soul, before St. Birinus, that he would

it was hallowed, says the Chronicler, by Birinus, in honour of St. Peter. This event, setting aside the legendary notices[1] of a British church at Winchester, profaned by the West-Saxons under Cerdic, is the opening of the history of one of the most venerable of English cathedrals. Birinus lived two years longer, and died peacefully at Dorchester[2], on the 3rd of December, 650; and his body lay in his own church until it was removed to Winchester by his fourth successor Heddi. His first successor was a Frank named Agilbert, who had been consecrated, apparently, in Gaul[3], 'but had lived some time in Ireland for the sake of studying the Scriptures[4].' Ireland was then pre-eminently a land of contrasts: amid a series of 'battles, burnings, slaughters[5],' which darken year after year in its native records, there flourished a passionate love of learning[6], and

CHAP. V.

Irish Schools.

build a church for the bishopric in Winchester. The oldest property of the church of Winchester is the estate at Chilcombe, which it has held from the sixth century; the gift is *ascribed* to Kynegils. But these traditions are more than questionable. Malmesbury says quaintly that Kenwalch was 'primus antecessorum suorum' to build a 'temple' to God at Winchester; Gest. Reg. i. 19.

[1] See Rudborne (a Winchester monk of the fifteenth century): he begins with king Lucius, as founder of the church: tells how, after the Diocletian persecution, a second but smaller church was built in honour of 'St. Amphibalus,' and took the name of the Vetus Coenobium; how Cerdic turned it into a temple of Dagon; how Kynegils destroyed the temple, and assigned lands for a third church. So Geoffrey speaks of the British church of Amphibalus 'intra Gayntoniam,' ii. 5. That there *had* been a church at 'Caergwent' may be taken as certain.

[2] Bede, iii. 7: 'Ubi . . . migravit ad Dominum.' This phrase and its equivalents are frequent with Bede for a holy death: cf. i. 21; ii. 1; iv. 23, 30. Gregory of Tours has 'migravit ad Christum,' Vit. Patr. 7. 3. Cp. Boniface, Ep. 12. Birinus' name is retained in 'a spur of the Chilterns, in Ipsden parish, called Berin's Hill' (Short Acc. of Dorch., by Rev. W. C. Macfarlane, p. 17).

[3] He was probably a 'vacant' bishop (σχολάζων). Three such signed the acts of the Council of Macon in 585 (Mansi, ix. 959). Those Irish bishops who never had sees were not properly 'vacant,' though Todd so regards them (St. Patrick, p. 45). See Bingham, b. iv. 2. 14.

[4] Bede, iii. 7. About this time, we are told, Gauls and Teutons flocked to Lismore to attend the lectures of Catald; Lanigan, iii. 126.

[5] See Tighernach (in O'Conor's Rer. Hibern. Script. vol. ii) for recurring entries of 'proelium,' 'caedes,' 'jugulatio,' 'combustio,' between, e.g., A.D. 618 and 650. Compare also the Chronicon Scotorum. There had also been much religious declension early in the century; Todd, p. 109.

[6] On the educational work ascribed to St. Patrick, see Todd, p. 506 ff.

CHAP. V. a generous eagerness to impart its benefits, 'without money and without price,' to foreigners who came in search of them. What Bede says of English-born students in Ireland at a slightly later time [1] is probably true of all who, during this period, resorted to Irish teachers: 'they went the round of the cells of different masters, and the Irish readily gave them daily food without charge, books to read, and free instruction.' Camin of Iniskeltra was at work with numerous pupils in his monastery on an island of Loughderg: he 'wrote a commentary on the Psalms collated with the Hebrew text [2].' The great school which Carthagh had founded at Lismore was in its glory [3]. Bangor in Ulster 'was one of the most learned monasteries of the time [4].' Patristic learning had been brought to bear on the Easter question by Cummian, in his letter to Seghine of Hy and others [5], who disapproved of his departure from the Scotic system, and of his successful advocacy of the 'Catholic' Easter in South Ireland [6]. At Clonard a theological college flourished, in which Aileran the Wise, whose tract on the names of Christ's ancestors is still extant, was chief professor [7]. After making use of

[1] Bede, iii. 27; cp. i. 1; v. 9. See Goldwin Smith, Irish Hist. and Irish Character, p. 28: 'The Irish Church . . . received with eager hospitality all who desired to be instructed in the Word of life.' Among the Englishmen who studied in Ireland during the century were Egbert, Ethelhun, Chad, Willibrord, Aldfrid (afterwards king), and Witbert. See too the striking story of the Irish scholar who, while keenly interested in sacred studies, had been utterly neglectful of his soul's welfare, and, in fact, had persisted in vicious habits, &c.; Bede, iii. 13.

[2] Lanigan, iii. 11. For Irish students cp. Adamn. i. 2. Cp. Reeves, p. 196.

[3] Lanigan, ii. 353, says that after Carthagh died in 637, his 'school, or university, was for a very long time equal at least to any other in Ireland.'

[4] Hodgkin, Italy and her Invaders, vi. 111.

[5] See above, p. 112; Lanigan, ii. 395, thinks Cummian somewhat pedantic, but observes that 'this tract shows how well stocked with books, considering the times, the Irish libraries were,' &c. The date is about 634. Cummian was also, 'in all appearance, author of . . . a very learned abridgement of the ancient penitential canons.'

[6] At the Councils of Maghlene and of White-field, 630 and 634; p. 112.

[7] Lanigan, iii. 54. Zeal for the Catholic doctrine of grace was stirred up in Ireland by some revival of Pelagianizing ideas, which were denounced in the letter of John IV, pope-elect, and other Roman officials, referred to above, p. 112. The school of Clonard, according to a hymn quoted in Todd's Life of St. Patrick, p. 98, 'produced 3,000 disciples'—

such opportunities, Agilbert came over into Wessex, and offered his aid, as a bishop, to the West-Saxon king, who 'seeing him to be learned and energetic,' was glad enough to establish him at Dorchester. CHAP. V. Agilbert in Wessex.

We must now return to the North. While Kenwalch was passing through the phases of headstrong pride and salutary humiliation, the Christians of Deira had before them a royal example of singular loveliness. The character of King Oswin is one of Bede's best portraits. In personal appearance tall and handsome, kindly in address, open-handed to gentle and simple[1], and withal eminent for piety, he won the love of all by 'the royal dignity of his mind, his countenance, his conduct,' so that from almost every province men of noblest birth flocked together to be 'thanes' in the hall of Oswin of Deira. Among all the graces of character which marked him out as under 'a special benediction,' Bede selects his humility as the chief, and illustrates it by one sufficient example. The bishop of Lindisfarne, while visiting the southern part of his huge diocese, became naturally intimate with a prince who would recall to him his beloved Oswald. As we have seen, he had been accustomed to make his circuits on foot; but Oswin, thinking of the rough paths and streams that had to be encountered[2], gave him a horse 'fit for a king.' But soon afterwards, a poor man begged alms of Aidan, who, under a compassionate impulse, at once dismounted, and gave him the horse with all its goodly trappings. Oswin heard of this; and the next time they were going in to dinner, he said to Aidan, 'What did you mean, lord bishop, by giving away the horse that was to be all your own? Had not I many other horses of less value, or other things that St. Oswin.

probably an exaggeration. The founder was St. Finnian; see Reeves's Adamnan, p. lxxii. St. Columba is said to have studied there; on this see Lanigan, ii. 117. The point is of some interest, because St. Finnian (probably before Columba's birth) had studied in Wales; ib. i. 464. Compare Maclear's Ap. of Mediaev. Eur. p. 58, on the ancient school of Cluain-inis; and for other monastic schools, Lanigan, i. 402.

[1] 'Nobilibus simul atque ignobilibus,' Bede, iii. 14; i.e. eorl-kin and ceorl-kin, Freeman, i. 82.

[2] On the wild parts of Yorkshire, see Bede, iii. 23; and cp. Ep. ad Egb. 4, 'montibus inaccessis et saltibus dumosis.'

CHAP. V. would have served as almsgifts?' Aidan answered with something of Irish hastiness: 'What say you, O king? Is that son of a mare worth more in your eyes than that son of God[1]?' They entered the hall: Aidan took his usual seat, attended, as usual, by a presbyter: the king, who was fresh from the chase, stood with his thanes by the fire, thinking: suddenly he took off his sword, gave it to a thane, and threw himself at Aidan's feet, entreating him not to be angry: 'Never again will I say a word about this, or judge as to what or how much of our money you bestow on sons of God.' Aidan was astonished, even awe-struck: he rose, and lifted up the sensitive prince, assuring him that he was not at all angry, that all would be right if he would but sit down to his meal and cease to distress himself. Oswin's face brightened, and he obeyed[2]: but then it was Aidan's turn to be sad, and his tears began to flow. The priest who sat by him, a 'Scot' like himself, asked him in Irish, so that no one else understood, what was the matter. 'The matter is,' replied Aidan, 'that I am sure the king will not live long. I never till now saw a king humble[3],' or perhaps, 'so humble. It is in my mind that he will soon be hurried out of this life; for this people does not deserve to have such a ruler.'

Murder of Oswin.

The foreboding was soon verified: Deira did lose Oswin. Occasions of jealousy between two princes, situated as he and Oswy were[4], could not be wanting; it was inevitable that Oswy should be bent on reigning over all Northumbria without a rival, as his brother had done; at last, under what circumstances we know not, the smouldering fires blazed out into war. But before the two hosts had met, Oswin ascertained that the Bernician king, who was by this time growing into greatness, had more 'auxiliaries' than he

[1] Higden, misunderstanding this 'filius Dei,' turns it into 'Filius Mariae'; Polychronicon, b. 5 (vol. vi. p. 71).

[2] The story, which appears quite genuine, shows a want of good sense on the one side, and an excess of docility on the other. Oswin's objection to the disproportionateness of the gift was not really met by a rejoinder which would make a virtue of indiscriminate generosity.

[3] 'Nunquam enim ante haec vidi humilem regem,' or, 'tam humilem.'

[4] Bede, iii. 14: 'Sed nec cum eo,' &c. Above, p. 179.

could muster. He therefore resolved 'to give up his intention of fighting, and to reserve himself for better times. He broke up his army' at Wilfaresdun, a hill about twelve miles north-west of Catterick, and, accompanied by one faithful thane[1] named Tondhere, 'turned aside' to seek refuge in the house of a 'count[2] named Hunwald,' whom he believed to be most friendly to him: 'but, alas! it was far otherwise.' Hunwald betrayed the fugitives to Oswy, who sent his 'reeve[3]' Ethelwin to put Oswin and his companion to death, at Gilling, on the 20th of August, 651. This was the one crime of Oswy's life; he gave some token of speedy repentance by granting the request[4] of his wife Eanfled, the daughter of Edwin and 'kinswoman' of Oswin, that he would give to Trumhere, a Northumbrian priest akin to Oswin in blood, but of Scotic training and ordination, land for a convent on the spot of the murder, where 'prayers[5] might be offered for the souls both of the slain man and of him who ordered him to be slain.' The corpse of the former was buried at Tynemouth, where a chapel of St. Mary had already been built, and where, soon afterwards, one monastery, if not two, arose[6]. In later days, CHAP. V.

[1] 'Cum uno tantum milite:' Alfred renders, 'thegn.' Cp. Bede, ii. 9, 'alium de militibus,' used as equivalent to 'ministris'; also iii. 1, Eanfrid's twelve chosen 'milites'; and iv. 22, 'timuit se militem . . . confiteri;' v. 13, 'in officio militari;' and iv. 13, H. Abb. 1, Ep. Egb. 6. Above, p. 129.

[2] 'Comitis,' a 'gesith'; so Alfred renders. Cp. Bede, i. 25, Ethelbert with his comites; iii. 22, the two comites who slew Sigebert; iv. 22, 'comitem Aedilredi;' v. 4, 5, the comites Puch and Addi.

[3] 'Praefectum suum;' probably the manager of the royal property, the officer who was to do justice between the king's tenants: see Kemble, ii. 169, on the king's reeve. The legend of St. Oswin calls Ethelwin the steward of Oswy's household. Cp. Ep. Egb. 7; Vit. Cuthb. 15.

[4] Bede, iii. 24: 'Nam regina,' &c. Oswy's private life was not spotless; he had an illegitimate son, Aldfrid, afterwards king.

[5] Bede, l. c., 'orationes . . . pro . . . salute;' and iii. 14, 'pro . . . animae redemptione.' Cp. Bede, Vit. Cuthb. 7, and the charter of Ethelward, Kemble's Cod. Diplom. i. 64; of Forthere, ib. i. 73; of Ethelbald, ib. i. 82; and Wilfrid in Eddi's Life, c. 62. After Trumhere the house of Gilling seems to have had for superiors Kynefrid and Tunbert; Anon. Hist. of Abbots of Jarrow, in Bede's Works, vi. 416 (Giles).

[6] Cp. Bede, v. 6, for Herebald, abbot of the monastery near the mouth of the Tyne when Bede wrote. See Vit. Cuthb. 3, 35, for the house first of monks, then of nuns, 'non longe ab ostio Tini,' but 'ad meridiem,' and

CHAP. V. after the desolation caused by the Northmen had been repaired, and the bones of the 'humble king' had been opportunely discovered[1], a Norman monastery rose up on the cliff, where the ruins of a later church, in the delicate grace of 'First-Pointed' architecture, overlook the ocean, and witness to the days when 'the Peace of St. Oswin' gave security to fugitives who came within a mile of his tomb[2].

This tragedy had some effect in shortening the days of Aidan. He had continued to be on good terms with Oswy: he had held communications with Utta, the head of a monastery at Gateshead, who was charged to ask in Oswy's name for the hand of Edwin's daughter, then in Kent[3]; and he had invited Edwin's grand-niece Hilda from East-Anglia[4] into Northumbria, where, after 'dwelling for a year, with a very few companions, on the north bank of the Wear, she became in 649 the superior of a nunnery near Hartlepool[5], from whence the abbess Heiu, the first of all Northumbrian women to receive the monastic habit from Aidan's own hand, had retired to another 'abode' at Tadcaster[6]. Hilda's rule at Hartlepool was formed by the best lessons that she could gain from 'learned men'; and it was one of Aidan's special pleasures to visit her, and to give instructions that met with full response from a mind naturally thoughtful, and a will devoted to the service of God[7]. But earthly sorrows and earthly solaces were soon to be

distinct from Herebald's. Smith places it on the Scottish Tyne. For legends as to the first foundation at Tynemouth, see Monast. Angl. iii. 302; Gibson, Monast. of Tynemouth, i. 12.

[1] The discovery took place in 1065 (Florence), and a monastery was founded soon afterwards. The bones were for a time kept at Jarrow.

[2] Gibson, i. 34. See above, p. 103.

[3] See Bede, iii. 15, 25. Gateshead, 'Ad caprae caput,' is Goatshead.

[4] Bede, iv. 23.

[5] 'Heruteu, id est, Insula Cervi,' Bede, iii. 24 (as if 'Hart-ey'). The cemetery of the nunnery was discovered in 1833, under a field; see Murray's Durh. and Northumb. p. 115.

[6] Bede, iv. 23: 'Deinde ab Aidano,' &c. 'Calcaria,' a Roman station on the Wharfe, called by the English 'Kælcaceaster' (Tadcaster). Heiu's nunnery was probably at Healaugh (Heiu's læg, or territory), three miles north of Calcaria.

[7] Bede, iv. 23: 'Praelata autem . . . nam et episcopus Aidan,' &c.

over for the holy bishop. It was about twelve days from the murder of Oswin [1] that he was staying at a royal 'vill near Bamborough, from whence he had often made preaching circuits [2]. An attack of illness, it seems, came on so suddenly that he could not be taken into his bedroom, but was laid on the ground, screened by an awning, and supported by a wooden buttress that propped the church's western end [3]. In this position, significant of his habitual detachment from worldly interests [4], he breathed his last on the 31st of August, 651. The little village which now represents 'the burgh of queen Bebba' is less really ennobled by its grand castle, and its associations with Northumbrian royalty and with a modern prince-bishop's munificence, than by the fact that, in visiting its interesting church [5], we stand upon the ground where Aidan died.

[1] Bede, iii. 14: 'Sed et ipse antistes,' &c.

[2] Bede, iii. 17: 'Hunc cum dies mortis,' &c.

[3] This buttress escaped unhurt in two fires (one caused by Penda's invasion); on the second occasion the holes by which it was fixed to the church were burnt through; Bede, iii. 17. The church itself was evidently of wood.

[4] See Kingsley's Hermits, p. 291. The touching phrase of the Irish annals is very appropriate in this case: '*Quies* Adani episcopi Saxonum;' Tighernach. See too the story of Cuthbert's vision in Bede, Vit. Cuthb. 4.

[5] It is dedicated in honour of St. Aidan.

CHAPTER VI.

Preparations for organization.

As yet we have not been able to speak of one organized Church for Saxons and Angles. The period now immediately before us exhibits a threefold process of preparation for such an unity. We shall see missions extending over a wider extent of country: we shall see the resisting force of Paganism gathering itself up, and sinking back paralyzed: we shall see the removal of the difference which practically kept Christians of one class from coalescing with Christians of the other.

Let us begin by looking at the several bishopries, as they were occupied at the close of 651. Honorius was still at Canterbury, connecting the Kentish Church in his own person with the generation that had sat at Gregory's feet. He had seen much more than he had taken part in: he had had little to do, personally, in the extension of the Church, beyond the consecration of Ithamar for Rochester and of Thomas for Dunwich. The East-Anglian mission might, in one sense, be traced to his suggestion of that sphere for the activities of Felix: with the work in Wessex he had had nothing to do, although Kent lay near to the eastern line of that kingdom. Agilbert was carrying on the work of Birinus in entire independence of Canterbury. The archbishop could not regard him as a suffragan: the only two bishops with whom Honorius had any close relations were Ithamar and Thomas. As we have seen, he had heartily respected Aidan; but they did not come near each other in any effective sense. And now, in Aidan's place, there was come from Hy [1] a bishop named Finan, who was

Finan at Lindisfarne.

[1] Bede, iii. 17, 'et ipse . . . ab Hii . . . destinatus;' ib. iii. 25, 'a Scottis ordinatus ac missus.' The consecration of Finan must have been per-

destined to be in one respect more closely connected with 'South-country' Church life than Aidan had ever been, but who, although a good man, did not possess those rare qualities which made all men acknowledge in Aidan a living saint. We gain some notion of the extremely humble aspect of Aidan's own church at Lindisfarne by observing that when Finan arrived, he found it desirable to build a church 'suitable to the episcopal see [1], and constructed it, in the Scotic fashion, not of stone, but entirely of hewn oak, with a covering of reeds,' for which a later bishop, named Eadbert, substituted sheets of lead. Soon after Finan's arrival, the Paschal question was again revived, by the anti-Scotic zeal of some who came from Gaul or from Kent. Among these was one whose Irish birth must have rendered him very obnoxious to the Scotic clergy, 'a very ardent upholder of the true Easter,' named Ronan [2], who had studied in Gaul or Italy, and would appear to his own countrymen as little better than an apostate. He hesitated not to enter into controversy with Finan. The debate, says Bede, 'brought many to right views, or impelled them to a more diligent inquiry as to the truth. But Ronan could by no means convert Finan: on the contrary, as he was a man of rough temper [3], by sharp language he embittered him further, and made him an open adversary of the truth.' If Finan had such a temper, it must be allowed that he was somewhat severely tried by such objurgations on the part of an inferior, especially when he found that

formed by a Scotic bishop, or bishops, at Hy, as Aidan's had been. Tighernach calls him son of Rimed (a. 660). We meet with an Irish monk named Finan in Adamn. i. 49; and we know of the Finnians of Clonard and Moville, both of whom were teachers of Columba.

[1] Bede, iii. 25: 'Qui in insula Lindisfarnensi fecit ecclesiam,' &c. See Lingard, A.-S. Ch. ii. 369; and Reeves's Adamnan, p. 177, 'The walls were made of wooden sheeting, which was protected from the weather outside by a coat of rush thatch.' See above, p. 166.

[2] Bede, iii. 25: 'Erat in his acerrimus veri Paschae defensor,' &c.

[3] 'Quod esset ferocis animi.' Lanigan, from the use of 'acerrimus' and 'castigando,' inclines to refer 'ferocis animi' to Ronan, although he admits that the context seems to favour an allusion to Finan; ii. 427. See Grub, Eccl. Hist. Sc. i. 83: 'Finan was deficient in the gentle and winning temper' which Aidan had shown, but 'in other respects was an admirable prelate.'

CHAP. VI. James the Deacon, now venerable from years as well as from self-devotion, had made proselytes to the foreign system, and that the queen Eanfled and her Kentish chaplain Romanus were using influence on the same side. Was it come to this, Finan might ask, that Ronan was to be in Northumbria what Cummian had been in Munster, the means of discrediting the usages of his native Church? As yet, Oswy was faithful to his own training among the Scots; but how long would he resist domestic pressure, and an array of Gallic or Roman authorities? The inconvenience of the discordant reckonings came practically to the front when, on one occasion, Oswy was keeping his Easter-day with Finan, while Eanfled and her attendants were observing their 'day of Palms[1].' It was a visible discrepancy such as had occurred when some Gallic churches in 577 differed from the rest by a whole month as to the reckoning of Easter[2], or when some Irish visitors to Rome found that their fellow-lodgers, a Jew, a Greek, a 'Scythian,' and an Egyptian, went to St. Peter's for the Easter service while they were keeping a Lenten Sunday at home[3]. In effect, this curious duplication of Easters in one royal household might illustrate the unseemliness of such a want of Paschal uniformity as was deprecated, after the Nicene Council, in a letter professing to be from Constantine himself[4]. Doubtless, it prepared the way for a decisive contest between the Scotic and 'Catholic' parties; but Finan succeeded in preventing any open breach, as long as he occupied the see.

Conversion of Peada.

There was, indeed, matter of interest far worthier to engage the attention of Northumbrian Churchmen. The Mid-Angles[5], as Bede calls them, who dwelt between

[1] Bede, iii. 25: 'Et cum rex Pascha Dominicum solutis jejuniis faceret,' &c.

[2] See above, p. 89. Later, in 633, the fourth Toledan Council refers, c. 5 (Mansi, x. 618), to the mistakes caused in Spain, as to Easter, by 'diversa observantia laterculorum.'

[3] Cummian's Ep. to Segenius,' &c. in Usher, Sylloge, p. 23; King's Hist. Ch. Ireland, i. 162.

[4] Eus. Vit. Con. iii. 18; Soc. i. 9.

[5] Bede, i. 15; iii. 21; iv. 12. He distinguishes them as 'Midland Angles' from the Mercians of the Welsh. See Green, Making of Engl. p. 298: 'The Middle English or Leicester-men.'

the Trent and the Bedford district, had been placed by the Mercian king under the government of his son Peada, 'an excellent youth,' says Bede, 'most worthy of the title and character of a king[1].' His father allowed him to visit Northumbria on a peaceful errand, during some cessation of his own frequent inroads on its border[2]. Peada requested the hand of Alchfled, the daughter of Oswy and Eanfled. Oswy replied as Eadbald had replied to Edwin's suit for her grandmother Ethelburga: 'I cannot give my child to a heathen. If you would wed her, you must accept the faith of Christ, and baptism,—you and the people under your rule.' Peada was disposed to listen to Christian teaching: he had been impressed by the conversation of Alchfrid son of Oswy, a prince who, though he became disloyal as a son, had a deep sense of religion and a strong love of learning, and who had married Peada's sister Kyniburga, one of those five children of the fierce old heathen conqueror who were afterwards canonized as saints[3]. The promise of 'a resurrection, of a heavenly kingdom, of future immortality,' spoke to the heart of the young Mercian[4]. 'I *will* be a Christian,' he said emphatically, 'whether I obtain the maiden or not.' Once more, as in the case of Oswald the son of Ethelfrid, 'out of the strong came forth sweetness;' and the heir of Penda's realm was baptized by Finan[5] 'in the well-known royal CHAP. VI.

[1] Bede, iii. 21: 'Qui cum esset juvenis optimus,' &c. Malmesbury calls him Weda; G. R. i. 75.

[2] Bede, iii. 24: 'Acerbas atque intolerabiles . . . irruptiones . . . regis Merciorum.' Cp. iii. 16, 17.

[3] Ethelred (who however, as king, destroyed Kentish monasteries in his invasion of Kent), Merewald (himself the father of four 'saints'), Merchelm, Kyniburga, Kineswith. Kyniburga, in her widowhood, ruled a religious house at Caistor (Kyniburgacaster); see Alb. Butler, March 6. 'Nearly all Penda's children and grandchildren died in the odour of sanctity;' Stubbs on Foundation of Peterborough, p. 7. Cp. Florence, App. and a. 675. Wilburga, another daughter of Penda, was the mother of St. Osyth. For St. Werburga see below, p. 207.

[4] 'At ille audita,' &c.; Bede, iii. 21. Compare the speech of the thane in Bede, ii. 13, and 'promissis eorum suavissimis,' i. 26; and 'caelestia sperare,' iv. 13: see too St. Boniface's fifteenth sermon, 'Ibi est vita cum Deo sine morte, lux sine tenebris,' &c.

[5] The renunciations made at baptism (see Bede, iii. 19) are here referred to: 'abrenuntiata sorde idololatriae' (cp. iii. 1).

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town called At-the-Wall,' which has been identified variously with Walton, Walbottle, and again with Pandon, a place of immemorial antiquity, now included within Newcastle[1]. Finan then commissioned four priests, three of whom, Cedd, Adda[2], and Betti, were Northumbrians, and the fourth, Diuma, was an Irishman, to accompany Peada home, and to evangelize his Mid-Angles. Thus was formed the first mission to the Midlands, in 653. The priests, 'being well qualified for their work by learning and by character, were willingly heard; and day by day many of the nobles and of the lowest people renounced the filth[3] of idolatry, and were washed in the fountain of faith[4].' But they also ventured into Mercia proper; and its old king, while for himself he held fast to his old gods, was yet so far softened by age as to offer no opposition to their preaching, and also shrewd enough to note some cases of Christian profession discredited by inconsistent practice, and honest enough to fling at them a few words of contemptuous disgust. 'The mean wretches, who have put their faith in this new God, and then will not trouble themselves to obey him[5]!' This speech, the only one recorded of Penda, betokens a healthy vein of thoroughness, which would incline him to respect Christian belief when represented by men who lived up to their creed.

Second Mission to the East-Saxons.

Another very important step taken by the Northumbrian Church at this time was the second mission to the East-Saxons. It was thirty-seven years after the expulsion of Mellitus when Sigebert the Good[6], as he is called, successor

[1] Bede says it was 'twelve miles from the eastern (i.e. the "north") sea'; iii. 22. But Newcastle is nine-and-a-half miles from the mouth of the Tyne, and Pandon is still nearer to it.

[2] He was the brother of Utta (see p. 188), who, acting on Aidan's advice, poured oil on waves in a storm, with a success which Bede thought supernatural; iii. 15. Cp. above, p. 73.

[3] Cp. Bede, iii. 1; and iii. 30, 'in perfidiae sordibus.'

[4] Bede, iii. 21; cp. iv. 16, 'fonte Salvatoris ablutos.' Above, p. 116.

[5] Bede, iii. 21: 'Quin potius odio habebat,' &c. These men were conformists to the faith of his heir as such.

Bede, iii. 22: 'Erat enim rex,' &c. Florence surely inserts too many generations between him and Sabert's brother (tom. i. p. 250).

of that Sigebert the Little who had succeeded his father and uncles in 617, paid one of his 'frequent' visits to his friend King Oswy, and profited by his host's exhortations as Sabert had done by those of Ethelbert, as Eorpwald by those of Edwin. The passage in which Bede summarizes the Northumbrian king's pleading against idolatry is one of the finest in his book: it reads like a combination of the arguments of prophets and psalmists with those grand words in which Tacitus compresses the case for Monotheism [1]. Surely, said Oswy, Sigebert would understand that a God could not be made out of wood and stone, the remnants of which were burned, or fashioned into household vessels, or even thrown away, trodden under foot, and turned into earth [2]. Surely 'He alone could be thought of as God, who was incomprehensible in majesty, invisible to human eyes, almighty, eternal, the Creator and Ruler and righteous Judge of the universe, whose eternal abode was not in poor perishable metal, but in heaven, where eternal rewards were in store for all those who would learn and do their Maker's will.' Such ideas, 'frequently inculcated with the earnestness of a friend or even a brother,' told fully upon Sigebert: he consulted with the 'friends' who had accompanied him to the north, took his own resolution, advised them to join with him; and after they had all 'assented to the faith,' he and they were baptized at the same place and by the same hands as Peada, and apparently in the autumn of the same year 653. Like Peada, Sigebert asked for a supply of Christian teachers, to convert and baptize his people: and Oswy summoned [3] Cedd from his work among the Mid-Angles, and sent him to preach to the East-Saxons, in company with another priest. They traversed that king-

[1] Cp. Tac. Hist. v. 5: 'Judaei mente sola unumque numen intelligunt,' &c.

[2] Boniface V also assumes the identification of the image with the god; Bede, ii. 10. Oswy, indeed,—or Finan speaking through Oswy,—reverses the taunt of Isa. xliv. 17. It is not that 'the residue' of the wood used for household purposes is 'made a god,' but that when enough material has been used for the image, the 'bits remaining over' would be burned, or thrown away, or 'formed into vessels of any sort.'

[3] 'Clamavit ad se;' Bede, iii. 22; so in iii. 23, iv. 8, 14, 19, and v. 3.

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dom, and 'gathered together a large Church': and ere long, probably in 654, Cedd 'happened to return home and visit Lindisfarne to converse with Bishop Finan, who, on learning how the work of the Gospel had prospered with him, made him bishop for the race of the East-Saxons, having called in two other bishops to assist him in the ordination.' These two prelates must have been Scoto-Celtic—a fact which gives special significance to Bede's next words: 'Cedd, having received the degree of the episcopate, returned to his province, and, fulfilling with greater authority the work which he had begun, made churches in different places.' It would have been impossible for Bede to write thus, had he suspected that there was the slightest real flaw in the episcopal character of Finan or of the two other Scotic consecrators, although he knew the two latter to be subject to the authority of the abbot of Hy, as primate of the Scottish Church: and from this one passage [1] we might confidently infer that actual bishops had been employed, in Scotland, to confer the episcopate on Aidan and Finan. Let us now follow Cedd in his mission-circuits amongst the East-Saxons. 'He built churches, and ordained presbyters and deacons to assist him in preaching and in baptizing, especially in that city which in the Saxon tongue is called Ythancæstir, but also in that which is called Tilaburg; the former of these places is on the bank of the river Pent, the latter on that of the Thames.' In this sentence of Bede's we observe, first, a foreshadowing of the parochial system,—which, however, grew up very gradually in England, and was by no means thoroughly established in Northumbria in the last years of Bede's own life [2]: and secondly, the absence of the name of London, which is

Cedd, Bishop of the East-Saxons.

[1] Bishop Russell uses it 'to expose the absurdity of those writers who imagine that the monks of Iona were hostile to episcopacy,' and to warrant 'the conclusion that Aidan, Finan, and Colman were consecrated by bishops;' Hist. Ch. Sc. i. 34. So Grub, Eccl. Hist. Sc. i. 155. See above, p. 156. Observe also the presence of *three* consecrators.

[2] Bede, Ep. ad Egb. 3: 'Necessarium satis est, ut plures tibi sacri operis adjutores adsciscas, presbyteros videlicet ordinando . . . qui in singulis viculis praedicando . . . adsistant.' That the system had no founder, but grew up naturally out of the relation of the priests to townships, see Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 260. See Add. Notes, F.

probably to be explained by the fact that the great city was 'fluctuating between the condition of an independent commonwealth and that of a dependency of the Mercian kings[1].' Strictly speaking, therefore, Cedd seems not to have been bishop of London[2]: and of the two places named by Bede as centres of his mission work, 'Ythancæstir' appears to have a precedence over Tilbury. It has been placed near Bradwell-on-the-sea, at the mouth of the Blackwater, formerly called the Pent, and has also been identified with the Roman station of Othona[3]. Tilbury, which is familiarly associated with the Spanish Armada, would have the advantage of being near the mouth of the Thames. At each of these two places Cedd established not only a body of clergy, but also a 'swarm of servants of Christ[4],' or monks: whom he taught to observe 'the discipline of the regular life,'—that is, the monastic system of the Scotic Church,—'as far as their untrained minds could receive it,'—a phrase which is suggestive of some such austerity as we know to have characterized the rule of Columban. Yet, stern as this discipline may have been, the East-Saxon monks heartily loved their bishop: witness the touching story[5] of thirty brethren of 'his monastery,'—probably that of Ythancester, —who, on hearing of his death and burial in Northumbria, came all the way into Yorkshire in order either to live or die beside his grave, and in fact did all die there of the then raging pestilence, save one little boy, long afterwards 'useful' as a priest[6]. Thus, for some years, all went well in Essex: Christianity regained its hold on the people, or, as Bede phrases it, 'the teaching of the heavenly life received a daily increase, to the joy of the king and amid the sympathy of his subjects[7].' But Cedd could not be satisfied without periodical visits to his native North-

[1] Freeman, i. 24. Palgrave, E. C. p. 414: 'Strictly speaking, we have no proof that London ever formed part of the early Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.'

[2] Florence, indeed, calls him so, a. 621.

[3] Camden, Britannia, i. 411; Horsley, Brit. Rom. p. 487.

[4] Bede, iii. 22: 'famulorum Christi,' used technically.

[5] Bede, iii. 23: 'Cum ergo episcopum defunctum,' &c.

[6] See below, p. 201, on children in monasteries.

[7] Bede, iii. 22: 'Cumque tempore non pauco,' &c.

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country, in order to preach to his own folk[1]: and one of his three brothers, a priest named Cælin, comes before us as chaplain to Ethelwald[2] the son of Oswald, whom his uncle Oswy permitted to act as sub-king in Deira. This prince exhibits a strange combination of his father's devout habits with a mean jealousy which impelled him into a shameful treason[3]; but the religious side of his nature comes out in his relations with Cedd, who was introduced to him by Cælin, and to whom, 'seeing him to be a holy and wise man, and approved in conduct,' he offered a piece of land for the building of a monastery, whither he himself might come 'to pray and to hear the Word, and where he might eventually be buried. For,' says Bede[4], 'he sincerely believed that he would be greatly helped by the daily prayers of those who would serve the Lord in that place.'

Foundation of Lastingham.

The site being left to Cedd's choice, he fixed upon a wild spot under the Pickering hills[5], where, says Bede, 'there seemed to have been haunts of robbers and lairs of wild beasts rather than dwellings of men.' This place was Lastingham, where Cedd, after the custom of Lindisfarne, began by hallowing the ground on which the building was to be erected[6]: he asked leave of Ethelwald to spend a whole

[1] Bede, iii. 23: 'Solebat autem idem vir Domini,' &c.

[2] Bede gives the name its rough North-country form, Oidilwald (cp. v. 1). Cælin 'used to minister the word and the "sacramenta fidei"' to him and to his household (familiae). The next words, 'for he was a presbyter,' show that 'sacramenta fidei' means here the sacraments or other sacred rites of Christianity as connected with, and involving, the faith, as in the Roman consecration-form the chalice is called 'mysterium fidei.' On 'sacramentum' see above, p. 126.

[3] This union of a certain kind or amount of piety with an utter want of nobleness of character reminds us, in some measure, of Henry III. Some such inconsistency may have existed in Alchfrid.

[4] 'Nam et seipsum,' &c. Cp. iii. 24, 'supplicandum pro pace gentis.'

[5] 'In montibus arduis ac remotis;' Bede, iii. 23. He applies the words of Isaiah xxxv. 7, 'In the habitation of dragons . . . shall be grass with reeds and rushes,'—'that is, the fruit of good works should spring up in the place where formerly beasts had their haunts, or men lived like beasts.' Comp. Bede, iv. 3, and Praef. Lastingham lies in an amphitheatre of hills. See Waymarks in Church History, p. 287.

[6] See above, p. 167. Bede mentions the dedication of churches in iii. 7. 8, and v. 24: but these passages refer to the Roman rite which had grown up (out of the 'deposition' of relics) in the latter part of the sixth

Lent there, 'fasting on all week days until evening, when he took an egg, a morsel of bread, and a little milk and water. For he said that this was the usage of those from whom he had learned the rule of regular discipline.' When ten days of this Lent still remained, he was summoned to the king; but his brother Kynibil, who was also 'his presbyter [1],' completed the series of prayers and fasts, and a monastery after the Scotic type [2] was founded at Lastingham,—the first church being built of wood. CHAP. VI.

Such was the tenor of Cedd's episcopal life. It began when the see of Canterbury was vacant by the death of Honorius, which is dated by Bede on the 30th of September, 653 [3]: and the vacancy continued until the 26th of March, 655, when a signal testimony was borne by King Erconbert and his advisers, and by the clergy and monks of Canterbury, to the reality of that Church-work of Birinus with which Canterbury had had no concern whatever. A Wessex man called Frithona, the first 'Saxon' successor of Augustine, was consecrated [4] by Ithamar of Rochester alone, without the assistance of Bertgils, or Boniface as he called himself, who had succeeded Thomas at Dunwich in 652, and who, as a born Kentishman, would feel a special interest in the consecration of an archbishop [5]; but perhaps the journey from the distant sea-port in Suffolk was too inconvenient at that time. Frithona imitated Bertgils by adopting the name of Deusdedit [6], which had been borne by a Pope from 615 to 618 [7], and which, while intended as an equivalent for 'Theodore,' somewhat reminds

century (Duchesne, Origines du Culte, &c., p. 392). The long fast before a Scotic dedication was characteristic.

[1] Compare 'presbyter suus' in iii. 14. Above, p. 186.

[2] 'He regulated it . . . according to the usages of Lindisfarne,' Bede.

[3] Bede, iii. 20: 'Et ipse quoque Honorius,' &c.

[4] Bede, iii. 20: 'Electus est . . . Deusdedit, de gente Occidentalium Saxonum.' Elmham gives his original Saxon name; H. Mon. S. Aug. p. 192.

[5] Bede, iii. 20, 'de provincia Cantuariorum.' Cp. iv. 5.

[6] An Irish missionary in Picardy, named Fricor, 'changed his name into Adrian, as more pleasing to his auditors;' Lanigan, ii. 442. So Succat became 'Patricius,' Willibrord 'Clement,' Winfrid 'Boniface,' Eddi 'Stephen,' Biscop 'Benedict.'

[7] Also by an archbishop of Milan in Gregory's time; Greg. Ep. xiii. 30.

CHAP. VI. us, by its very awkwardness, of that singular anticipation of Puritanic names which we find in the ancient African Church [1]. Under Deusdedit, as under Honorius, the archbishopric continued to be little else than a high dignity shut up within a narrow area: except for its hold upon East-Anglia, it had no practical effect on the general life and work of the Church: it was like a great force lying dormant until the epoch that was to wake it into energy.

Death of Anna.

The year of Cedd's consecration, also distinguished by the vacancy at Canterbury, was tragically marked by another, and the last, of Penda's fatal victories. Anna had mortally offended him by sheltering Kenwalch: and he now fell on the East-Anglians 'like a wolf on timorous sheep, so that Anna and his host were devoured by his sword in a moment, and scarcely a man of them survived.' Such is the vivid account of Henry of Huntingdon [2]. The conqueror allowed Ethelhere, Anna's brother, to reign as his vassal, and employed him, in some way unexplained, to give occasion for another Mercian invasion of Northumbria in the following year, 655 [3]. Oswy had done his utmost to propitiate Penda: beside the double alliance between their houses [4], 'he had placed another son, Egfrid, as a hostage in the hands of the Mercian queen Kynwise [5];' he now offered to purchase peace with a gift of royal ornaments, 'greater than can be believed [6].' All was in vain: Penda was resolved, this time, to 'make sure' work: having again

[1] Adeodatus, son of St. Augustine; Adeodatus, Habetdeus, and Quodvultdeus, in the conference of Carthage; Deogratias, bishop of Carthage. We also meet with a deacon Donadeus in Numidia in the time of Gregory the Great; Ep. xii. 8.

[2] Hen. Hunt. ii. 33. See Bede, iii. 18: 'Anna . . . qui et ipse,' &c. Thomas of Ely says that Anna's body was in later days transferred to Beodricsworth, now Bury St. Edmunds (Angl. Sacr. i. 595).

[3] Bede, iii. 24: 'In quibus Ædilheri, . . . auctor ipse belli,' &c.

[4] Thus—

[5] Bede, iii. 24: 'Nam alius filius ejus Ecgfrid,' &c.

[6] 'Innumera et majora quam credi potest ornamenta regia,' &c.

crossed the Northumbrian border, he would not turn back, as in 633 or 642, until he had annihilated Northumbria as a kingdom, or, as Bede says, had 'exterminated the whole people, small and great.' His host is described in terms which remind us of the Syrian Benhadad's: thirty chiefs of princely rank [1], including, it seems, the East-Anglian king, were serving under his banner; and Oswy's much smaller force was diminished by the desertion of Ethelwald, who, through some personal grudge, was alienated from 'his uncle and his country,' and stained his father's memory by 'acting as guide to the invaders,' although, at the last moment, either compunction or cowardice restrained him from giving them his aid [2]. Thus the odds which Oswy had to face appeared indeed desperate. He had recourse to his religion: 'If the Pagan will not accept our gifts, let us offer them to Him who will—the Lord our God [3]:' and vowed that if he should be victorious, he would dedicate his daughter Elfled, a babe of a year old, to the monastic life [4], and give twelve pieces of land for building as many

Battle of Winwidfield.

[1] 'Triginta legiones ducibus nobilissimis instructas . . . Duces regii triginta qui ad auxilium venerant,' Bede, l. c. 'Cynebearna,' Chron. See Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 186, 198; Green, Making of Engl. p. 301.

[2] See Lingard, H. E. i. 96. Bede takes the unfavourable view, 'eventum . . . tuto in loco exspectabat.'

[3] 'Si Paganus, inquit, nescit accipere nostra donaria, offeramus ei qui novit, Domino Deo nostro.' Bede, l. c.

[4] The special case of Samuel's dedication had come to be deemed a precedent. The second council of Toledo in 531 had so far guarded the free agency of persons devoted in childhood to 'clerical service,' as to excuse them from proceeding to holy orders if at eighteen they expressed a desire to marry. But the Benedictine movement encouraged parents to offer their young children for monastic life, wrapping their little hands 'in palla altaris' (Reg. Bened. 59); and a feeling grew up which gained expression in c. 49 of the fourth council of Toledo, A.D. 633, 'Monachum aut paterna devotio aut propria professio facit: quidquid horum fuerit, alligatum tenebit,' no regard being had to the impossibility of ascertaining in childhood any real aptitudes for an avowedly exceptional life. Thus in Cedd's East-Saxon monastery there was a little boy who, on growing up, found that he had never been baptized; Bede, iii. 23: Æsica, a boy of three, was bred up in the religious house of Barking (Bede, iv. 8); and the sick boy at Selsey (iv. 14). Bede was 'given to abbot Benedict' at seven (v. 24); Boniface entered a monastery about the same age; Willibrord, as an infant, was placed in Ripon monastery; and Odelirius so dedicated his son Ordericus Vitalis at ten (Ord. Vital. xiii. 45).

CHAP. VI. religious houses. 'Relying on Christ as their Leader[1],' he and his son Alchfrid awaited the great crisis at a place described by Bede as 'in the region of Loidis, near the river Winwæd,' by Florence of Worcester as Winwidfield, and by 'Nennius'[2] as the Field of Gai. This last transfers the scene to Scotland, and represents Oswy as taking refuge in 'a city called Judeu' (which has been assumed to be the 'city of Giudi' or Inchkeith)[3], and giving up his treasures there to Penda, before he resolves to risk a battle. Hence it has been supposed[4] that Bede's 'Loidis' means Lothian, as if Penda had pursued Oswy to the northern extremity of the Northumbrian realm: and that the 'Winwæd' means the Avon in Linlithgowshire. We cannot reconcile this with Bede's account; we must assume that by 'Loidis,' here as in the other passage in which he mentions it[5], he means the Leeds district: and, as in regard to Edwin's baptism, we have to choose between the great Northumbrian historian and a Welsh writer of the next century and of far inferior authority, with a strong turn for patriotic romance[6]. Whatever was the spot, the armies met on the 15th of November; and the many were scattered before the few. The terrible old man, who had slain so many, was himself smitten down at last: and the same fate befell nearly all

[1] 'Perparvum . . . habens exercitum, sed Christo duce confisus.'

[2] C. 64 (ed. Stev.); also the Annales Cambriae.

[3] Compare Bede, i. 12, placing 'Giudi' in the midst of the Firth of Forth. Rhys, however, rejects the identification of Judeu with Giudi, and thinks it may be a form of Edinburgh, Celt. Brit. pp. 133, 151.

[4] Skene, Celtic Scotland, i. 254. Cp. Florence, 'in Berniciam.' See too Rhys, Celtic Britain, p. 133. He tries to reconcile Bede and the other authorities by laying stress on Bede's 'hoc bellum rex . . . *confecit*,' as if it meant that *after* the battle (in Scotland) 'Oswin ended the war' (in Yorkshire). But this is to strain Bede's language; he is evidently, in this sentence, referring again to the victory which he had already described as an answer to the king's vow.

[5] Bede, ii. 14. See above, p. 138. The Winwæd has been supposed to be the Aire, or the Went. See Whitaker, Loidis and Elmete, p. 3.

[6] See Whitley Stokes, Tripart. Life, i. p. cxvii, on Nennius. What we are told of Ethelwald and of Ethelhere suits better with a battle field in Yorkshire; so does Bede's expression that Oswy 'met' the 'thirty legions of Penda's host.' The tale which transforms their thirty commanders into British kings, and makes them share in Oswy's surrendered treasures, may well have grown out of Welsh 'nationalism.'

his auxiliaries[1], including Ethelhere the East-Anglian[2]. Again we recall the story of Hebrew warfare: the Winwæd, swollen by autumnal rains, was to Penda's host what the Kishon of old was to Sisera's; it swept away 'many more in their flight than the sword had destroyed while fighting.' Hence came the saying which handed down the names of the five kings whom Penda had slain, in connexion with his own final overthrow: 'In Winwæd stream were avenged the slaughter of Anna, the slaughter of the kings Sigebert and Egric, the slaughter of the kings Oswald and Edwin[3].' It was a great day: it saved the independence of Northumbria, although it only arrested for some four years the advance of Mercia to primacy among the kingdoms; but it was far more eventful in regard to higher interests, for 'with Penda fell Paganism as an organized secular force[4].' Since the battle of Winwidfield, no English ruling power has formally disowned the faith of Christ. CHAP. VI.

Oswy lost no time in advancing the cause of that faith, not only by the punctual fulfilment of his vow as to the twelve monasteries, and the consignment of the infant Elfled to the care of Hilda at Hartlepool[5], but by effectually promoting the extension of Christianity throughout Mercia. He retained in his own hands the government of Mercia proper[6]: but the South Mercians, whom Bede describes as Diuma, bishop of Mercia.

[1] Nennius says that *one* of the British kings, Catgabail, or Cadavael, escaped, and so got the discreditable name of Catguommed, or 'Would-not-fight.' Rhys thinks he was a rival of king Cadwalader, son of Cadwallon. Celt. Brit. p. 134.

[2] He was succeeded by his brother Ethelwald (Florence).

[3] Hen. Hunt. ii. 34.

[4] Milman, Lat. Chr. ii. 244. Compare Freeman, i. 37; and the somewhat less decided language of Kemble, i. 150.

[5] Bede, iii. 24: 'Tunc rex Osuiu, juxta quod Domino voverat,' &c. The monastic communities then founded were to 'practise the heavenly warfare instead of the earthly, and to pray for the eternal peace of that nation.' On this use of 'warfare,' as if monastic life were (through its continuous intercessory prayers) a specially thorough mode of 'fighting the good fight,' see Bede, iii. 18, 19, 23; iv. 29.

[6] Bede, iii. 21: 'Ipso autem occiso,' &c., and iii. 24: 'Idem autem rex . . . Merciorum genti . . . praefuit.' This is implied in Bede's words, iii. 21, 'Cum Osuiu . . . regnum ejus acciperet,' &c., and iii. 24, 'Quo tempore donavit,' &c. The Chronicle says, Peada became king of the

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separated by the Trent from the North Mercians, and who were the same as those elsewhere called the Mid-Angles [1], were placed as before under the viceroyalty of Peada [2], who obtained a bishop for all the Mercians [3] in the 'Scot' Diuma, already mentioned as one of the four priests sent home with him by Finan in 653. The consecration of Diuma must be dated at the beginning of 656; and immediately afterwards, according to tradition, Peada 'began to build a monastery to the glory of Christ and St. Peter [4]' at a place called Medeshamstede, 'the dwelling-place in the meadows' where in the tenth century the town that had grown up around this 'first resting-place of Christianity in central England' acquired the name of St. Peter's Borough. But Peada, if, as is probable, he had a 'share in the act [5],' could do no more than plan this foundation, and select its first abbot in the person of a monk named Saxulf, rich, high-born, devout, and widely esteemed, whom Bede calls the builder of the monastery [6]. A mysterious crime soon blighted the hopes associated with the noble-spirited Peada. He was murdered, 'as they say, by the treachery of his own wife,' the Northumbrian princess Alchfled [7], in the Easter-

Death of Peada.

Mercians; but this must mean, of the South Mercians. See Palgrave, p. cclxxvii.

[1] See above, p. 192. Compare Bede, iii. 21, 'Mediterraneorum Anglorum,' and iii. 24, 'Australium Merciorum;' and Cod. Diplom. i. 96, Ethelbald 'king not only of the Mercians, but of all the provinces which are named generally South-Angles.' Green says that the old division of Mercians into Northern and Southern 'reappeared' after 'the great defeat'; p. 303.

[2] Bede, iii. 24: 'Quo tempore donavit praefato Peadae,' &c. It was a grant from his father's conqueror.

[3] For, says Bede, iii. 21, the paucity of bishops rendered it necessary that one prelate should be set over 'duobus populis.' Diuma probably fixed his seat at Repton, an old seat of Mercian royalty.

[4] This is from a later addition to the Chronicle. A good deal of such matter was inserted for the honour of the abbey of Peterborough. See Bede, iv. 6, for 'Medeshamstedi in the country of the Gyrvians' (Fenmen). See above, p. 181. See Smith's note in loc. and Monast. Angl. i. 344; Green, Making of England, p. 80.

[5] Stubbs on Foundation of Peterborough, p. 7; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 100.

[6] 'Constructor et abbas,' &c.; Bede, iv. 6. He became bishop of Lichfield in 675.

[7] Bede, iii. 24: 'Sed idem Peada . . . proditione, ut dicunt, conjugis

tide of 656 [1], or, according to the Chronicle, in 657. The event was one of the numerous tragedies which had warned the Saxon and Anglian converts that neither the adoption of Christianity as a creed, nor the most consistent Christian goodness, were any security against misfortune and violent death [2]. And one more warning of this sort was given some time later in Essex. Bishop Cedd had excommunicated a retainer and kinsman of Sigebert for obstinately adhering to an unlawful marriage. The king, disregarding the sentence [3], accepted an invitation to the offender's house, but met with Cedd on his return. Trembling, he leapt from his horse, and knelt to the bishop for pardon: but Cedd exhibited all the austerity of Columban. Touching the king with a wand which he held, he predicted that Sigebert would die in the very house where he had been feasting with a reprobate man. And, in effect, this man and his brother murdered Sigebert, and when questioned, gave no other reason for the deed than that he had become too ready to pardon and spare his enemies [4]; a significant indication of the irreconcilable opposition between the Christian and the heathen-Saxon character. 'The new lore,' it would be said, 'has made the king womanish, too mild to rule over men.' Sigebert the Good was succeeded by his brother Swidhelm [5], who was baptized by Cedd himself at Rendlesham in Suffolk. This royal baptism exhibited the bishops of Essex and of East-Anglia as on

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Murder of Sigebert the Good.

suae.' Bede was not likely to have a prejudice against Alchfled. Florence adopts the story.

[1] So it is usually dated. It happened, says Bede, 'proximo vere' after Oswy had given Peada 'regnum australium Merciorum'; which he did, it seems, upon the death of Penda in November, 655.

[2] Compare Edwin, Oswald, Eorpwald, Sigebert the Learned, Oswin, Anna.

[3] No one was to visit him or eat with him; Bede, iii. 22. Cp. Dict. Chr. Antiq. i. 640. For Columba's excommunication of some 'persecutors of churches,' cp. Adamn. ii. 24.

[4] Bede, l. c.: 'Quod ille nimium suis parcere soleret inimicis, et factas ab eis injurias mox obsecrantibus placida mente demitteret.' They were 'comites.' See above, p. 187. Perhaps the fierce propagandism of 'St. Olaf' may have been connected with a resolution to show his people that Christianity had not abated his vigour.

[5] After Swidhelm Essex became subject to Mercia.

CHAP. VI. brotherly terms; and Ethelwold, the East-Anglian king, brother and successor of Ethelhere, acted as sponsor to the East-Saxon, and 'received him as he came up out of the holy font[1].' It was about two years since the East-Anglian Christians had heard with interest of the foundation of a monastery on the Gallic model among their neighbours the northern 'Gyrvians' of South Lincolnshire. The founder was Botulf; the place, Ikanho, is usually identified with 'Botulf's town' or Boston, or with the neighbouring village of Kirton. The foundation is dated in 654[2], and King Anna's successor Ethelhere is said to have used influence in its favour with a certain 'South-Anglian' king, or rather sub-king, called Ethelmund, whose sisters Botulf had met in Gaul, and who had some of Botulf's kinsmen in his service. Botulf asked simply to have a piece of unoccupied land given to him: his request was granted, and he chose Ikanho because it was desolate. Monks gathered around him, to whom he gave a Rule compiled from 'old and new' authorities: the fame of his learning and piety was wide-spread when, about 670, Ceolfrid, afterwards abbot of Jarrow, paid him a visit[3].

The death of Peada did not arrest the mission-work in South Mercia: Diuma 'in a short time won not a few to the Lord, and died among the Mid-Angles in the country called Infeppingum'—a district which cannot now be identified. He was succeeded by another 'Scottish' or Irish priest, named Cellach, who, like Diuma and like Cedd, was consecrated by Finan. But 'when three years had elapsed from the slaughter of King Penda[4],' that is, at earliest, at the close of 658, three Mercian chiefs revolted against the direct government exercised by Oswy over their country. Observe the irrepressible and manful sympathy which the Northumbrian Bede here indicates

Cellach, Bishop of the Mercians.

Revolt of Mercians: Wulfhere king.

[1] See above, p. 170.

[2] Chronicle, and Florence. See the Life of St. Botulf in Act. SS. Bened. saec. iii. 1. 4, and Alb. Butler, June 17.

[3] Anon. Hist. of Abbots of Jarrow, ap. Bed. 'Singularis vitae et doctrinae virum,' &c. Cambridge has a church of St. Botulf.

[4] 'Completis autem tribus annis,' &c.; Bede, iii. 24. But the Chronicle dates Wulfhere's accession in 657, Florence in 659.

for a patriotic movement against Northumbrian supremacy. CHAP. VI.
'They drove out the ealdormen of a king who was none of theirs, and bravely regained at once their boundaries and their freedom: they lifted up, as king, Wulfhere, son of Penda, a young man whom they had been guarding in concealment: and thus being free, with a king of their own, they rejoiced to serve Christ the true King[1].' This is one of the noblest sentences in Bede's History, and is the more impressive because we have no evidence that Oswy had played the tyrant over Mercia; what was done, and what Bede thus describes, was done purely for the sake of national independence. Thus chosen as a national monarch, Wulfhere reigned vigorously[2] for seventeen years: he is described as 'the first king of the Mercians who received the faith and the laver of holy regeneration[3],' Peada having been only under-king of part of Mercia. Wulfhere established his supremacy over the East-Saxons, and reconquered Lindsey from Northumbria. He married Ermenild, daughter of Erconbert of Kent; their daughter Werburga became a directress of Mercian nunneries, and the minster of Chester grew up around her shrine[4]. One of Wulfhere's brothers, named Merewald, ruled Hecana or Herefordshire[5]

[1] Bede, iii. 24: 'Fines suos fortiter,' &c. Mark the word 'levato'; and see Kemble, i. 154. Compare the lifting-up of Alaric on a shield, Gibbon, iv. 31. So the Neustrians proclaimed Sigebert in 575, 'impositum super clypeo;' Greg. Tur. iv. 52. So the Spanish Visi-goths inaugurated the leader of their host; Palgrave, Eng. Comm. p. 129.

[2] He 'inherited his father's courage' (virtutis); Hen. Hunt. ii. 34. His reign finally put a stop to Northumbrian overlordship; Green's Making of Engl. p. 306.

[3] Florence, a. 675.

[4] For St. Werburh, or Werburga, see Dict. Chr. Biogr. iv. 1174, Feb. 3. She died about 700. Seven of the churches dedicated to her are within the old Mercian realm (one, for instance, at Derby): the other six have been supposed to record 'strategic movements' of the great Mercian king Ethelbald in the next century, one being as remote as Plymouth Sound (Kerslake, Vestiges of Supremacy of Mercia, reprinted from Transact. of Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society). She was at first a nun at Ely. Her relics were probably carried to Chester during the Danish troubles.

[5] Kemble, i. 150; Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 198. Florence identifies the Hecanas with the Magesetas, or Mægsetan (H. M. B. 621), whom Kemble treats as a portion of them, i. 80.

CHAP. VI. as under-king, married Ermenburga the niece of Erconbert, and became the father of St. Mildred and two other daughters, and of Merewin, a boy of remarkable piety [1]. The king is credited with carrying out the intentions of his brother as to Medeshamstede; though the details of the consecration of the minster and the speeches ascribed to Wulfhere [2] are hardly more trustworthy than the later and calumnious legend which represented him as killing his two sons for turning Christians, and then, in penitence, building the abbey of 'Burgh [3].' We do know that, in 659, he established Trumhere, abbot of Gilling, in the Mercian bishopric, when Cellach, probably in disgust at the separation of Mercia from Northumbria, had 'abandoned the episcopal office,' and returned to Hy, and thence to Ireland [4]. Trumhere, though an Englishman, was of Scotic consecration like his predecessors [5]; and so apparently was Jaruman, who succeeded him in 662.

Medeshamstead.

Another abandonment of a bishopric took place in 660, under circumstances which give it considerable importance. Agilbert had been successful as bishop of the West-Saxons in all respects but one. It was from him probably that Kenwalch learned to be zealous for the 'Catholic Easter [6].' But Agilbert had not acquired the Saxon tongue; and Kenwalch, who knew no other, became 'weary of his foreign dialect [7], and clandestinely introduced into the

Agilbert leaves Wessex.

[1] Above, p. 193. Ermenburga, or Domneva, was daughter of the Kentish sub-king Ermenred, a son of Eadbald, and sister of the princes Ethelred and Ethelbert, slain by Thunor. Of her daughters, Mildred became abbess of Minster, Milburga of Wenlock: a third was Mildgith.

[2] See them as insertions in Chron. a. 657. Cp. Kemble, ii. 243, and Bp. Stubbs, Foundation of Peterborough, p. 7.

[3] This myth was set forth in stained glass along the western cloister of Peterborough abbey; Mon. Anglic. i. 377. See the strange descriptive verses, one couplet being,

'Wulfhere in *woodness* his sword out drew,
And both his sons anon he slew.'

[4] Bede, iii. 21: 'Reversus est ad insulam Hii, ubi plurimorum caput et arcem Scotti habuere coenobium;' and iii. 24, 'vivens ad Scottiam rediit.'

[5] Bede, iii. 24: 'de natione quidem Anglorum,' &c.

[6] See Eddi, Vit. Wilfr. 7.

[7] Bede, iii. 7: 'Tandem rex, qui Saxonum tantum linguam noverat,

province another bishop who spoke Saxon, named Wini,— CHAP. VI.
who himself also had been ordained in Gaul: and dividing the province into two dioceses'— here, as in other passages, Bede uses 'parochia' in this its older sense[1]—'he assigned to Wini an episcopal seat in the city of Winchester,' where a minster had been hallowed twelve years before by Birinus. 'Whereupon Agilbert, being highly offended that the king should do this without consulting him, returned into Gaul, and having accepted the bishopric of the city of Paris, died there an old man and full of days.' This sentence gives an inaccurate impression; for we find Agilbert four years afterwards in Northumbria, and Bede speaks of him on that occasion as bishop of the West-Saxons[2]; and, moreover, the see of Paris in 660 and for some time afterwards was filled by Chrodobert[3], and two bishops intervened between him and Agilbert[4]; so that the latter's accession must be referred to a later period. The inconsiderate arbitrariness of Kenwalch, in this transaction, is what might be expected in a prince whose impatient temper had not been subdued by his sufferings or his con-

pertaesus barbarae loquelae,' &c. Milner understands this of a mere foreign pronunciation, Hist. Winch. i. 73; but Bede implies more.

[1] 'In duas parochias.' Comp. Bede, v. 18: 'in duas parochias . . . ad civitatis Ventanae parochiam.' See the second decree of the Council of Hertford, Bede, iv. 5; and Bede, Vit. Cuthb. 29, 34, Ep. Egb. 8; and Boniface, Ep. 63, 'ut . . . episcopus parochiam suam . . . circumeat;' and 'Si quod in sua dioecesi corrigere . . . nequiverit.' For *παροικία* as the aggregate of Christians dwelling in one place or district under the care of a single chief pastor, see Euseb. i. 1, ii. 24, iii. 14, &c.; Bingham, b. ix. 2. 1; Dict. Chr. Antiq. ii. 1554. See below on Council of Hertford.

[2] Bede, iii. 25, v. 19. Eddi calls him at that time 'transmarinus episcopus,' but this may mean only a bishop of foreign birth and consecration; Vit. Wilfr. 9.

[3] Mabillon, Ann. Bened. i. 470, on a document signed by him in 663: and he had been bishop when Chlodwig II died in 659; ib. i. 459.

[4] Sigebrand and Importunus; Mabillon, i. 478. The former was murdered in 664. The latter witnessed a 'privilegium' for a nunnery at Soissons, June 26, 666; ib. 482. Dubois, therefore, must be wrong in dating Agilbert's accession to the see of Paris in 664, immediately on his return to Gaul after the conference of Whitby; Hist. Eccl. Paris. i. 204. We are told that, in 680, he and the bishop of Reims were employed by Ebroin to lure a rival into his power; Fredeg. Chron. continuat. 97. He is said to have died on Oct. 11 (on which day he was venerated), in 680.

CHAP. VI.

version, and whose sense of royal power had been enhanced by his recent military success in driving the Britons beyond the river Parret[1]. It will appear that his choice of Wini was less fortunate than his former choice of Agilbert; and though Winchester may have been a more desirable seat for a West-Saxon bishopric than a little town so near the Mercian frontier as Dorchester then was, it cannot be said that the old home of West-Saxon royalty has reason to be proud of its first bishop. Kenwalch had soon enough on his hands to make him forget ecclesiastical complications; for in 661[2] Wulfhere invaded Wessex, and laid waste the Berkshire country as far as Ashdown; and the death of Cuthred, the lord of that territory, which is assigned to the same year, probably took place in this Mercian border-war. Wulfhere also got possession of a Hampshire district occupied by the Meonwaras[3], and made the important conquest of the Isle of Wight[4], which had belonged to Wessex ever since Cerdic subdued it in 530. Both these acquisitions he handed over to Ethelwalch, king of the South-Saxons[5], who had been baptized in Mercia, 'by the persuasion and in the presence of Wulfhere,' and had then become Wulfhere's godson. His wife Eaba was already a Christian: she came from the Hwiccian country, which consisted chiefly of Worcestershire and Gloucestershire[6]: and its rulers, Eanhere and his brother Eanfrid, Eaba's father, had become 'Christians with their people.' But the king and queen of the South-Saxons

Conquest of Wight by Wulfhere.

[1] Chron. a. 658 on the battle of Pen. See Freeman, i. 385.

[2] See Chron. a. 661, and Florence. Henry of Huntingdon says that Wulfhere 'traversed his enemy's land with a great host,' and conquered Wight; ii. 35. Ethelwerd, ii. 7, transfers the victory at Ashdown to Kenwalch.

[3] The Meonwaras' district ran from Southampton Water to the South Downs. See Camden, Britan. i. 146: 'Their country is now divided into three hundreds . . . Meansborow, Eastmean, Weastmean.' They were Jutes; Pearson, Hist. Engl. i. 106; Green, p. 385.

[4] Chron. l. c.; Lappenberg, i. 248.

[5] See Bede, iv. 13: 'Erat autem rex,' &c. 'His policy was to establish a counterpoise to the West-Saxon kingdom;' Milner, Hist. Winch. i. 74.

[6] See above, p. 85, and Freeman, i. 35; and comp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 186, and Kemble, i. 149, on the long continuance of a special kingship of the Hwiccas. Cp. Bede, iv. 23.

could produce no effect on the Paganism of their kingdom [1], which had never been evangelized from Kent or from Wessex, and was detained by marshes and by the 'Andred' forest in a peculiarly barbaric isolation [2]. One man of its race, named Damian, had indeed not only become a Christian, but had succeeded Ithamar as bishop of Rochester in 656 [3]: but, speaking generally of the realm of Sussex, its time, in a Christian sense, was yet to come; and to come from that distant North-country to which our story now returns. CHAP. VI.

Finan died, after a ten years' episcopate, in this year 661; and was succeeded by Colman [4], also of Irish extraction and Scotic ordination [5], and also a man of simple and austere piety, and of an 'innate prudence' which won Oswy's regard [6]; but not destined to a peaceful and successful episcopate, such as Finan's on the whole had been. A change, in fact, was coming over the mind of the great ecclesiastical province which looked to Lindisfarne as its centre. Deliverance from the terrors and anxieties which Penda's name had aroused, and which passed away at his death, had given the Northumbrian Church a time of 'refreshing' and of spiritual revival. There was, all Colman of Lindisfarne.

[1] Bede, iv. 13: 'Caeterum tota provincia Australium Saxonum divini nominis et fidei erat ignara.'

[2] Rocks and woods had made it 'inexpugnabilis'; Eddi, Vit. Wilfr. 41; Lappenberg, i. 106. The Chronicle says (a. 893) that in the reign of Alfred, the 'Andread-weald' was more than a hundred miles long, and thirty broad; but in this statement, says Guest, ii. 42, there is 'some exaggeration.' The name of Andred is significant—'the land without dwellings.' The Weald of Kent and Sussex is the remains of this forest; Taylor's Words and Places, p. 360. It extended from the neighbourhood of Winchester to the border of Romney Marsh. See a map in Guest, ii. 147. For other forests, as Wyre, Arden, Sherwood, see Green, Mak. of Engl. pp. 11, 75.

[3] Bede, iii. 20. Damian was consecrated by archbishop Deusdedit.

[4] Bede, iii. 25: 'Defuncto autem Finano,' &c. The name was common among Irishmen of that period; Lanigan, ii. 216, iii. 2. Several instances occur in Tighernach. A St. Colman was the first bishop of Cloyne, the rural South-Irish see which Berkeley has made illustrious.

[5] Bede says that Colman had been appointed (destinatus) from Hy; iv. 4. But he also indicates that he had come originally from Ireland; iii. 26.

[6] Bede, iii. 26: 'Multum namque eumdem,' &c.

CHAP. VI. around, a stirring of ecclesiastical life, which, however, in its more vigorous growths, was not likely to be content with the somewhat narrow and homely type represented by the Scotic traditions of Lindisfarne. True, there was a strong attachment in many minds to those traditions; and many persons of high as well as of low birth actually went over to settle in Ireland, for the sake of monastic self-devotion, or of theological study[1]. Among these English students were two young men of 'eorl-kin,' Ethelhun and Egbert, the latter of whom, having edified the Irish by his teaching and his example, and persuaded the monks of Hy to adopt the Catholic Easter, died a few years before Bede wrote his work[2]. Colman might think that such an appreciation of Irish learning and sanctity promised well. Moreover, there were in Northumbria monasteries newly founded, in which the rules and practices of Aidan were held sacred and all-sufficient; the six in Bernicia and the six in Deira which commemorated the day of Winwidfield, the house at Gilling, a monument of royal penitence,—another at Tynemouth, where the monks had to contend with the doggedness of half-Christianized rustics, who complained that 'old rites had been taken away, and that no one knew how to observe the new ones[3];' the community established by Cedd at Lastingham; Heiu's religious house near Tadcaster, and her earlier foundation at Hartlepool[4]; and, more famous by far, that community which Hilda had planted in 657-8 on an estate of ten hydes or 'familiae[5]' at Streanæshalch,

Foundation of Whitby.

[1] See above, p. 184. Northumbrians would probably resort first to St. Comgall's great monastery at Bangor in Ulster (then a century old), and to the sacred city of Armagh, a third part of which was occupied by 'Saxon' students; M'Gee, Hist. Irel. i. 49. Irish monasteries were sets of huts of beehive shape, centering in a church and other buildings (including a hospice), and having an earthen 'rath' or a stone 'cashel' by way of fortification and enclosure. The greater monasteries had 1,500 or even 3,000 monks.

[2] Bede, iii. 4, 27; iv. 3; v. 9, 22.

[3] Bede, Vit. Cuthb. 3. See Stevenson's Chron. of Abingdon, vol. ii. p. xxxiv.

[4] See above, p. 188. The cemetery of this ancient monastery was discovered in a field called Cross Close in 1833; Hübner, Inscr. Brit. p. 69.

[5] Bede, iii. 24: 'Quae post biennium comparata possessione,' &c. Ib.

or, as the Chronicler writes it, 'Streoneshalh[1],' which we had better designate by its familiar Danish name of Whitby. In this house, as, according to some, at Kildare[2], and afterwards at Coldingham, Ely, Barking, Wimborne, Repton, and in some great houses on the Continent[3], the nuns and monks formed a 'double foundation, a lady abbess being set over both, the former always taking precedence[4]': and Hilda, whom all that knew her called 'Mother,' taught the inmates 'to practise thoroughly all virtues, but especially peace and love; so that after the pattern of the primitive Church, no one there was rich and no one was poor, but all had all things in common, for nothing seemed to be the property of any individual[5].' Further north, a little nunnery was established about this time, on the banks of the Derwent, at a place which takes its name of Ebchester from the foundress, a half-sister of Oswald and of Oswy[6], well known to us in Oxford from the title of one of our churches,—that 'Ebbe' who afterwards founded a double convent at Coldingham, close to the promontory still called St. Abb's Head. If we look beyond the present Border into a country then strictly English[7], we are attracted by a religious house organized on the Lindisfarne model, and situated in a valley which the genius of Scott has made peerless throughout Britain. On the upper road

Melrose.

iv. 23: 'Cum ergo aliquot annos . . . huic monasterio praeeset, contigit eam suscipere etiam construendum . . . monasterium,' &c.

[1] Bede's interpretation (iii. 25), 'Sinus Fari,' has been called 'unaccountable.' See, however, Atkinson's Memorials of Old Whitby, p. 78 ff. Possibly 'streon,' as used for 'strong' or 'strength,' might be applied to a watch tower (which might also be described as a pharos, Bede, i. 2), and 'halch' or 'halh' might mean a 'hollow' running down to a harbour-mouth. If so, the name would be very apposite to the locality.

[2] Haddan's Remains, p. 277; Todd's St. Patrick, p. 12. But see Lanigan, i. 410, 414. He thinks that the 'monks' of Kildare were clerics.

[3] At Autun, Brie, Rémiremont, Laudun, Fontevrault, &c. See Mabillon, Ann. Bened. i. pp. 315, 382, &c.; Lingard, A.-S. Ch. i. 214; Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 258. See Theodore's Penitential, b. ii. c. 6. s. 8, disapproving of any extension of this 'custom'; and cp. 2nd Nic. Syn. can. 20.

[4] Kitchin, Hist. Fr. i. 252.

[5] Bede, iv. 23 (the chapter on St. Hilda). At Whitby she was long spoken of as 'the Lady Hilda.' See Atkinson, p. 15.

[6] Bede, iv. 19; Vit. Cuthb. 10.

[7] See Freeman, i. 36, 123, on Lothian.

CHAP. VI. from Dryburgh to Melrose there is a point where one looks down on a wooded projection of land, almost encircled by the Tweed[1]. This is Old Melrose, to the east of its younger and world-renowned namesake; but it is memorable as the site of a humble monastery where, in 661, holy men prayed and taught, and one young monk was unconsciously preparing for a life which made him the great popular saint of Northern England. Eata, of whom we shall hear much, was abbot: he had been one of those twelve boys whom Aidan, in the early days of his episcopate, had received from their parents to be 'instructed in Christ[2],' and through life he was true to his old training, being, as Bede describes him, 'the gentlest and simplest man in the world[3].' Under him, acting as 'praepositus' or prior, was Boisil, whom Bede calls 'a priest of great virtues and of a prophetic spirit,' and whose name is still perpetuated in the
Cuthbert. little town of St. Boswell's. About ten years before, in the beginning of the winter of 651[4], there had come to Melrose a robust youth[5], with a servant who held his horse and spear[6] when he had dismounted in order to pray in the church. His name was Cuthbert. From his eighth year he had lived in the house of a widow named

[1] 'Quod Tuidi fluminis circumflexu maxima ex parte clauditur;' Bede, v. 12. Scott's description of the western site in 'The Eve of St. John,'

'Where fair Tweed flows round holy Melrose,'

might apply still better to the eastern.

[2] Bede, iii. 26. Above, p. 161.

[3] Bede, iv. 27.

[4] Bede, Vit. Cuthb. 5. This 'Life' was compiled with special care, and before publication submitted to friends of St. Cuthbert, and finally read and examined for two days by the Lindisfarne community, under bishop Eadfrid. The Anon. Vit. Cuthb. in Bede's Works, vi. 357 ff., was also written under Eadfrid but earlier. The author had known Cuthbert at Melrose, and had received some information as to his boyhood from bishop 'Tuma' (probably Tuda). The legend of his Irish birth, as the son of an Irish king's daughter, *is* Irish, and is confuted by Bede's words in the prologue to his poem 'De miraculis S. Cuthberti' (Works, i. 3) describing him as born in Britain. See Lanigan, iii. 88, and Plummer's note on Bede, iv. 27.

[5] 'Adolescens,' Bede, V. C. 4; 'robustus corpore,' 6; 'of full age,' Vit. An.

[6] Bede, V. C. 6. The Anon. Vit. says he had once served 'in castris,' apparently in the Northumbrian defensive war against Penda.

Kenspid, whom he used to call 'mother'[1]. As a younger boy, he had been remarkable for high spirits, and had excelled in all bodily exercises[2]: the solitary hours spent in tending sheep, on the hills beside the Leader, had opened his mind to serious thought; and a dream, which he took to be a vision, occurring on the night of Aidan's death, had determined him to enter a monastery[3]. The fame of Boisil drew him to Melrose: and Boisil, standing at the gate as he came near, said to others who were present, 'Behold a servant of the Lord[4]!' He soon surpassed all the brethren in studies, vigils, prayers, still more in manual work: only, we are told, he 'could not endure so much abstinence from food,' lest the strength required for labour should be diminished[5]. When Eata received from Alchfrid, who had succeeded the traitor Ethelwald as sub-king of Deira, an estate of thirty or forty hydes at Ripon, for the erection of a monastery, Cuthbert was among the brethren sent to form the new settlement, and appointed to act as hospitaller[6]; but at the time of Colman's arrival the monks had just given up their abode, rather than accept, at Alchfrid's bidding, the continental Easter rule CHAP. VI.

[1] She was alive when the Anon. Vit. was written.

[2] 'He took pleasure in jokes and noisiness . . . delighted to share in the sports of other boys . . . Sometimes, when the rest were tired out, he, unwearied, would ask in the joyous tone of a conqueror, whether any others had a mind to contend further with him.' He excelled his equals in age, and even some of his seniors, in leaping, running, wrestling, 'seu quolibet alio membrorum sinuamine.' Yet even in those days, a little boy of about three once burst out crying, and, calling Cuthbert 'bishop,' told him that he ought not to play among children. Cuthbert, as 'bonae indolis puer,' was struck with this strange warning, and, caressing the child affectionately, went home, and became from that day 'steadier, animoque adolescentior.' Bede, V. C. 1. (Some boys, according to the Anon. Vit., were playing at 'standing on their heads.') Both 'Lives' tell of his lameness and its cure. On the prescription for it by a stranger, see above, p. 73.

[3] Bede, Vit. Cuthb. 4; Sim. Hist. Dun. Eccl. i. 3, and Auct. Hist. de S. Cuthb. 2. It was August 31, 651. He thought he saw angels carrying a holy soul into heaven 'as in a globe of fire'; Anon. Vit. 'Next morning he gave over the sheep to their owners'; Sim. Dun. Eccl. i. 3.

[4] Bede, Vit. Cuthb. 6.

[5] Ib.: 'Non autem tantam escarum valebat subire continentiam.'

[6] Ib. 7. In his last moments he enjoined hospitality to strangers, ib. 39.

CHAP. VI. and other Roman usages[1]: and Cuthbert was again at Melrose, 'attending to the precepts and the example of Boisil[2].'

Wilfrid. And this brings us to the name of him who concentrated and intensified, by his energy and influence, the preference for 'Catholic' over 'Scotic' usages,—to the splendid name of Wilfrid. The son of a Northumbrian thane, and born in 634[3],—'the year of the kings' apostasy,' he began at thirteen or fourteen[4] 'to think of forsaking his paternal fields, and to seek for heavenly gifts.' In spite of a step-mother's unkindness, he was well equipped with all that could enable him to make a good appearance at the court of Oswy[5], and his father bade him God-speed. He stood in the presence of Queen Eanfled,—a handsome boy of quick intellect and graceful bearing,—introduced to her by nobles on whom he had waited at his father's table; and besought her to promote his desire of 'serving God.'—the phrase then used, with an unhappy restriction of meaning, for monastic life[6]. One of the king's 'companions[7],' seized with paralysis, was preparing to become a monk at Lindisfarne: and under his care, and as his attendant, Wilfrid entered that monastery, where, although he did not receive the Scotic tonsure[8], he

[1] Bede, iii. 25; and v. 19, 'optione data maluerunt loco cedere.' Vit. Cuthb. 8: 'Eata cum Cuthberto . . . domum repulsus est.' But the Anon. Vit. says that Cuthbert received the Roman tonsure at Ripon.

[2] Vit. Cuthb. 8; comp. H. E. iv. 27, 'quod ipsum etiam Boisil,' &c.

[3] Florence, a. 634: 'Sanctus Wilfridus nascitur.'

[4] Eddi, Vit. Wilfr. 2: 'In his fourteenth year, in corde suo cogitabat,' &c. So Bede says, v. 19. Fridegod and Eadmer say he had passed his fourteenth year. Eddi, or Hædde, ecclesiastically called Stephen, was his attendant in after years. Fridegod (or Frithegod) wrote a metrical Life of him in the middle of the tenth century by desire of archbishop Odo; Eadmer, a prose Life in St. Anselm's time. Of course neither of these 'Lives' has any independent authority. See Act. SS. Bened. saec. iii. 1. 169 ff. Fridegod's 'euphuism' of style is portentous, and often unintelligible. Eadmer alludes to him, and mentions Bede, but does not mention Eddi; see Historians of Ch. of York, i. 163.

[5] See Turner, Angl.-Sax. iii. 16.

[6] See above, p. 197, and comp. Bede, iv. 9, 24; Hist. Abb. 1, 15; Ep. to Egb. 7.

[7] A gesith, or comes, named Cudda; see above, p. 187. Eddius calls him Wilfrid's 'dominus.'

[8] 'Adhuc laicus capite,' Edd. 2. Above, p. 92.

acquired all that he could learn of the Scotic discipline, learned by heart the Psalter in Jerome's more correct or 'Gallican recension[1],' and was 'loved by the other boys as a brother, by the seniors,' and doubtless by Aidan, 'as a son[2].' Some three years afterwards, having a strong desire to visit Rome, to gain the blessing of the 'successor of St. Peter,' and to study monastic rules of a better type than the Scotic[3], Wilfrid, by his father's advice, and with the frank assent of the bishop and monks of Lindisfarne[4], obtained a letter of commendation from Eanfled to her cousin King Erconbert, who was just the man to appreciate the brilliant gifts, the intent studiousness, and the religious fervour of the young Northumbrian. After about a year's delay, which Wilfrid employed in studying the Church usages of Canterbury, Erconbert found a suitable fellow-traveller for him in one whose name is as closely bound up as Wilfrid's with Northumbrian Church history, and who was to make himself a name as an ecclesiastical traveller[5], a founder of monasteries, and a promoter of religious art. This was Biscop, also called, as a patronymic, 'Baducing[6],' and ecclesiastically Benedict, a nobly-born

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Benedict Biscop.

[1] 'Citissime,' says Bede. 'Secundum Hieronymi emendationem,' Edd. 3. This translation was made at Bethlehem, from the Septuagint version according to the 'Hexaplar' text, in 389. It became current in Gaul and elsewhere before it was accepted in Italy. The 'Roman Psalter' was Jerome's earlier and cursory revision of the old Italic version, made in 383. It was used at Canterbury after the 'Gallic Psalter' was received in other English churches; and is still in use in St. Peter's at Rome. See Waterland on Ath. Creed, c. 4; Vallarsi, Vit. Hieron. c. 20. Jerome's version from the Hebrew was never in public use, and has been very unfortunately neglected. Wilfrid afterwards, at Canterbury, learned the 'Roman' Psalter by heart.

[2] Edd. 2.

[3] Bede says nothing of his desire for the pope's blessing. Nor are we told how, at Lindisfarne, he learned to think that there were better rules abroad. Bede perhaps thought Wilfrid's 'Romanizing' somewhat excessive, and may have traced to it later troubles.

[4] Bede, v. 19: 'Quod cum fratribus,' &c. This speaks well for Finan's generosity, if the lad's somewhat premature discontent with Lindisfarne customs were made known to him: and Wilfrid, at seventeen or eighteen, was not likely to be too modest in such a matter.

[5] He made six visits to Rome,—five of them being directly from Britain,—in 653, 665, 667, 671, 678, 684. See Dict. Chr. Biogr. i. 308.

[6] Edd. 3; Fridegod, 96. See Moberly's Bede, p. 370. For Benedict Biscop, see Bede, iv. 18, v. 19; Hist. Abb. 1 (*the* passage). See Alb. Butler,

CHAP. VI. Northumbrian of twenty-five, who had given up his rank as a 'king's thane,' and the goodly estate which he had received from Oswy, in order, says Bede, 'to take service under the true King.' The two companions set out for Rome towards the end of 653, soon after the death of archbishop Honorius: and Eddi gives a winning picture of the youth of nineteen, 'pleasant in address to all, sagacious in mind, strong in body, swift of foot, ready for every good work, with a face that in its unclouded cheerfulness betokened a blessed mind[1].' Such was Wilfrid when he reached Lyons, and was introduced to 'Dalfinus,' as both our writers call its archbishop, confusing the prelate Aunemund with his brother Dalfinus, count of Lyons[2]. Biscop, impatient to be at Rome, left Wilfrid at Lyons, where he spent some little time with the archbishop, who was 'charmed with his beautiful countenance, his prudence in speech, his quickness in action, his steadiness and maturity of thought[3],' loaded him with presents, and offered, if he would remain, to give him the government of a district and the hand of his niece[4], and to treat him always as an adopted son. Wilfrid appears to have accepted the adoption[5], but he gratefully declined the other proposals, urging the purpose for which he had left his native land. The prelate could not but acquiesce, and sent him on to Rome with a guide and all necessaries, only entreating

Jan. 12, and Bp. Browne, Lessons from Early Engl. Ch. Hist. p. 30 ff. We find 'Beda' and 'Biscop' ranking sixth and seventh from Woden in the genealogy of the kings of the Lindisfari; Mon. H. Brit. p. 431. Moberly suggests that Beda is equivalent to Badoc; Introd. p. xii.

[1] Edd. 3, 4: '... tristia ora nunquam contraxit.' The archbishop saw 'in facie serena quod benedicta mente gerebat' (al. benedictam mentem).

[2] See Mabillon, Ann. Bened. i. 425, 443: 'Nullus in vetustis Lugdunensium antistitum indicibus Dalfino locus est,' and cp. Gallia Christiana, iv. 43. Aunemund had signed a royal diploma for the immunity of the abbey of St. Denis from episcopal control in 653. Under the Merovingians the governors of cities were called 'counts'; e. g. at Poitiers (Greg. Turon. H. F. iv. 42), Tours (ib. v. 48), and Lyons (Greg. Vit. Patr. 8).

[3] Bede, v. 19.

[4] That is, the daughter of count Dalfinus.

[5] Eddi calls the archbishop 'his father,' 5; so Fridegod, 168. The kings Cadwalla and Osred afterwards became Wilfrid's adopted sons; Eddi, 42, 59.

that he would 'remember to travel home by way of Lyons.' Wilfrid reached Rome probably in the spring of 654, and spent several months in daily visits to the sacred places [1], and in study of the Gospels, and of the received Paschal calculations, and of other Church rules which he could not have learned in Britain, under the tuition of the archdeacon Boniface [2], who, before his departure, presented him to the newly-elected Pope Eugenius I. Wilfrid, in his later career, must often have remembered how the pontiff 'laid his hand on his head, and blessed him with a prayer [3].' Returning, with a store of relics, to Lyons, he stayed three years with his kind host the archbishop, studied under learned ecclesiastics, and received the crown-like Roman tonsure [4]. The prelate's wish to make him his heir was defeated in the September of 658 by his own tragical death [5], which Eddi, and Bede simply following him [6], lay at the door of Queen Bathildis, properly Baldechild, the

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[1] Eddi says that he entered an 'oratory of St. Andrew,' saw a manuscript of the Gospels placed on the top of an altar, and invoked the apostle's intercession in order to obtain for the task of preaching the Gospel 'legendi ingenium et docendi . . . eloquentiam.' There was such an oratory under St. Peter's (Vit. Pontif. i. 156), and another in the Via Labicana was rebuilt by Sergius I: but one naturally thinks of Wilfrid as crossing Rome to St. Andrew's on the Coelian, 'a most sacred place,' as Raine has truly said, to any pilgrim from England (Hist. Ch. York, i. 8). So Eadmer, 6; and Rich. of Hexham, X Script. 290, says that he prayed to be set free 'de ingenii sui tarditate et linguae suae rusticitate.'

[2] Eddi calls him the first of the pope's counsellors, and says that he treated Wilfrid like a son. For the discovery of a leaden 'bulla,' with Boniface's name on it, at Whitby, see Raine, Historians of Ch. of York, i. 8.

[3] Eddi, 5. Eugenius, a weak but kindly prelate, was elected under imperial pressure, while pope St. Martin was still alive in exile, Sept. 8, 654; in the following summer Martin mentioned him as 'pastorem qui eis nunc praeesse monstratur,' a sort of sanction of Eugenius' pontificate (Ep. 17). Eugenius survived Martin, dying in June, 657.

[4] 'Crines, summo de vertice passos . . . recidit;' Frideg. 177.

[5] Mabillon, in Ann. Bened. i. 443, quotes a statement that Count Dalfinus was executed on a false charge of treason brought against him by the nobles, and Aunemund was afterwards arrested by three 'duces' sent from the palace, who refused him a hearing and put him to death. This he thinks not improbable. The 'breviarium camerae Lugdunensis,' as quoted in Gall. Christ. l. c., ascribes his death to aristocratic jealousy. Aunemund was honoured by his church on Sept. 29.

[6] See Raine, Historians of Ch. of York, i. p. xxxiii.

CHAP. VI. widow of Chlodwig or Clovis II, the 'do-nothing' king of Neustria and Burgundy[1]. Here is a difficulty; for while Eddi compares her to Jezebel[2], the Church has canonized her for recorded acts of piety, charity, and humility[3]; and her character has suggested that the execution of the archbishop on a charge of disaffection may have been ordered by Ebroin, at the beginning of his career as 'Mayor of the Palace' for her infant son Chlotair III[4]. Wilfrid attended his benefactor to the scene of death, and even stripped off his cloak in order to suffer with him. 'Who is that fair youth?' asked the royal officers charged

[1] He came to the throne in 638 (L'Art de Vérifier, &c., v. 408), married her in 649, and died in 656.

[2] 'Malevola regina . . . sicut . . . Jezebel;' Edd. 6. He adds that nine bishops were slaughtered. So Fridegod, who compares her to an infernal caldron, 186, as if he had been writing of Fredegond; and Eadmer follows suit; 'fired with demoniacal fury.' Six years later, Segebrand, a bishop of Paris, her adviser, was put to death by the nobles.

[3] See the Parisian Breviary, Jan. 30. During her husband's life, she 'commended to him the poor and the churches'; while regent, she 'annulled simoniacal ordinations,' forbade the selling of Christians as slaves, ransomed many at her own cost, restored monastic discipline; and, after she retired in weariness and despondency to the nunnery which she had virtually refounded at Chelles, she there exhibited great humility and tenderness. See Alb. Butler, Jan. 30; Mabillon, i. 438. It is interesting to remember that she herself came to Gaul as a 'Saxon' slave-girl from Britain, probably from Wessex. She was said to be nobly born. She died in 680. Cp. Oman, Europ. Hist. 476–918, p. 257.

[4] See Mabillon, Ann. Bened. i. 443. He traces the accusation made by Eddi to his ignorance, as a 'foreigner' who was not then a companion of Wilfrid, and he infers from certain documents that Ebroin became mayor of the palace immediately afterwards, if not a little before. Others date his accession to office, on the death of his predecessor Erchinoald (for whom see Bede, iii. 19), as late as 659 (L'Art de Vérifier, v. 411); which would overthrow Mabillon's theory. But the Continuator of Fredegarius makes the deaths of the king and Erchinoald take place 'eodem tempore;' c. 92. Erchinoald himself was incapable of any cruelty to bishops; Fredegar. 84. On the office of 'major palatii' ('major domus,' Bede, iv. 1), see De Coulanges, Monarchie Franque, p. 166 ff.; that 'palace,' like 'house,' was used for the king's household (as at Constantinople the office was called 'cura palatii'), and that 'les rois merovingiens n'ont dans leurs maires du palais que ce que existait avant eux, autour d'eux, partout,' under varying titles. The 'major' was 'the king's first servant, 'charged with the overseeing of the rest of the household officials' (Oman, p. 123). So the high steward of the Hebrew kings was called 'the governor' or 'overseer of the house' (1 Kings xviii. 3; 2 Kings xix. 2; 2 Chron. xxviii. 7: cp. Isa. xxii. 15 ff.).

with the execution. 'A foreigner,' they were told, 'from the Angles in Britain:' whereupon they commanded their men to spare his life. Wilfrid then returned to Northumbria, apparently at the end of 658. He soon became intimate with Alchfrid, who had learned from his friend Kenwalch of Wessex to love and follow the Roman Church-rules [1]. He treated Wilfrid with profound respect [2], and asked him, 'for God's sake and St. Peter's,' to stay with him in Deira. They became, we are told, as closely united as David and Jonathan: and Alchfrid gave Wilfrid land for building a monastery at Stanford, perhaps Stamford bridge near York, and not long afterwards put him in possession of the house at Ripon [3], lately vacated by the monks of Melrose. This may be dated in the same year, 661, in which Colman succeeded Finan. Thus began Wilfrid's connexion with a place which for so many years he loved better than any other, and within which at last he found a grave.

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Foundation of Ripon.

His life at Ripon was happy. His charities endeared him to the poor, whose needs, at all times, moved his generous heart. He won the respect and affection of all classes. Men spoke of the abbot of Ripon as humble and tranquil, occupied in devotion and in almsgiving, benignant, sober, modest, merciful. His discourses were 'clear and lucid [4].' But he was not yet a presbyter. He received priest's orders [5]

[1] Edd. 7. Bede, v. 19: 'At ille Brittaniam veniens,' &c. Birinus had brought these rules into Wessex.

[2] The hero-worshipping Eddi says that he prostrated himself before Wilfrid and asked a blessing from him, *for* he seemed to him to speak like an angel of God; 7.

[3] Eddi, 8; Bede, v. 19.

[4] Eddi, 9.

[5] Fridegod's phrase, 'ordinis . . . in honore secundi,' 241, shows that the theory which made the presbyterate the highest order was not dominant in the English Church in the tenth century, although it appears in Ælfric's canons. Theodore's Penitential (ii. 2) recognizes three principal 'gradus,' those of bishop, priest, and deacon. Bede speaks of the 'gradus episcopatus' (iii. 5, 22) or the 'summi sacerdotii gradus' (iii. 23), as he does of the 'sacerdotalis gradus' (iii. 5), or 'sacerdotii gradus' (iii. 27), or 'presbyteratus gradus' (v. 12: cf. 24, of his own ordination), or 'presbyterii gradus' (H. Abb. 16); and somewhat later, archbishop Egbert makes the episcopate the highest of the seven 'gradus,' omitting that of acolyths, Pontif. p. 11. On this subject cp. Bp. Pearson, Minor Works, i. 275.

CHAP. VI. at Alchfrid's request, from Agilbert the ex-bishop of Dorchester, who was then visiting Northumbria, and who scrupled not to ordain in the diocese of Lindisfarne without consulting Colman, because, although he had long studied under Irish Church-teachers, he practically regarded the Scotic hierarchy as contumacious, or even schismatical.

Aims of Wilfrid.

This, at least, was Wilfrid's view, as we may infer from his subsequent conduct. In fact, he looked down on the old Northumbrian Churchmanship, and on that Northumbrian episcopate which had fostered his boyish aspirations, and given him the best training that it could, as if the latter had no claim on his reverence, or even on his forbearance, and as if the former needed a thoroughgoing renovation. The Scotic error on the Paschal question did but represent, and did not exhaust, the defects of Scotic Christianity. It seemed to him generally a poor, coarse, unsightly plant, such as might be expected to grow up in a corner, apart from all genial and expansive influences. It was his mission to educate his native Church,—to refine, enrich, develop it, by contact with the culture and the stateliness of Canterbury, of Lyons,—above all, of majestic Rome. He was right on the general merits of that question which appears to have occupied so inordinate a share of his thoughts; and right also, beyond doubt, in thinking that Scotic ways were too rude and too narrow to be permanently *the* ways for an English Church, with its continental associations and its great prospects of future self-extension. He had a real work to do for his countrymen; but in his way of rushing into it, and of going through with it, he exhibited the two faults of imperiousness and egoism. It seems as if his stay in Rome had infected him with the Roman love of domination, already too congenial to its bishops; and with all his high qualities and many virtues was blended a self-complacent consciousness not only of abilities and force of character, but of exertions and sacrifices made for religion or the Church.

So stood matters in Northumbria when the disputes between the Scotic and anti-Scotic parties came inevitably

to a head, in the early weeks of 664. Colman had the advantage, as he would consider it, of the presence of Bishop Cedd, then on a visit to Lastingham: and Hilda, already looked up to as a wise woman who could give 'good rede' to princes as to common folk [1], would be but the most prominent of several heads of convents who were prepared to stand by the customs of Lindisfarne. King Oswy inclined to the same side: his queen, as we know, supported the other, which was represented by Alchfrid, Romanus, James the Deacon, Bishop Agilbert and his priest Agatho,—above all, by Abbot Wilfrid. Ronan, the vehement Irish opponent of Irish traditions in Finan's time, seems to have been absent; but Colman [2] must have grieved to see another Irishman of higher dignity and more impressive character included in the same ranks. This was Tuda, who had been consecrated a bishop in South Ireland, and 'according to the custom' which now obtained in those parts, conformed to the 'Catholic' usages. He had lately come into Northumbria, and had been helpful in setting forth Christianity, as Bede says emphatically, 'both by word and work [3].' To end the strife, a regular conference was arranged,—Bede calls it a 'synod,' but it was a gathering of 'all the ranks in the Church system,' as Eddi phrases it [4]. The place chosen was Hilda's new monastery, elevated on that proud sea-ward height which is now crowned by the ruined church of an abbey founded two centuries after her minster had been laid desolate. The time was in the first half of 664; most likely in Lent, for the promoters might wish to secure uniformity of observance in regard to the coming Easter, which, by Catholic rules, fell on April 21. Moreover, some time is required for

[1] Bede, iv. 23: 'Tantae autem erat ipsa prudentiae,' &c.

[2] One specimen of Eddi's heedlessness is his calling Colman '*metropolitan* bishop of the city of *York*;' Vit. Wilf. 10.

[3] Bede, iii. 26: 'Venerat autem,' &c. See above, p. 56.

[4] Eddi, 10. See the 'Synodus Pharensis' in Mansi, xi. 67. Kemble treats it as a witenagemot, ii. 243. It was one of those *concilia mixta* in which laymen were as truly 'constituent members' as bishops or other ecclesiastics, see Hefele, Councils, E. Tr. i. 5, 25. Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 265. Cp. Bede, iv. 28, v. 19, for other cases; and Wilkins, i. 173, 285.

CHAP. VI. events which happened between the conference and the autumn.

King Oswy opened the proceedings by urging the benefits of uniformity of custom among those who were united in faith, and stating tersely the question for discussion: Of the two different traditions, which was the truer? He called on Colman to describe his usage and its origin.

Paschal Question.

Before Colman answers, let us remember that the Paschal question, as it then stood, was twofold. (1) How many years must elapse before the Paschal full moon, and Easter Day as the Sunday after it, will recur on the same day? How can we settle for any given year the day on which that moon should fall, and therefore the right day of Easter[1]? This question was answered by the adoption of 'cycles': and the Scotic and British Churches retained an old cycle of eighty-four years which Rome had used, but which she had cast off[2], adopting, finally, that of Dionysius Exiguus[3], according to which the lunar cycle for nineteen years[4], multiplied by the solar cycle for twenty-eight years[5], showed on what day in each year, during successive periods of five hundred and thirty-two years, the Paschal full moon would fall, and therefore what day would be Easter Sunday. (2) On what day of the Paschal month, or as it was expressed, 'on which moon,' being a Sunday (for on that point all were agreed), may Easter be kept? That is, if the Sunday after the full moon should

[1] See Hefele, i. p. 326; Plummer's Bede, ii. 350.

[2] Prideaux, ii. 255, 256; Dict. Chr. Ant. i. 592, 594; above, p. 89.

[3] See Bede, v. 21.

[4] In the nineteen years' cycle, the number of any given year was called the 'golden number,' because marked with letters of gold in ancient calendars. At the end of the nineteen years 'the various aspects of the moon are within an hour the same as they were on the same days of the month nineteen years before;' Nicolas, Chron. of Hist. p. 24.

[5] At the expiration of the twenty-eight years 'the days of the months return again to the same days of the week . . . and the same order of leap-years and of Dominical letters returns' (i. e. there being seven letters, A–G, used to mark the seven days of the week, and January 1 being reckoned as A,—if the year begins on Sunday, then A is the Sunday letter,—if on Monday, G, &c.). 'The cycles of the sun and moon, multiplied together, form a third, which is called the Paschal cycle;' Nicolas, l. c.

be 'the fourteenth moon,' may that be Easter Sunday, or must Easter in that case be on the Sunday following, the twenty-first, so that 'the fifteenth moon' must be treated as the first possible day for Easter? Here, as we have seen, lay the point which called out the strongest feeling. The Celtic Churches included 'the fourteenth moon' within the number of possible Easter Sundays: the other Churches insisted on excluding it, urging the authority of the Nicene Council on the duty of keeping clear of the Jewish day [1]. In other words, Easter Sunday among the Scots might fall on any 'moon' from the fourteenth to the twentieth inclusive: at Rome, or in Gallic Churches, or at Canterbury or Dunwich, it might fall on any moon from the fifteenth to the twenty-first but not earlier; and to keep this rule was to observe the 'Catholic Easter.' CHAP. VI.

Now let us hear Colman, to whom Eddi gives credit for intrepidity. 'My usage is that which I learned from the elders who sent me hither, and which, we read [2], is traced up to St. John. I dare not change it, and I have no mind to change it. We hold it as an inspired tradition that the day of the fourteenth moon, if a Sunday, is to be kept as Easter Day. Let the other side state their opinion.' Cedd translated his speech into 'Anglian'; and Oswy then called on Agilbert, who desired that his 'disciple' Wilfrid might state their case on his behalf. 'He can better explain in the Anglian tongue what we hold than I can by an interpreter,' meaning by Cedd, who acted 'as a very careful interpreter for both parties [3].'

Thereupon Oswy ordered Wilfrid to speak; and the young abbot desired nothing better. He rose, confident in his cause, and in his power to do it justice. He began by dilating on the wide prevalence of the Catholic Easter,

[1] Constantine's letter after the Council shows that the Council had decided that Easter should never be kept at the time at which the Jews were keeping their Passover. On this principle, if the fourteenth should fall on a Sunday, Easter would not be celebrated on that Sunday, but a week later; Hefele, Councils, E. Tr. i. 325; above, p. 88.

[2] 'Legitur,' Bede. Fridegod (whose metrical version of the conference is incredibly abject in point of taste) makes Colman claim Polycarp, 256.

[3] 'Interpres in eo concilio vigilantissimus;' Bede, iii. 25.

CHAP. VI. which he had found in Gaul, in Italy, and at Rome, where Peter and Paul had taught and suffered; and which he had ascertained to be observed in Africa, Asia, Egypt, Greece,—in fact throughout Christendom [1], 'save only'—and here flashed out his scornful intolerance for what, to him, was mere local perversity—'save only among these persons'—pointing to the bishop of Lindisfarne and his clergy—'and their partners in obstinacy, the Picts and Britons; who, belonging to some parts only of two remote islands [2], are making these foolish efforts to fight against the whole world.'

If Bede gives the sense of Wilfrid's speech, his last words had been rather insulting than conciliatory: and Colman is represented as answering with quiet dignity, though with very inaccurate knowledge, 'I wonder that you should call us foolish for following the rule of the Apostle who reclined on the Lord's breast [3].'

Wilfrid's answer was a combination of good sense, unhistoric assumptions, and a decisive home-thrust. 'Granting for a moment,' he said in effect, 'that your custom does come from St. John; it was far from being folly on his part to adhere to Mosaic observances, while St. Paul himself found it necessary to avoid giving scandal to Jewish Christians [4]. Thus it was that John began his Paschal celebration on the evening of the fourteenth of Nisan, whether that was a Saturday evening or no. Peter, however, acted differently. Taking the Lord's Day as his

[1] Cummian similarly argues, How can we say, 'Roma errat, Hierosolyma errat, Alexandria errat, Antiochia errat' (he refers to these again as 'Apostolic Sees,' and ignores Constantinople), 'totus mundus errat,—soli tantum Scoti et Britones rectum sapiunt?' Usher, Sylloge, p. 21.

[2] 'Britonum Scotorumque particula, qui sunt paene extremi,' &c.; Cummian, l. c. See below.

[3] Comp. the Pseudo-Anatolius, Can. Pasch. 10 (Galland. iii. 548): 'The bishops of Asia received their rule from a teacher not to be gainsaid, John . . . who lay on the Lord's breast.'

[4] Bede makes Wilfrid cite St. Paul's conduct in circumcising Timothy, sacrificing in the Temple, and shaving his head at Corinth. (On this last point, Wilfrid departs from the Vulgate of Acts xviii. 18.) The parenthesis, 'quomodo,' &c., means that concession on such points, in view of the circumstances of the time, was a very different thing from any compliance with heathen idolatry.

fixed point, on account of the Resurrection, he agreed with John in not celebrating the Lord's Pasch before the rising of the fourteenth moon at evening, and if that were on a Saturday, would then begin his Easter, as we do now [1]: but if the Lord's Day were to fall not on the morrow of the fourteenth moon, but on the sixteenth or seventeenth, or any other day up to the twenty-first, he waited for that day [2].' Wilfrid spoke, evidently with the Roman archdeacon's lessons full in his mind, and with a confidence as to St. Peter's Paschal practice which showed that he could be as credulous on one side as his opponents on the other;—but he was on stronger ground when he pointed out that the Scotic practice could not claim the beloved Apostle's authority. It differed from Johannean or Quartodeciman usage, because it restricted the Paschal festival to the Lord's Day [3]. It differed not only from general usage, but even, in principle, from the Mosaic rules, because it allowed the thirteenth moon to be Easter Eve, and the morning of the fourteenth to be Easter Sunday morning: whereas Easter Eve ought not to be earlier than the fourteenth evening, nor therefore Easter morning than the morning of the fifteenth. The Scots, he urged, began their reckoning too early, and ended it a day too early: they let in, at the outset, the 'thirteenth moon'; they left out, at the close, the twenty-first [4]. They agreed,—said Wilfrid, CHAP. VI.

[1] Meaning that such a Saturday evening would correspond to that of Holy Saturday, as observed by the Church's commencement of Easter rites towards the close of that day.

[2] Wilfrid argues that this is really in accordance with Exod. xii. 18.

[3] As Bede says of Aidan, the Scots and Britons had neither the right to claim St. John, nor the discredit of adhering to 'Quartodecimanism.' St. John took no account of the first day of the week; but the Celtic Churches would not celebrate Pasch on any other day. But Wilfrid, though 'crammed' with Roman assumptions as to what St. Peter did, imagined that 'John's successors in Asia' were *not* Quartodecimans.

[4] 'Ita ut tertia decima luna ad vesperam saepius Pascha incipiatis, cujus neque lex ullam fecit mentionem, neque auctor et dator Evangelii Dominus in ea, sed in quarta decima *vel* vetus pascha manducavit ad vesperam, *vel* Novi Testamenti sacramenta . . . tradidit.' Here vel = et. Wilfrid, we see, adopts, as a matter of course, the then current opinion, not held by the earliest fathers, that the actual day of our Lord's death was the fifteenth of Nisan. He goes on, 'Item lunam vicesimam

CHAP. VI. in a pithy summary of his case,—neither with John nor Peter, neither with Law nor Gospel. Colman replied by appealing to 'Anatolius' Paschal canon[1],' in which it was ruled that the Paschal limits should be 'the fourteenth and twentieth moons': so that a 'fourteenth moon,' if a Sunday, might be Easter Sunday, and a 'twenty-first moon' might not. He also asked whether it were credible that Columba and his successors, men eminent for sanctity and for miracles, had been allowed to go wrong in such a matter. To this Wilfrid replied, 'Anatolius was indeed a holy and learned man; but why quote him, if you do not really follow him? He framed the cycle of nineteen years: the whole Church keeps to it, except *you!* And as to the fourteenth and twentieth moons, you do not observe that he used the Egyptian reckoning, and treated the fourteenth moon at evening as really the fifteenth just begun[2]: and if

primam, quam lex maxime celebrandam commendavit, a celebratione vestri paschae funditus eliminatis,' &c. Cp. v. 21.

[1] See the canon, erroneously said to be a Latin version of that of Anatolius, in Galland. Bibl. iii. 545 ff. Cp. Dict. Chr. Ant. i. 593. It contains, says Bucherius, several 'paradoxes' or errors, e. g. 'Paschae Dominicam luna xiv. nullo scrupulo indicit, in quo cum Quartadecimanis . . . facit, etsi id illi perpetuum non sit:' in its nineteen years, Easter falls thrice on the 'fourteenth moon,' on April 1, March 29, April 4. 'Praeterea, eamdem paschatis Dominicam a xiii. luna saltem exeunte in xx. *duntaxat* diffundit: tametsi Scriptura et cum ea Alexandrini . . . in xxi. aperte propagent,' &c.; ib. 551. As to the necessity of keeping Easter always on a Sunday, this canon is emphatic; 'Better to put off Easter, on account of the Lord's Day, until the twentieth moon, than to keep it before the Lord's Day on account of the fourteenth;' c. 11. It distinctly denies that Easter can be kept so late as the 'twenty-first moon,' c. 8, i. e. later than a day of which the evening only is assigned to the twenty-first. Petavius (Animadv. in Epiphan. p. 193) censures Ruffinus for so abbreviating a sentence of Anatolius' Greek (preserved by Euseb.) as to make him allow Easter to be kept in the 'beginning of the first month,' i. e. on the fourteenth moon; and traces the Celtic error to this mistranslation.

[2] 'Ille sic in Pascha Dominico,' &c. Wilfrid means, 'In principle Anatolius was with us; an evening which you would reckon as the fourteenth he would include in the first hours of the fifteenth, and so on.' In the 'Anatolian' canon, c. 8, we find, 'Omnis dies in lunae computatione, non eodem numero quo mane initiatur, ad vesperam finitur: quia dies quae mane in luna . . . xiii. annumeratur, eadem ad vesperum xiv. invenitur.' Petavius says that Wilfrid ascribes to Anatolius 'opinionem quam ne somniavit quidem unquam,' as if Anatolius would have called that day

he assigned the twentieth as an Easter Sunday, he did so as considering that its evening began the twenty-first. You do not apprehend this peculiarity of reckoning: that is the reason why you sometimes keep your Easter even on the thirteenth moon, before the full moon. As for Columba and his successors, and the signs which, according to you, attested their holiness—I will *not* quote the text, "Many shall say to Me in that day," &c., for I doubt not that they were beloved by Him whom they served with pious intention, although with rustic simplicity. If they kept Easter wrongly, it was because they knew no better; therefore they took little harm by it [1]. If a "Catholic reckoner" had shown them the right way, I feel sure that they would have taken it; for in other matters they lived up to their knowledge. But you have not the excuse of ignorance in your resistance to the decrees made, under Scriptural warrant [2], by the Apostolic see,—I might say by the Universal Church, whose authority must needs outweigh that of a few men, however holy, in a corner of a remote island [3]. If your Columba—let me say *ours* too, if he was Christ's—was a saint and a wonder-worker, ought he to be preferred to the blessed chief of Apostles?'—and here, with what a look and in what a tone we can well imagine, Wilfrid thundered out the text, 'Thou art Peter,' and left its echoes undisturbed by further speech. CHAP. VI.

only 'the fourteenth' which had a full moon before its sunset,—otherwise he would call it the thirteenth; whereas the Irish called *that* the fourteenth and kept it as Paschal, which was followed by a full moon in the ensuing night. 'The spurious canon of Anatolius, given in Bucherius, was perhaps designed to support the cause of the British Christians;' Dict. Chr. Ant. l. c.

[1] 'Our elders,' says Cummian, 'simply and faithfully observed quod optimum in diebus suis esse noverunt;' Usher, Sylloge, p. 19.

[2] 'Wilfrid here assumes grounds which he had no claim to. . . Wilfrid maintains that the fifteenth was the first regular day for the solemnity of Easter, and insists upon it as if it were a rule of faith . . . Yet the fact is that, were Easter day to be fixed according to the Gospel history, the sixteenth should have been waited for;' Lanigan, iii. 66.

[3] 'Uno de angulo extremae insulae;' so v. 19, 'extremo mundi angulo;' a play on the name Angles. Cp. Jerome, Ep. 46. 10, quoting Virg. Ecl. i. 67. The ancient insularity of the inhabitants of Britain had been intensified by the Teutonic conquest: see Freeman, Hist. Essays, iv. 234.

CHAP. VI. His argument had been, on the whole, well adapted to the audience. True, he had treated the bishop of the Northumbrian Church with a dictatorial roughness which must have been highly offensive, especially to those Lindisfarne ecclesiastics who remembered him as a precocious boy, and might think that, as such, he had been but too kindly treated. True also, he had spoken of the glorious saint of Hy with a superb indulgence which could hardly be less irritating [1]. True, again, that he had, in good faith, disparaged the ancient extent of Quartodeciman observance, had said far more than could be verified as to St. Peter's own practice, and had spoken as if Rome's existing Paschal system had been her tradition from the first,—which 'was a great mistake [2],' for she had altered her cycle, and had also altered her Paschal limits, which once began with the 'sixteenth' of the moon [3]. But there was no one present who could expose the weak points of his pleading: it had one strong point,—the utter inability of the Scotic Church to prove itself heir to the Ephesine tradition [4]: and the appeal to the majesty of the 'first' Apostle was more impressive to King Oswy than any array of proofs and authorities. He asked Colman whether those words were really spoken by Christ to St. Peter? 'Certainly.' 'Did He ever give the like power to your Columba?' 'Never.' 'You both agree, then, that this was said principally to Peter, and that to him our Lord gave the keys of the kingdom of heaven?' 'Yes [5],' they both said, 'assuredly.' Then said the king, with a quiet smile [6], but with an underlying seriousness which we might smile at, if the perversion of faith which it indicated were less deplorable,

[1] 'Throughout his life he was far too careless of the opinions and feelings of others.' Raine, Historians of Ch. of York, i. p. xxviii.

[2] Lanigan, iii. 64.

[3] Ib. ii. 375, 384, 390.

[4] Ib. ii. 386: 'On this point Wilfrid had greatly the advantage of Colman.'

[5] 'Etiam:' so v. 2, 6.

[6] Eddi, 10. Oswy's question to Colman must be understood to mean, 'Do you admit that Wilfrid has quoted correctly?' Fridegod anticipates the 'Renaissance' affectations by making Oswy talk of 'the pains of Acheron,' and asks 'Numquid Olympiaca Petro quis major in aula?'

'And I say to you both, that this is that door-keeper whom I do not choose to gainsay; but as far as I know and am able, I desire in all things to obey his rulings, lest haply when I come to the doors of the kingdom, I may find none to unbar them, if *he* is adverse to me who is proved to hold the keys.' CHAP. VI.

Such was the close of the Whitby conference. Bede intimates that 'there was also no small debate on the question of the tonsure[1];' but he has spared us its details. Enough that on the points of difference between the Scotic and non-Scotic systems, the king and the majority of the assembly pronounced against the former. Cedd himself, who had listened to both sides with so much attention, abandoned the usages of Lindisfarne. To Colman the mortification must needs have been intense. He himself had no thought of adopting the foreign customs: he would be true to Hy and to North Ireland. His Irish monks stood by him, and so did some thirty Northumbrians who had become members of the same community[2]. The bishop announced his intention of going to consult with his own people in Ireland as to his future course. This would be well understood to be an abdication. But he made a parting request to Oswy[3], which touchingly indicates the generosity and tenderness of his nature. There were some brethren in his monastery who had no mind to leave their homes for his sake, or for the sake of old customs. Be it so,—let them remain; but would the king set over them, as abbot, a Lindisfarne man who had been among bishop Aidan's first pupils, and was now abbot of Melrose,—Eata? He would be to the remnant of the Lindisfarne monks a gentle and congenial superior. Oswy readily granted this request: and Eata became abbot of Lindisfarne, without resigning the charge of Melrose[4]. Colman quitted the Holy Island with his little company, and took with him

Close of the conference.

Colman's departure.

[1] Bede, iii. 26: 'Nam et de hoc quaestio non minima erat.'

[2] Bede, iv. 4. The 'Petrine' argument did not overawe them.

[3] Bede, iii. 26: 'Quod aiunt Colmanum abiturum petiisse,' &c.

[4] Bede, Vit. Cuthb. 16. Richard of Hexham, de statu Hagust. Eccl. c. 9. This 'pluralism' was irregular.

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some of the bones of Aidan, ordering the rest to be buried in the sacristy [1]. He paid a visit to Hy, where the tale he had to tell must have been sorely trying to the then abbot, Cumine the White [2]: and thence he went to the island of Inisboffin [3], off the coast of Mayo, where he built a monastery. But after a while, as Bede tells us with a touch of satirical humour, 'the brethren could not agree, inasmuch as the Irishmen used to leave the monastery when harvest-work had to be done, and roam about in places well known to them, but would return with the winter, and propose to share with the Englishmen what the latter had gathered in [4].' So Colman removed his Northumbrian monks to a small property which he purchased in Mayo itself: and the house thus founded was in Bede's time a large monastery, exclusively occupied by Englishmen, who lived under 'canonical rules,' and observed those very usages against which their founder had vainly striven in 664. Colman himself spent the rest of his life on his distant isle, and died in 676 [5].

Review of the Scotic Mission.

His departure from Northumbria marks an epoch, which we may pause to take note of in its manifold significance. It was the end of the Scotic ascendency, the triumph of the 'Catholic Easter' and of other Continental Church usages, the opening of a freer communication with Latin Christianity properly so called. It brought new facilities and opportunities, made room for new precedents, held up new models of excellence. There was good in this, and also some evil. A Church moulded on the Celtic type could never have sufficed for the needs of England. The Irish Church was too intensely monastic, too closely bound up with the tribal divisions of its people, and too widely separated from the general area of ecclesiastical civiliza-

[1] Bede, iii. 26, 'in secretario'; cf. above, p. 182.

[2] He sat from 657 to 669; Lanigan, iii. 36. See Adamn. iii. 5.

[3] 'Inisboufinde, id est, insula vitulae albae;' Bede, iv. 4. Cf. Tighernach: 'Navigatio Colmani episcopi, cum reliquis Scotorum, ad insulam Vaccae Albae, in qua fundavit ecclesiam.' See Lanigan, iii. 79.

[4] Bede, iv. 4. The 'nota sibi loca' would be in Connaught.

[5] Tighernach: 'Colmannus' (Columbanus, Ulster Ann.) 'episcopus insulae Vaccae Albae . . . obiit.' See Reeves's Adamnan, p. 376.

tion[1]. The Latinizing process gave system and order, and organized and concentrated force, and a certain magnificence which could symbolize devotion, and teach great lessons through the imagination, and overawe rough natures as by the visible presence of a Kingdom supreme over lord and ceorl alike. In its train came all that in that age could educate, or soften, or form taste, or train the sense of beauty: it founded schools as well as convents, enlisted painting and architecture, though still of a rude and stern type, in the service of religion, and in various ways acted as an elevating and civilizing power. But that the Latin temper also fostered superstition and spiritual despotism, and that the tightening of links to Rome had some ill effects on English Church freedom, are positions which mediaeval history sets far above all doubt. Yet the reader of Bede can hardly look forward, at this point, without soon looking backward, under the spell of that noble and loving testimony which the Northumbrian historian records in honour of the first three bishops of Lindisfarne, and of the clergy or monks who imbibed their spirit of single-hearted goodness, of pure unworldliness, of devotion to sacred duty[2]. 'The very place which they governed' spoke of these virtues by its appearance: there were, beside the wooden church, only just so many buildings as were absolutely necessary for the community life. The monastery had no money, but only cattle. Gifts of money glided through the hands of Finan or Colman, as through Aidan's[3], straight into the hands of the poor. No need was there for guest-houses to entertain noble visitors: such persons, if they did visit Lindisfarne, came but for prayer and sermon, and were content with the brethren's simple and daily food[4]. This was the case with Oswy himself, as with Oswald: 'he

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[1] See Skene, Celtic Scotland, ii. 63 ff., 366; Green, Making of England, pp. 284, 317, 324. Professor G. T. Stokes owns that, in the twelfth century, 'the Celtic Christian organization had utterly broken down,' had failed to 'rule and tame the wild Celt'; Ireland and Celtic Ch. p. 341. It thus actually contributed to the chaos which gave an opportunity to Strongbow.

[2] 'Quantae autem parsimoniae,' &c.; Bede, iii. 26.

[3] See Bede, iii. 5: 'Ea potius quae sibi a divitibus,' &c.; and iii. 14.

[4] Bede, iii. 26: 'Nam neque ad susceptionem potentium saeculi,' &c.

CHAP. VI. would come with five or six thanes, and depart when prayer in the church was over.' The effect produced on the people of Northumbria might be seen in the glad welcome given to any cleric or monk: if he were on a journey, people ran up to him and 'bent their heads in joyful expectation of being "signed" by his hand or blessed by his lips,—and then listened earnestly to his words of exhortation. And on Sundays they vied with each other in hastening to church, or to monasteries, not for the sake of getting a meal, but to hear God's word: and if a priest happened to come into a township, the inhabitants would speedily assemble, and beg to hear from him the word of life.' For 'well they knew that he was come for the sake of souls, to preach, to baptize, and visit the sick,'—that is, on one of those mission circuits which supplied to some extent the lack of parochial organization. They knew that the thing farthest from a priest's thoughts was, what he could get out of them[1]. Indeed, the bishops and clergy of that generation were so clear of all suspicion of self-seeking, so free from 'that pest of avarice,' that except under compulsion they could not be got to receive lands for building monasteries. 'But enough of this,' Bede concludes: and we can 'read between the lines' of his panegyric a mournful and indignant reflexion on the contrast presented by the monks or clergy of his own time. Here lies the point of his emphasis[2], 'For *then* the whole anxiety of those teachers was, not how to serve the world, but how to serve God: their whole care was to provide, not for the belly, but for the heart. This was the reason why, at *that* time, the religious habit was held in such veneration.' 'The custom of not willingly accepting endowments was preserved in

[1] Compare the title of 'the three blessed visitors' given to St. David, St. Padarn, St. Teilo, because they taught without accepting any reward, even in food, Rees' Welsh Saints, p. 197; Williams, Eccl. Antiq. of Cymry, p. 133.

[2] 'Tota enim fuit *tunc* solicitudo . . . *tempore illo* . . . aliquanto post haec tempore;' Bede, iii. 26. Compare another passage, iii. 5, 'nostri temporis segnitia;' iv. 27, 'Erat quippe moris *eo tempore*,' &c.; and iv. 3, 'Non enim ad otium, *ut quidam*, sed ad laborem, se monasterium intrare signabat.'

Northumbrian churches for some time afterwards[1].' He means to say, 'We are living in a changed world: the fine gold is become dim: secularity has tainted and enfeebled the Church.' It was the last effort of Bede for his Church when he wrote the memorable letter to Egbert, then a young bishop of York, afterwards its first archbishop, entreating him to correct abuses which had crept into monasteries, to raise the tone of the clergy, to restore pious habits among the people[2]. CHAP. VI.

And so we bid farewell to that old Scotic Church of Northumbria. It could not but pass away, for it could not provide what Northumbria then needed: it had but a temporary mission, but that mission it fulfilled with a rare simplicity of purpose. It brought religion straight home to men's hearts by sheer power of love and self-sacrifice: it held up before them, in the unconscious goodness and nobleness of its representatives, the moral evidence for Christianity. It made them feel what it was to be taught and cared for, in the life spiritual, by pastors who before all things were the disciples and ministers of Christ,—whose chief and type was a St. Aidan.

[1] A like custom existed in the old Irish Church, and was traced up to St. Patrick; see Haddan and Stubbs, ii. 310: 'but the munificence of tribes and princes was not to be restrained;' McGee, Hist. Irel. i. 134.

[2] Ep. ad Egbert. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, &c. There is a melancholy emphasis in the concluding words of the letter. Bede had urged Egbert to contend against the prevalence of avarice: 'Caeterum si de ebrietate, . . . et caeteris hujusmodi contagionibus, pari ratione tractare voluerimus, epistolae modus in immensum extenderetur.' His was the bitter experience of one who, personally loyal to a high and pure standard, lives to see it ignored by a generation which has succumbed to degrading influences, by a Church that has fallen from its first love. But it is right to remember that this decadence was largely due to the wild disorder which filled Northumbria during the reigns of Osred, Kenred, Osric, and Ceolwulf. After Bede's death, Egbert's pious energy must have told for good on his Church. See the account of his illustrious archiepiscopate in Raine's Fast. Ebor. p. 96.

CHAPTER VII.

Tuda at Lindisfarne.

THE vacant see of Lindisfarne was filled up, probably in the early summer of 664, by the appointment of Tuda[1]. It was the obvious choice to make; and Northumbrian churchmen might look forward hopefully, in the phrase afterwards used at consecrations, to 'many years[2]' under one who had been virtually acting as coadjutor-bishop, who would be welcome to many as of the same race with the three former bishops, and also unexceptionable to the most fastidious orthodoxy on the questions of 'Catholic Pasch' and 'crown-like tonsure.' But, as often befell in the chequered history of newly-planted Churches, these hopes were soon disappointed by an event which justifies us in placing our survey of the Celtic episcopate of Lindisfarne after the retirement of his predecessor. The bishop, 'a good man and a religious, governed the Church but a very short time[3].' There swept over the island, in this year, one of those fierce pestilences which gave to the word 'mortality' so terrible a significance in the records of that age. It was about a century since the plague which we connect with Justinian's reign had slain its thousands all over Europe, had raged in Britain and in Ireland[4], and had

The Yellow Pest.

[1] Bede, iii. 26: 'Suscepit pro illo pontificatum,' &c.

[2] The custom may have been older than the office which embodies it in Muratori, Lit. Rom. ii. 443.

[3] Bede, l. c.: 'Vir quidem bonus,' &c. Eddi wholly ignores Tuda, and describes Wilfred as elected to succeed Colman.

[4] Gibbon, v. 253. Comp. Ann. Camb. a. 537, 'Mortalitas in Brittannia et in Hibernia fuit.' Ib. a. 547, 'Mortalitas magna.' Tighernach mentions three pestilences in the sixth century. See Rees, Welsh Saints, p. 243. King Maelgwyn died of this plague. It returned in Teilo's time, whereupon he retired into Armorica: and it carried off a Cornish king, Geraint. It is referred to in Gregory the Great's Dialogues, iv. 38.

repeatedly, in the days of the devout Frankish king Gontran, been made an occasion for 'Rogations' and public fasts[1]. In our islands it was known as the 'Yellow Pest,' from the ghastly yellow hue of its victims' bodies[2]: and now, before reappearing in Ireland, it visited Britain soon after a solar eclipse in May[3]. Its coming was unexpected[4]: it smote down high and low, not sparing the king of the Kentishmen, nor the archbishop of Canterbury himself. Both died on the same day, July 14[5]. Erconbert was succeeded by his son Egbert: but the seat of Augustine remained vacant for four years. It seems that Damian bishop of Rochester succumbed at the same time to the epidemic: and his seat was long unfilled[6]. When in its onward sweep the pest entered the North-country, it 'hurried Tuda out of this world,' and he was buried in a monastery called Pægnalæch[7],—supposed to be Finchale,—or in the Chronicle, Wagele,—perhaps Whalley. It seems also that we must refer to the October of this year the death of Bishop Cedd, who, after returning home from

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[1] Greg. Turon. H. Fr. ix. 21, 22; x. 30.

[2] 'Flavos et exsangues,' Lib. Landav. p. 101. It is there added, in legendary style, that the pest seemed to float along like a pillar of watery cloud, or like showers traversing a glen. Those who tried to cure patients died themselves. See Pryce's Anc. Brit. Ch. p. 163, that its worst symptoms were inflamed tumours. See Ann. Cambr. p. 121, 'lallwelen' ('Y vall valen'), the yellow plague.

[3] See Bede, iii. 27: 'Facta erat,' &c. He dates the eclipse on May 3: but it was on May 1; see Usher, Antiq. p. 491. So the Irish annalists. They also say that 'the mortality came to Ireland' on Aug. 1. Tighernach gives the right year, 664; see O'Conor, Rer. Hib. Scr. ii. 203–4; the Ulster Annals say 663 (ib. iv. 55); and the Chronicon Scotorum, 660,—but the latter is 'four years in arrear' at this period (Introd. p. xlv). The pest broke out in Fothairt, co. Wexford. It carried off Ethelhun, but spared his companion Egbert, for whose prayer, and vow 'peregrinus vivere,' see Bede, iii. 27. 'Innumerabiles mortui sunt,' Ulster Ann. Adamnan ascribes the immunity of the 'plebs Pictorum et Scotorum Britanniae' to St. Columba's intercession; Vit. Col. ii. 46.

[4] 'Subita,' Bede; see v. 24, 'Et pestilentia venit.'

[5] Bede, iv. 1: 'Eodem mense ac die.' Tighernach names five Irish kings, and several prelates, including four abbots of (Irish) Bangor, as its victims.

[6] Bede, iv. 2, end.

[7] Bede, iii. 27: 'Qua plaga,' &c. See Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 444.

CHAP. VII. Whitby as a conformist to the 'Catholic Easter,' had revisited Lastingham 'in the time of the mortality [1],' and there died. He was buried outside the wooden church which he had raised on the ground that he and his brother had hallowed: another brother, Chad, succeeded him as abbot. His East-Saxons were differently affected by the scourge of the Yellow Pest. Some who were ruled, under the overlordship of Wulfhere, then extending over all Essex, by Sebbi, brother of Sigebert the Little, stood the trial of their faith and patience, and 'clung with great devotion to the creed which they had received [2].' In the other division of the small kingdom, where Sebbi's nephew Sighere reigned, the sudden affliction (as was often the case in those ages) had the effect of throwing the people back on their old worship, as if they were smitten for having deserted it, or as if they had expected the Cross to be a safeguard against suffering [3]. 'Sighere, and very many of the people or the earls, loving this life, and not seeking another, or even not believing it to exist, began to restore the Pagan temples which had been forsaken, and to worship images, as if by means of these they could be shielded from the mortality [4].' In the valley of the Tweed also, some, in whose minds 'the seed had no deepness of earth,' 'neglected the mysteries of faith which they had received,' and tried to obtain relief from the disease by heathenish 'spells or amulets [5].' At

Relapse of some East-Saxons.

[1] Bede, iii. 23: 'Qui cum annis multis,' &c., and Stubbs, Registrum, p. 2. See Bede's touching story of the thirty Essex monks who came to live or die beside his grave.

[2] Bede, iii. 30. Sighere had a son and successor, Offa.

[3] See Robertson, Hist. Ch. iii. 477. Compare Adamnan, Vit. Col. ii. 32; the Pictish 'magi,' seeing a newly-baptized boy dying of sudden illness, began to mock at his parents, and 'Christianorum, tanquam infirmiori, Deo derogare.'

[4] Bede, iii. 30: 'Nam et ipse rex,' &c. These relapses were common enough, especially among the Frisians: e. g. see the anonymous Life of St. Boniface, ii. 20, 'Olim . . . conversos sed . . . iterum quosdam eorum ad pristinum gentilitatis errorem devolutos.' Councils take cognizance of such cases; e. g. second of Orleans, c. 20, 'qui ad idolorum cultum revertuntur;' Mansi, viii. 838. See also Greg. Ep. viii. 1, as to Corsicans. Comp. Maclear, Ap. of Med. Europe, p. 146, and Conversion of Northmen, p. 199, on heathen reactions; and Alb. Butler, Nov. 21.

[5] Bede, iv. 27, and Vit. Cuthb. 9, 'per incantationes vel alligaturas,' or 'fylacteria.' Comp. the prohibition of phylacteries and ligatures by a

Melrose Cuthbert himself caught the infection: he recovered, CHAP. VII.
although for the rest of his life he felt some effects of his illness: but Boisil, his beloved prior, died, after tranquilly spending the last week of his life in reading St. John's Gospel with Cuthbert [1], who succeeded to his office, and added to its duties, after Boisil's example, the work of an evangelist throughout the adjacent country. To sustain the rude people in their faith, or reclaim them to it, he would go out, on foot or on horseback [2], and sometimes be absent from the monastery for weeks together, penetrating into the wildest valleys, climbing steep hill-sides, and thus finding access to poor hamlets which other teachers had shrunk from visiting, through 'horror' of their dreary situation, or distaste for their 'poverty and rusticity [3].' Not such was this 'true man of God,' as Bede repeatedly calls him. He attracted those 'shepherdless sheep' by the

Cuthbert, Prior of Melrose.

German Council in 745, Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxix. 812; and on the rumour that they were used even in Rome, St. Boniface, Ep. 49, 63, and cf. ib. Ep. 63. At Constantinople the Trullan synod had occasion to threaten dealers in amulets (whom it calls *φυλακτηρίους*) with excommunication, can. 61. Compare the Report of the Central African Mission for 1876, p. 10: 'One old chief . . . could not bring himself at the last moment to abandon his amulets, in which, he said, his fathers had trusted from time immemorial; and so, for a time, his admission was deferred.'

[1] Bede, 'quo tempore,' Vit. Cuthb. 8, would strictly refer to 661, when Eata and his monks returned from Ripon to Melrose. But the following words clearly point to the great epidemic of 664, 'morbo . . . quo *tunc* plurimi per Britanniam . . . deficiebant.' For Boisil's last days see the beautiful account in Bede, l. c. 'As I have but seven days to live,' said Boisil, 'learn all you can from me.' 'What can we get through in seven days?' 'St. John's Gospel: I have a codex in seven quarto sheets: we can take one each day.' They read it through in that time, 'quia solum in ea (lectione) fidei quae per dilectionem operatur simplicitatem, non autem quaestionum profunda, tractabant.' (Bede's own death-bed was to exhibit a scene somewhat like this, and quite as touching.) Simeon of Durham says (Hist. Dun. Eccl. i. 3, Op. i. 22) that a 'codex' in which Cuthbert used to read under Boisil's teaching was still extant in Durham monastery, 'prisca novitate ac decore mirabilis.' See also Bede, V. C. 22.

[2] So Bede, iv. 27, Vit. Cuthb. 9; (identical passages on the whole). See the story in Vit. Cuthb. 12: 'Cum praedicaturus . . . de monasterio exiret, uno comite puero.' See above, p. 234, on the serious interest with which the people then listened to preaching.

[3] Bede, iv. 27: 'In viculis qui in arduis asperisque montibus,' &c. Cp. Scott,

'Where . . . Eildon slopes to the plain.'

CHAP. VII.

fascination of his presence and his words. 'So great was his skill in speaking, so intense his eagerness to make his words persuasive, such a glow lighted up his angelic face [1], that no one of those present dared to hide from Cuthbert the secrets of his heart: all revealed openly [2], by confession, what they had done, for in truth they supposed that he must needs be aware of those very deeds of theirs; and after confession they wiped away their sins at his bidding, by worthy fruits of repentance [3],' finding the best enforcement of his exhortations in the generous charity which brought him among them rather than into more attractive places [4], in the untiring energy with which he 'devoted himself to this pious labour,' above all in his personal example,—in himself [5]. Such was his life at Melrose for several years [6].

Wilfrid chosen bishop of York.

But we must return from the work of a young saint to the ecclesiastical politics of a kingdom. Who was to be the bishop of Northumbria? It seems that the Witan were assembled to decide the point, which, as may be inferred from later instances [7], fell within the province of the national assembly, including, as it did, the leading ecclesiastics. Alchfrid, as sub-king of Deira, would contribute much to the decision arrived at in favour of Wilfrid. Eddi says that 'all answered with one consent, "There is no one of our race better and worthier than Wilfrid the presbyter and abbot."' He was then about thirty years old: his

[1] 'Tale vultus angelici lumen,' Bede. 'Erat aspectu angelicus,' Anon. Vit. The beauty was probably in the expression; for at the exhumation of his skeleton in 1827 he was found to have had a prominent upper jaw, a turned-up nose, and a deeply-indented chin (cp. Reginald, Libellus de S.C. c. 41). The skeleton measured 5 ft. 8 in.; Raine's St. Cuthbert, p. 213 ff. He had black hair, Sim. Op. i. 204.

[2] 'Palam,' in the sense of hiding nothing from *him*.

[3] 'Et confessa dignis, ut imperabat, poenitentiae fructibus abstergerent.'

[4] 'Solebat autem ea maxime loca peragrare,' &c.

[5] 'Verbo praedicationis simul et opere virtutis.' Compare Bede, i. 26; iii. 5, &c. See also above, p. 56.

[6] 'Multos annos,' Bede, iv. 27, Vit. Cuthb. 16; 'aliquot annos,' V. C. 9. Even if he had become prior in 661, this would hardly allow us to date his removal to Lindisfarne in 664, as Simeon does, Dun. Eccl. i. c. 6.

[7] See Kemble, ii. 221, referring to cases in the Chronicle and in Florence; e. g. Oskytel was made archbishop of York by the favour of King Eadred

biographer dwells fondly on his ability in preaching, his discriminating treatment of different characters, his 'marvellous memory,' his devotion, his beneficence to the afflicted[1]. Wilfrid, then, was to be bishop: but, probably at his desire, and certainly with good reason, it was resolved to replace the bishopric at York. He was to preside in the minster 'that Edwin and Oswald had erected[2].' But who was to consecrate him? Deusdedit, and probably Damian, were dead: Cedd was still alive at the time, but he would have the disadvantage, in Wilfrid's eye, of Scotic consecration: and the same drawback existed in regard to Jaruman of Mercia. Wini would be objectionable as the supplanter, in effect, of Agilbert. There remained Boniface of Dunwich, who had been consecrated by Archbishop Honorius[3]; but Wilfrid would wish to have the canonical 'three consecrators'; and his own strong predilection for the country where he had spent some years, and learned so much, would be an additional motive for requesting to be consecrated in Gaul. It was so arranged: he went over to that country, and was consecrated at Compiègne, in Neustria, at the end of 664 or the beginning of 665[4]. CHAP. VII.

and all his Witan; Chron. a. 971. See Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 157. Comp. Greg. Turon. H. Fr. ix. 21, 'Charimerem referendarium cum consensu civium regalis decrevit auctoritas fieri sacerdotem.' Plummer thinks it probable that Wilfrid was elected during Tuda's lifetime to be bishop of Deira only. But, as he himself admits, Tuda was 'bishop of the Northumbrians' in general: and as we should certainly infer from Bede that Wilfrid's election was subsequent to the death of Tuda, who had held the 'pontificatus Nordanhymbrorum,' so we are expressly informed by Eddi that the election to the 'vacant see' took place in a full Northumbrian Witan. Bede might dwell on Alchfrid's peculiar interest in the matter ('sibi suisque,' iii. 28), because the Northumbrian episcopate was again to be stationed in Deira.

[1] Eddi, c. 11.

[2] Raine, Fast. Ebor. i. 62.

[3] Eddi makes Wilfrid say to the kings, 'It is not my place to accuse any one; but there are many bishops in Britain who are either Quartodecimans, as the Britons and Scots, or have been ordained by them.' According to Bede, he had virtually urged, at Whitby, that the Britons and Scots were *not* really Quartodecimans. Eddi is simply using the term loosely, in the temper of a partisan, as in c. 14, 15. Malmesbury does the same, Gest. Pontif. iii. 100.

[4] So Mabillon, Ann. Benedict. i. 478. Bede says that he died *after* forty-five years of episcopate; v. 19. Eddi assigns him forty-six years, meaning, doubtless, that he died in the forty-sixth, c. 65. He died, we know, in 709:

CHAP. VII.

Consecration of Wilfrid in Gaul.

The place was a royal 'villa,' where 'the wild Chlotair[1]' had died, and where the treasures of Dagobert I had been kept: it now belonged to the young 'Faineant' king, Chlotair III. The ceremony was performed with unusual magnificence, as if the Frankish hierarchy wished to do special honour to the disciple of Aunemund and the champion of the Catholic Easter. Twelve prelates officiated, including Agilbert, who had returned to his native country after the conference[2]: and 'after their custom they lifted Wilfrid up in a golden seat, and carried him with their own hands, assisted by no one else,' in a choral procession, to the church where he was to be consecrated[3]. This singular custom was known to Gregory the Great, who presented to Gregory of Tours 'a golden chair' for use in his church[4]. Wilfrid was thoroughly at home amid such

if the day was in October (see Raine, i. 76), the literal construction of the reckoning places the consecration in the early autumn of 664; but as this crowds a good deal into that season, and causes some difficulty in regard to after events, we may perhaps suppose Bede to reckon from Wilfrid's *election*. The fixed points are, that he cannot well have been elected before the autumn of 664: that in some sense he had full forty-five years of episcopate: that he returned to Northumbria three years before the late summer of 669, and that Chad, during that period, held the see of York: comp. Bede, v. 19; Eddi, 14. If Wilfrid went into Gaul towards the close of 664, he must have stayed there until the spring of 666. The consecration would be deferred until a large number of bishops could assemble: and some other circumstances, now unknown, may have contributed to keep Wilfrid in Gaul for more than a year. It is true, as Plummer says, that in v. 24, Bede 'distinctly places Wilfrid's consecration in 664': but in the same sentence he does the like as to Chad's. And Chad was not consecrated until Oswy had become weary of waiting for Wilfrid's return from Gaul, whither he can hardly have gone before the September of 664 at earliest. We must therefore allow a 'considerable' interval between his journey and Chad's consecration (Raine in Dict. Chr. Biogr. iv. 1180).

[1] Carlyle, Fr. Rev. i. 28; see Greg. Turon. H. Fr. iv. 21.

[2] He was not yet, as Bede thought (iii. 28; v. 19), bishop of Paris. See above, p. 269.

[3] Eddi, 12. 'Gemmata vehitur archontum more curuli;' Frid. 351. Cp. Martene, de Ant. Eccl. Rit. ii. 332, that by ancient custom in Gallic churches (long kept up at Orleans) a newly-consecrated bishop, on arriving at the city, was placed in a chair and carried 'humeris religiosorum' or 'nobilium' into his cathedral for enthronement: a Soissons ritual is quoted, according to which the new prelate 'elevatur cum cathedra' to be carried 'ad majorem ecclesiam' by the count of Soissons, and three other 'lords.'

[4] Bened. Vit. Greg. M. iii. 3. 8. Compare the 'sella gestatoria' of the popes.

splendour and such observance; and he was tempted to protract his enjoyment of Frankish church life[1], or otherwise detained by circumstances in Gaul, long after the time at which he was expected to appear in Northumbria. At last, in the spring of 666, he sailed for Britain, with a hundred and twenty attendants. A wind drove them on the Sussex coast; and then came a scene of excitement and peril to be remembered for the sake of a later chapter in his history, perhaps the best chapter of all. The Sussex barbarians rushed down to seize on the distressed vessel, and to despoil and capture all on board. Wilfrid tried to buy them off: they answered, like true 'wreckers[2],' 'All is ours that the sea throws up!' A pagan priest, standing on a high mound, tried to 'bind the strangers' hands' by magic[3]: one of Wilfrid's company slew him with a stone from a sling[4]: in the fight that followed, the bishop and his clerks prayed, while their companions did valiantly, losing only five men: at last the tide floated the vessel off, and it made Sandwich in safety. CHAP. VII.

Wilfrid's return.

Wilfrid was soon again at home, but found that he had been far too long absent[5]. The defeated party, while conforming to the Catholic Easter, disliked his general line, and thought, perhaps, that his rule would be too high-handed. While he lingered in Gaul, they rallied, and represented to Oswy that the Church could not await the leisure of a bishop who did not come home to begin his work[6]. They had thought of one who would be fitter for

[1] Malmesb. p. 211: 'Moras nectente.'

[2] On this barbarous 'right of wreck,' which on many a coast long survived the introduction of Christianity, see Freeman, Norm. Conq. iii. 223, and compare Scott's Pirate, i. 113, 329, ed. A. Lang.

[3] Comp. Bede, iv. 22, for 'litteras *solutorias* de qualibus fabulae ferunt.' The South-Saxons were still immersed in paganism.

[4] 'He fell back a corpse, like Goliath;' Eddi, 13.

[5] Bede excuses him, as if he 'tarried' no longer than the 'ordination' required, in iii. 28; in v. 19 he omits 'propter ordinationem.' It does not seem possible to reconcile the former statement with other marks of time. Three years elapsed between the return of Wilfrid and the retirement of Chad after Theodore's arrival in 669.

[6] See Raine, i. 48: 'They commented ... upon the injury that Northumbria was sustaining by Wilfrid's prolonged and unaccountable absence.'

CHAP. VII. the bishopric: 'a holy man, grave in character, sufficiently instructed in Scripture, diligent in acting up to Scripture precepts[1]:' a man of prayer, study, humility, purity, voluntary poverty[2]: who had been one of Aidan's original 'twelve boys[3],' and then, as a youth, had lived in Ireland under monastic discipline[4]. This was Chad, abbot of Lastingham, and brother of the East-Saxon bishop. Was not such a man the fittest occupant of Aidan's seat? Oswy assented to this view: Alchfrid would doubtless have stood out against it on behalf of his absent friend, but that just at this time he fell under his father's displeasure, who compelled him to give up his intention of accompanying Benedict Biscop on his second journey to Rome[5]: and it would seem that Bede's brief unexplained statement, naming Alchfrid with Ethelwald and the Mercians among the various enemies of Oswy[6], refers to some rebellious movement of Alchfrid after this time, which led to his being disinherited and 'disappearing from history[7].' So it was that Chad was elected bishop, and went into the south for consecration, attended by the king's chaplain, Eadhed, afterwards bishop of Lindsey, and ultimately of Ripon[8]. They had expected to find a successor appointed to Deusdedit[9], but were disappointed. Whatever may have been the case with Wilfrid, Chad seems to have forgotten that Boniface of Dunwich was available[10], for

Chad consecrated for York.

[1] Bede, iii. 28: 'Virum sanctum, modestum moribus,' &c.

[2] Bede, iv. 3: 'Namque inter plura continentiae,' &c.

[3] Bede, iii. 28: 'Erat enim de discipulis,' &c. above, p. 161.

[4] Bede, iv. 3. Chad and Egbert had been 'adolescentes' in Ireland together. Now Egbert was born in 639; see Bede, iii. 27. If Chad was about his age, he would be only twenty-six at this time,—below the age for a bishop. Probably he was some years older than Egbert.

[5] Bede, Hist. Abb. 2: 'Quem cum pater ejus,' &c.

[6] Bede, iii. 14: 'Et a filio quoque suo Alchfrido.'

[7] See Bishop Stubbs on Cathedral of Worcester, p. 2. The inscription on the Bewcastle cross, erected in the first year of Egfrid, commemorates 'Alchfrith,' asks prayer 'for his soul' (this, Professor Earle informs me, is clearly the sense of the clause), and names also Kyniburga (his widow), Kyneswith (her sister), and Wulfhere 'king of Mercians.'

[8] Comp. Bede, iii. 28; iv. 12.

[9] Bede does not imply that they were unaware of Deusdedit's death simply; 'invenerunt iam migrasse . . . *et* necdum alium,' &c.

[10] And so does Bede himself, when he says, iv. 28, that there was then

he repaired to Wini of Winchester, who thereupon took the first step towards effecting a union of the British and English Churches, while at the same time he showed himself careful to observe the requirement of the 'three' consecrators, by obtaining the co-operation[1] of 'two bishops of British race,' most probably from Cornwall[2], who, it need not be said, were maintainers of the Celtic Easter,—and who therefore, by laying their hands on the head of the new Northumbrian bishop, unintentionally supplied the party which resented his appointment with an argument against the 'regularity' of his consecration[3]. In other respects, the combination of agents in the scene then witnessed by the Church-people of Winchester was specially interesting and appropriate. A prelate consecrated in Gaul joins with himself two prelates of a different rite, representing the old Church of Alban and Restitutus, of Dubricius and David, in the consecration of one who had sat as a boy at Aidan's feet, and had but very lately, it would seem, given up the British and Scotic observances,—and

no canonically ordained bishop in Britain except Wini: yet Boniface sat from 652 to 669; iii. 20; iv. 5.

[1] 'Adsumptis in societatem ordinationis;' Bede, iii. 28. The words ignore that artificial theory which would make the presiding bishop the *sole* agent in the conveyance of the episcopal character so that the assistant bishops were simply approving witnesses, and had no more to do with the 'collation' of the episcopal character than the 'priests present' with that of the presbyterate. The dominance of this theory in the Roman schools accounts for the strange fact that in 1720 and 1731 one or more priests had been employed to lay on hands with the bishop or bishops, at the consecration of Roman bishops for Scotland (Stephen, Hist. Scot. Ch. ii. 496, 515). Against this view see Martene, that the assistant bishops are undoubtedly 'non tantum testes, sed etiam *cooperatores*,' De Ant. Eccl. Rit. ii. 331: Lee on English Ordinations, p. 230; Denny and Lacey de Hierarch. Anglic. p. 3 ff.; Ch. Qu. Review xli. 285. Comp. Hincmar, Op. ii. 408, Ep. to Hincmar of Laon: 'Tuum est autem cum aliis mecum ordinare episcopum, et litteris canonicis, quas ordinatus ab ordinatoribus suis jubetur accipere, post me in tuo loco subscribere.' See also Vit. S. Anskar. 12, 'pariter consecrantibus;' and Goar's Euchologion Graecorum, p. 303, τῶν συγχειροτονούντων ἀρχιερέων, although the presiding prelate is called specifically ὁ χειροτονήσας. Yet it must be owned that the 'witness' theory is favoured by some language in Gregory's replies to Augustine's questions.

[2] Haddan and Stubbs, i. 124.

[3] 'Ceaddam . . . inordinate ordinavit;' Eadmer, Vit. Wilf. c. 12.

CHAP. VII. who was to shine forth, in a brief but beautiful episcopate, as one of the truest and purest saints of ancient England.

Chad, bishop of York.

This event may probably be dated about the middle of 665[1], and Chad, on returning to Northumbria, was installed as bishop of York[2]. 'He began at once[3] to devote himself to the maintenance of ecclesiastical truth and purity; to practise humility and continence; to give attention to reading; to go about among towns, country districts, cottages, townships, "fortified places," in order to preach the Gospel, not on horseback, but, after the manner of the Apostles, on foot. For he was one of the pupils of Aidan, and took pains to train his hearers to the same conduct and character, after Aidan's example and that of his own brother Ceadd[4].' Meantime Wilfrid bore the trial of finding the see thus filled with a moderation which could hardly have been expected even from a less high-spirited man. It was his best policy to accept facts, and to bide his time[5]. He did so, and resumed his place as abbot of Ripon[6], where among his monks was Ceolfrid, whose name was to be so closely linked to those of Benedict Biscop and of Bede.

If Wilfrid could not fully appreciate the work which bishops of Scotic consecration had done for Christianity in

[1] Eddi says that for three years from his return Wilfrid made the monastery of Ripon his headquarters (c. 14), while Chad acted as bishop of York. The three years ended in August, 669. But Chad was already at York when Wilfrid returned.

[2] Bede, v. 19: 'Quo adhuc in transmarinis partibus,' &c.

[3] Bede, iii. 28: 'Consecratus ergo,' &c. In this chapter, as in one sentence of i. 29, in ii. 8, 16, iii. 7, &c., we have 'consecrari.' Bede's more usual phrase is the general term 'ordinari'; i. 27, 29; ii. 3, 9; iii. 5, 20, 21, &c.

[4] Comp. Bede, iii. 5: 'Discurrere . . . . pedum incessu vectus,' &c.

[5] Fridegod expresses this in a better-sounding line than usual:

'Spe meliore manet latebris contectus in illis.'

See Richard of Hexham, 'placido vultu et hilari pectore,' De statu Hagust. Eccl. 6; Eddi and Malmesbury, 'humiliter.'

[6] There is no sort of authority for saying that he might and ought to have 'entered on the duties of his bishopric at Lindisfarne,' leaving Chad to be bishop of York (Dict. Chr. Biogr. i. 429). He was himself consecrated for York (see above, p. 241; and Dict. Chr. B. i. 427, 'Wilfrid was thereupon raised to the see of York'); there was then no thought of dividing the diocese of Northumbria. Chad was placed in the see to which Wilfrid had been elected, and had all Northumbria under his jurisdiction. See above.

South Britain, he must at least have rejoiced to hear, in the course of this year 665, that a bishop of that class had once more been the instrument in a reconversion of East-Saxons. It was doubtless Sebbi, faithful himself, with his own subjects, to Christianity, who induced his over-lord Wulfhere to send Jaruman to preach to Sighere and his people. This was the third mission to Essex. Jaruman, attended by priests, one of whom lived to tell the story to Bede [1], 'went about the whole district,' and brought back the wanderers into the right way: 'so that they abandoned or destroyed their fanes and altars [2], reopened the churches, and gladly acknowledged that Name of Christ which they had disowned, desiring rather to die with the assurance of rising again in Him than to live amid idols in the filth of disbelief;' words which intimate that the deadly sickness which had scared them back to idolatry was still raging, and therefore that Jaruman and his priests had faced its perils while winning back souls to Christ with equal prudence [3] and energy. London is not mentioned in this account, but its citizens had either retained their faith—which may have been acquired through Cedd's work, even if he did not establish himself among them—or were among those who now regained it: and we hear of the see of London as associated, in 666 or thereabouts, with a grave scandal. Kenwalch of Wessex, with all his sincerity and zeal, his admiration for men of learning, his orthodoxy on the Paschal question, and his helpful kindness to such a man as Benedict Biscop [4], was not, apparently, an easy prince for bishops to deal with. He had quarrelled with Agilbert about dialect; he now, for what cause we know not, constrained Wini to leave his kingdom. The bishop took refuge in Mercia, and, as Bede says, with stern laconic plainness, 'bought with a price the see of the city of

Third mission to East-Saxons.

[1] Bede, iii. 30: 'Juxta quod mihi presbyter, qui comes itineris illi et cooperator verbi exstiterat, referebat: erat enim religiosus et bonus vir.'

[2] 'Arisque:' comp. 'arulam,' contrasted with the Christian 'altare,' in Bede, ii. 15.

[3] 'Multa agens sollertia,' Bede.

[4] Bede, Hist. Abb. 4, says that Benedict 'had more than once enjoyed his friendship and been assisted by his kindnesses.'

CHAP. VII. London from King Wulfhere[1],' who had established his supremacy over the East-Saxons. Simony had long been a sore and a disgrace in the Gallic Church[2], within whose limits Wini had been consecrated; but we know no more than what Bede thus tells us of the circumstances under which Wini got possession of the see of Mellitus.

Wilfrid in Mercia.

If Jaruman was, as doubtless he was, like-minded to the bishops of Lindisfarne, any such unhallowed trafficking between the king and Wini must have grieved him to the heart. He survived his good work in Essex for about two years, dying in 667. Wulfhere did not appoint a successor, but requested Wilfrid from time to time to discharge episcopal functions in Mercia[3], and gave him several pieces of land for the foundation of monasteries—one of which, that at Oundle, happened to be long afterwards the scene of its founder's death. Wulfhere ultimately gave him a 'place' at Lichfield, where he might establish himself as bishop; but Wilfrid's heart clung to Northumbria, and he would not permanently bind himself to a Midland diocese. He would only administer it during the vacancy, a position which he was destined more than once to occupy in later life. Another such sphere of duty provided for him during these years was Kent. Invited by Egbert, he ordained in that kingdom many priests and not a few deacons[4]. It is interesting to combine the facts, that one of these priests was Putta, a man who had a special skill in chanting,

Wilfrid in Kent.

[1] 'Emit pretio;' Bede, iii. 7.

[2] Gregory of Tours says of the first part of the sixth century, 'Jam tunc germen illud iniquum coeperat fructificare, ut sacerdotium aut venderetur a regibus, aut compararetur a clericis;' Vit. Patr. 6. 3. See second Council of Orleans, a. 533, c. 3. And, very late in his own life, in 591, he tells us that one Eusebius procured the see of Paris 'datis multis muneribus'; H. Fr. x. 26. Compare Gregory the Great, Ep. v. 53, 55; ix. 106, 109; xi. 55, 59. Much later, in 650, the council of Chalon-on-Saone had had to forbid taking money for ordinations; Mansi, x. 1192.

[3] Eddi, 14, 15. Bede does not seem to be aware of this; see iv. 3.

[4] Eddi, 14; Bede, iv. 2, 'Ipse etiam in Cantia,' &c. 'Ekbertus vero . . . poscit, Ordinet ut sacros . . . ministros,' &c.; Frideg. 418. When Bede says that Wilfrid was the first English-born bishop who 'catholicum vivendi morem ecclesiis Anglorum tradere *didicit*' (iv. 2), we must apparently lay stress on the last word, and suppose a reference to what he had 'learned' at Rome.

acquired from 'disciples of Pope Gregory[1]'; and that in Kent Wilfrid found, and closely attached to himself, Hædde, or Eddi, ecclesiastically named Stephen, who afterwards became a noted choir-master in Northumbria, and the enthusiastic follower and biographer of Wilfrid[2],—with another well-trained chanter, called Æona[3]. His brilliant attractiveness and lively versatile intelligence drew round him men of all classes, including 'masons, and artificers of nearly every sort[4], who afterwards accompanied him into Northumbria. He made use of all opportunities: he could throw himself into various interests, and, in a sense, be 'all things to all men.' Within the precincts of the cathedral monastery at Canterbury, or at SS. Peter and Paul's, which lost its abbot Nathanael by death in 667, he studied minutely the Benedictine rule. which he was afterwards the first to propagate throughout the North-country[5]. CHAP. VII.

It might have been expected that the Kentish king would think him the very man for the vacant archbishopric. But policy, perhaps, prevented such a step, which might have been distasteful to some in Kent, and also to some in Northumbria. Egbert consulted with Oswy the 'Bretwalda,' and in some way or other the opinion of 'the Church of the English race' in general was ascertained. The result was the election of Wighard, 'one of Deusdedit's clergy,'—'a good man and fit for the episcopate, very well instructed in ecclesiastical discipline and learning by Roman disciples of Pope Gregory[6],' still surviving in Kent. It was resolved that he should go to Rome, and be consecrated at that fountain-head, 'that he

Wighard elected to Canterbury.

[1] Bede, iv. 2, end. Compare the phrase as used in v. 20; Maban the chanter 'had been taught in Kent by successors of the disciples of Pope Gregory.'

[2] Bede, iv. 2: 'Sed et sonos cantandi,' &c. Raine thinks the 'Life' was written soon after 710. 'Like so many biographers, he is an enthusiastic partisan;' Historians of Ch. York, i. pp. xxxii–xxxv.

[3] Eddi says simply, 'Cum cantoribus Ædde et Eonan;' 14.

[4] Eddi, 14: 'Caementariis, omnisque paene artis institoribus.'

[5] Eddi's words are, 'In regionem suam revertens cum regula Sancti Benedicti;' 14. So in 47, Wilfrid says that '*nullus prior ibi* (in Northumbria) *invexit*' the Benedictine rule; Lingard, A.-S. Ch. i. 205.

[6] Comp. Bede, iii. 29, iv. 1; Hist. Abb. 3. Above, p. 140.

CHAP. VII. might be able to ordain Catholic prelates for the Churches of the English throughout all Britain.' Wighard set forth in 667, and arrived safely in Rome, with royal letters, and gifts, and gold and silver vessels not a few [1]. But after his interview with Pope Vitalian, 'he and nearly all of his companions were cut off by an outbreak of pestilence,' apparently a recrudescence of the epidemic which had killed St. Gregory's predecessor in 690.

His death at Rome.

Thereupon Vitalian wrote to Oswy a letter [2], which Bede for the most part transcribes, and which has led to some different opinions as to his relations with the English kings and Churches. He returned thanks for the gifts sent, as for offerings to St. Peter, and repaid them, in the Roman fashion, by relics [3]. He exhorted Oswy to follow the rule of St. Peter as to Easter and all other matters [4]. He expressed his great sorrow for the removal of Wighard from 'the light of this world,' and intimated that he had been honourably buried 'at the threshold of the Apostles.' He informed Oswy that he had not as yet been able to find a fit man for the archbishopric 'according to the tenor of your letter,' owing to the great distance of Canterbury from Rome, which, it seems, deterred some from accepting the office: but when he could find such a person, he would

Vitalian's letter.

[1] Bede, iv. 1: 'Missis pariter apostolico papae donariis,' &c. So v. 19; sometimes 'apostolicus' (=representative of St. Peter) simply was used, as in Paul's Life of Gregory, c. 19, 23; Lib. Diurn. 2; also 'dominus apostolicus,' cf. Willibald's Life of Boniface, s. 20, and a suffrage in the Roman Litany. Oswy understood, says Bede, that the Roman church was catholic and apostolic; iii. 29. The Chronicle gives the date.

[2] Bede, iii. 29. He uses 'Saxonum' as equivalent to 'Anglorum,' and he seems to think that Oswy had but lately been 'converted to the true faith.'

[3] Including relics of St. Pancras, with a cross, and a 'golden' key which had touched the chains of SS. Peter and Paul, for queen Eanfled, the report of whose piety had caused 'the whole apostolic see' (here used for the Roman church) to rejoice with Vitalian.

[4] He combines St. Paul with St. Peter. A passage belonging to this letter, omitted by Bede, but discovered by Usher, insists on the duty of keeping Easter according to the apostolical rule of the 318 fathers (of Nicaea) and the reckoning of the holy Cyril and Dionysius: and adds that the apostolic see has not received the 'rule of Victor,' i. e. Victorius of Aquitaine; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 112. See above, p. 89. Gregory of Tours calls Victorius 'Victor' in H. Fr. x. 23.

send him with due instructions, in order that by his oral teaching and by the Divine oracles he 'might eradicate all tares from the whole of the island'; alluding, of course, to the Celtic Easter. What is meant by 'the tenor of Oswy's letter'? Vitalian's phrase would imply that it had contained, first, a request to consecrate Wighard, the recognized archbishop elect, and then a distinct commission to find some other person, if anything should happen to Wighard[1]. But such further provision is not likely to have been made by Oswy or by Egbert[2]: Bede, in his two references to the royal letter[3], does not say that it was actually made: he says that the pope described Theodore as 'the teacher' whom Benedict Biscop's 'native land had earnestly sought for[4]'; and when the archbishop who was at last sent was passing through Gaul, his messengers described him to Egbert as the bishop who had been 'asked for[5].' It is not unfair to suspect that, in the first instance, a Pope who had had ten years' experience[6] would know how to infer the commission from the request, with no other warrant than the pretensions of his see. The subsequent words of the messengers just referred to might be simply an echo of this characteristic papal inference[7]. CHAP. VII.

It must be owned that Vitalian took great pains, and ultimately made a very wise choice[8]. At first he thought of Hadrian, an African by race, and abbot of a monastery not far from Naples, a man equally 'active and prudent, conversant with Scripture and all ecclesiastical rules,' and, Hadrian.

[1] Lingard, A.-S. Ch. i. 75, treats this as 'certain.'

[2] Kemble, ii. 366.

[3] Bede, iii. 29, iv. 1.

[4] 'Quem sedula quaesierat;' Hist. Abb. 3, i. e. *such* a teacher.

[5] 'Quem petierant;' iv. 1. Bede describes Vitalian as taking counsel, 'ne legatariis obeuntibus, legatio religiosa fidelium fructu competente careret;' Hist. Abb. 3.

[6] Vitalian become pope July 30, 657.

[7] Kemble, ii. 366, and Martineau, Ch. Hist. p. 85, suggest that Oswy and Egbert may have written again, leaving the case absolutely in the pope's hands. Churton, E. E. Ch. p. 75, assumes it. But for this, according to the Chronicle, there would hardly be time. See Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 112.

[8] Haddan's Remains, p. 319. 'Habito de his consilio, quaesivit sedulus,' Bede, v. 1. 'Inito consilio,' Hist. Abb. 3.

CHAP. VII. which was then a rare attainment, 'a Greek as well as a Latin scholar[1].' 'Vitalian sent for him, and bade him accept the appointment and go to Britain.' 'I am unworthy of it,' said Hadrian[2]; 'but I can point out another better qualified by age and by learning.' He named Andrew, a monk from a neighbouring nunnery, where he apparently acted as chaplain. But Andrew, though 'deemed by all his friends to be worthy of the episcopate, was weighed down by feeble health': and Vitalian again pressed Hadrian to consent, but he 'begged a respite,' saying, 'If I had time, I might find a suitable person.'

Theodore. 'There was at that time in Rome a monk, whom Hadrian knew, and whose name was Theodore.' Hadrian might be called a fellow-countryman of St. Cyprian and St. Augustine. Theodore was, in the same sense, a fellow-townsman of St. Paul, 'born at Tarsus, a city in Cilicia,' 'well trained alike in secular and in sacred learning, familiar both with Latin and Greek literature[3], of high character and of venerable age, being sixty-six years old.' It was in the November of 667 that Hadrian presented him to Vitalian, as one able and willing, despite his years, to undertake the momentous charge of the see of Canterbury. Vitalian consented to send him to Britain, but on condition that Hadrian should accompany him—partly because he had already for several causes visited Gaul, and therefore knew most of the journey which Theodore would have to take, and had 'men of his own' sufficient to form an escort; partly 'in order that, by acting as his fellow-labourer in teaching, he might keep careful watch to prevent Theodore from introducing anything contrary to faith, after the manner of the Greeks, into the Church over which he was

[1] 'Graecae pariter et Latinae linguae peritissimus;' Bede, iv. 1. Comp. iv. 2, 'Latinam Graecamque linguam,' &c.; v. 23, how Tobias, as a pupil of Hadrian, became as 'familiar' with Greek and Latin as with English, &c. For Hadrian see also Hist. Abb. 3.

[2] 'How edifying,' says Alban Butler (Life of Theodore, Sept. 19), 'was this contention, not to obtain, but to shun such a dignity!'

[3] Bede, iv. 1. So Hist. Abb. 3, &c. So pope Zacharias called him 'ex Graeco Latinus ante philosophus, et Athenis eruditus,' Ep. 11. He was born about 602. The schools of Athens had been suppressed in 529; but see Dict. Chr. Biogr. iv. 926.

to preside.' This somewhat mysterious allusion is cleared up when we remember that the Monothelite controversy, which Archbishop Trench has described as often underrated by modern students, but as really a contest 'for life and death' to the Church [1], because it involved the reality of our Lord's voluntary self-sacrifice, had been troubling Christendom for more than thirty years: that Pope Martin I, nearly twenty years before, had affirmed the doctrine of Two Wills in the One Christ, corresponding to His Two Natures [2], and four or five years later had suffered, in that cause, the most brutal injustice, ending in exile and death [3], at the hands of a heterodox Eastern Emperor, who had quite recently inflicted his presence upon Rome, constrained Vitalian to do him all outward honour, and complied with imperial usage by offering gifts at the principal altars, but meanly recouped himself by carrying off the bronze tiles of the Pantheon, which within living memory had been hallowed as a church [4]. Vitalian had no mind to be a confessor or martyr; but he wished to bar out the imperial heresy wherever he could do so without personal risk [5]. He had no reason, however, to be apprehensive of such tendencies in Hadrian's nominee [6]. Learned and aged as he was, Theodore had never taken holy orders, among which Rome had begun unduly to reckon the subdiaconate. To this office, then, he was promoted: but as his head was shaven bald, after the fashion styled Pauline [7], he had, as Bede gravely tells us, to

CHAP. VII.

[1] Trench's Huls. Lect. p. 214. For an account of Monothelitism (properly Monotheletism) see Robertson, Hist. Ch. ii. 421; Hefele, v. 2 ff. E. T.; Liddon, Bamp. Lect. p. 265; Ottley, Doctr. of Incarn. ii. 127.

[2] First Lateran council, October, 649. Hefele, v. 98 ff.

[3] See the account in Mansi, x. 860, and Alb. Butler for Nov. 12.

[4] Cf. Gibbon, viii. 275. Bury, Later Roman Empire, ii. 303, judges Constans II more favourably.

[5] See Mansi, xi. 195 ff., and Le Quien, Oriens Christ. i. 232. Vitalian had refused to accept letters from Monothelite patriarchs of Constantinople; and one of them, after his death, urged that his name should be erased from the 'diptychs' of their church.

[6] Theodore's Orientalism was shown, not on dogmatic points, but in the severity of some of the rules in his 'Penitential' (see Stevenson's Chron. of Abingdon, ii. p. lviii); and in its references to 'Greeks,' &c.

[7] 'The Greek monks,' says Mabillon, Ann. Bened. i. 493, 'were at that

CHAP. VII. 'wait four months, until his hair should be grown again, and be fit to receive the coronal tonsure[1].' The four months came to an end about the middle of March, 668, and Theodore's head could then assume the aspect to which the zealots for Roman ceremonial,—Bede himself, we must say, included,—attached some importance: he was presented, at last, to Vitalian, who consecrated him with his own hands, praying, in the Roman form[2], that 'whatever of excellence had of old time been symbolized by the gold and gems and varied colours of the Aaronic vestments might shine forth,' in this new member of the Christian high priesthood, 'through brightness of character and of action:' that in him 'might abound constancy of faith, purity of love, sincerity in following after peace': that the Most High 'Author of all dignities might give him the episcopal chair to rule His church and people,' and 'might be Himself his authority, his firmness, and his power.' This memorable consecration, which was apparently the ultimate stock of the episcopate of the Church of England, took place on the 26th of March, the fifth Sunday in Lent, 668.

Consecration of Theodore for Canterbury.

Yet two months more were spent by Theodore in Rome. At length, on the 27th of May, he set forth with Hadrian, and with an Englishman signally fitted to assist him on his journey. This was Benedict Biscop, who, having made his second visit to Rome in 665, and after a few months retired to the isle of Lerins, and taken the tonsure and vows of a monk, had revisited Rome in 667, and was now requested by Vitalian, who appreciated his religious earnestness and energy, 'to lay aside the pilgrimage which he had

time entirely shaven, in imitation, as they thought, of St. James, the Lord's brother, and of the apostle Paul.' See Smith's Bede, pp. 705, 715, on Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople at a later date, who had the whole of his head shaven.

[1] Bede, iv. 1: 'Donec ei coma cresceret, quo in coronam tonderi posset.'

[2] Greg. Sacram., Muratori, Lit. Rom. Vet. ii. 357. The preceding words are very remarkable: 'Illius namque sacerdotii anterioris habitus nostrae *mentis* ornatus est; et pontificalem gloriam *non jam* nobis honor commendat vestium, sed splendor animarum.' This is among the Roman elements of the 'Gelasian' sacramentary (ed. Wilson, p. 151), and is found also in the 'Leonine,' which Duchesne considers to be a purely Roman compilation of about A. D. 508. Murat. i. 422, 625.

undertaken for Christ's sake' to the tombs of the Apostles, CHAP. VII. and, 'with an eye to a yet higher advantage,' return homewards as guide and interpreter to his country's long-desired archbishop[1]. 'Benedict did as he was commanded.' But further delays had to be endured when the party arrived at Arles. Ebroin, 'the last great mayor of the palace of Neustria and Burgundy[2],' to whom, as we have seen, has been attributed the execution of Archbishop Aunemund[3], and who scrupled at no extremities in support of the weak royalty as against 'the wild anarchy of the chiefs[4],' imagined apparently that the travellers were politically dangerous, and obliged Archbishop John of Arles to detain[5] them until his pleasure should be known. When in the autumn they were allowed to depart, Theodore proceeded to Paris, where Agilbert, now settled there as bishop, entertained him 'kindly and for a considerable time.' Meanwhile Hadrian paid visits to old friends, Emmo archbishop of Sens, and Faro the aged bishop of Meaux: as monk and abbot, he would be specially attracted towards prelates one of whom had given charters to monasteries[6], and the other had built a 'suburban monastery' where any foreigners were welcome guests[7]. These long visits were not causeless loiterings; 'winter was at hand, and obliged them to remain quiet wherever they could[8].' But when King Egbert was informed by trusty messengers that his archbishop was now in the realm of the Franks, he sent his reeve[9] Redfrid to bring him home. Ebroin gave his licence in regard to Theodore, but detained Hadrian for some time longer, suspecting that he was an envoy from the new Emperor Constantine IV to 'the kings of Britain,' hostile

[1] Bede, Hist. Abb. 3.

[2] Guizot, Hist. Fr. c. 9. See above, p. 220.

[3] See his after-proceedings in regard to bishop Leodegar or St. Leger, October, 678. We shall see further on how he acted in regard to Wilfrid.

[4] Kitchin, Hist. Fr. i. 95.

[5] Bede, iv. 1.

[6] Mabillon, Ann. Bened. i. 448, 450.

[7] Mabillon, i. 343. Faro, or Burgundofaro, died about 672; ib. 509.

[8] Bede, iv. 1: 'Coegerat enim eos imminens hiems,' &c.

[9] 'Praefectum.' Comp. iii. 14, 'praefectum suum Ediluinum,' the slayer of St. Oswin; and Ep. Egb. 7; Vit. Cuthb. 15. Cp. above, p. 139.

CHAP. VII. to the dynasty which he both served and ruled[1]. When Theodore, escorted by Redfrid, arrived at Quentavic, or Etaples, in Ponthieu, a further brief delay was caused by an illness which attacked him: 'but as soon as he had begun to get better,' he crossed the Channel, and so 'arrived at his church,' as Bede says with reference to these long trials of English patience, 'in the second year of his consecration.'

Arrival of Theodore.

That was a great day in Canterbury, the second Sunday after Pentecost, May 27, 669[2], when Theodore took his seat on the throne of Augustine, at the western end of the 'basilica of the Holy Saviour Christ[3].' It was seventy-two years after the arrival of the first archbishop: and now the seventh, though far on in life, had twenty-one years reserved for his wonderful energies as a ruler and organizer, which brought, says Bede, 'such an amount of spiritual benefit to the Churches of the English as they had never before received[4].' One of his first acts was to commit the vacant abbacy of SS. Peter and Paul to Benedict Biscop[5], who held it for two years, until Hadrian, who had arrived in Britain soon after Theodore, was made abbot, and so provided, according to the special directions of 'the apostolic lord[6]' at Theodore's departure, 'with a place in the diocese of Canterbury where he could live conveniently with his own attendants,' and keep an unsuspected watch over the 'Greek' archbishop's orthodoxy.

Visitation by Theodore.

As soon as Hadrian arrived, Theodore took him as his companion and 'fellow-labourer' in a general visitation of

[1] Bede, iv 1: 'Legationem aliquam imperatoris,' &c. 'When he had ascertained that Hadrian did not hold, and never had held, any such commission he let him go free,' &c. Constantine IV, 'the Bearded' (see Gibbon, vi. 76), had succeeded his father 'Constans' in September, 668.

[2] Bede, iv. 2: 'Pervenit autem Theodorus,' &c. See Hook, Archbishops, i. 151: 'The *grand old man*,' &c.

[3] See above, p. 61.

[4] Bede, v. 8: 'Ut enim breviter dicam,' &c.

[5] Bede, Hist. Abb. 3. Elmham ignores this passage, when he says that Benedict Biscop was not abbot of St. Augustine's: tit. 8. He adds that Hadrian received the abbacy from Theodore, not as archbishop, but as legate of the pope; a very 'Augustinian' touch. On the relation between Hadrian and Biscop see Bp. Browne, Lessons, &c., p. 110.

[6] Bede, iv. 1.

what was now to be deemed his province, in order 'to consecrate bishops in fitting places,' and 'disseminate the rule of right living and the Catholic mode of celebrating Easter[1].' The archbishop was thoroughly bent on doing his work, and, for that end, putting in force his authority. He had, it must be owned, something of the autocrat about him[2]: but he had been specially appointed to a task which would require the energies of a resolute and commanding will. He had to make himself felt as the rightful chief pastor of the several English Churches, and to mould and compress them into unity under a more than merely nominal head. He probably felt that, at his years, he must work hard at his task, during what might remain to him of the 'twelve hours' of his day; he had less time than a younger man for gently feeling his way and gradually developing his plans; and the sudden rise to great favour while he was elderly, but still vigorous, had made him impatient of anything like opposition. He was conscious of the gifts of a born ruler: one does not think of him as of a saint, or a man who, *because* he 'loved,' in St. Augustine's exquisite phrase, could 'do whatever he liked[3],'—whose administrative success was the fruit of a genial nature, that gained obedience by the mere fact of evoking sympathy. *This* man of Tarsus was not like him whose heart was so tenderly 'enlarged[4]' towards all who were under his authority: and the idea of discipline and obedience had received in the continental Church-system so ample a development, the hierarchy was so much regarded as an organ of governmental action, and so little, comparatively, as a presentation to mankind of a Divine Pastor in His various operations of love,—that one expects to find in the character of a bishop brought up in it a certain hard authoritativeness, which reminds one of the old Roman magistracy rather than of St. Chrysostom or St. Paul. But whatever Theodore was, whether we think him deficient

[1] Bede, iv. 2: 'Ritum paschae . . . disseminabat . . . ordinabat locis opportunis episcopos,' &c.

[2] See Bede, iv. 6, 28.

[3] 'Dilige, et quod vis fac;' In Epist. Joan. Tract. 7. 8.

[4] 2 Cor. vi. 11.

CHAP. VII. or not in some characteristics of a shepherd of souls, we must recognize in him a man of vast practical ability, and sincere determination to do his best for the Church. And not only can we appreciate what he did for England during an unexpectedly long episcopate, but we can understand how at its commencement he 'was received as a public blessing by the kings and people, and was the first archbishop,' Bede says, 'to whom all England submitted[1].' Great stress was naturally laid on his having been sent directly from Rome, and consecrated by the Pope's own hands and voice[2]: but this advantage was enhanced by the force of his own personality, so that, on all accounts, his arrival forms an epoch[3].

[1] Johnson, Engl. Can. i. 86; comp. Bede, iv. 2: 'Isque primus erat in archiepiscopis cui omnis Anglorum ecclesia *manus dare* consentiret.'

[2] See Conc. Herutf., in Bede, iv. 5: 'ab apostolica sede destinatus.' So Eddi, 15, 'unde emissus venerat;' ib. 29, 'illuc ab apostolica sede olim directi;' ib. 30, 'ab hac apostolicae summitatis sede directus est;' ib. 45, 'ab apostolica sede missi.' 'Dirigo' is frequently used in ecclesiastical Latin for 'mitto': e.g. by Leo the Great, Ep. 28. 6; cp. Ep. 30. 2.

[3] Lingard, A.-S. Ch. i. 77. Bede says of his first years, 'Never were there happier times since the Angles came to Britain,' and characteristically associates with the power wielded by 'Christian kings' and the religious earnestness of the people a fact which to him, as a typical student, would be no small constituent of national happiness: 'All who wished for instruction in sacred studies had masters at hand to teach them;' and cp. Bede, v. 8.

CHAPTER VIII.

When Theodore began his visitation, probably about midsummer in 669, there were but two English bishoprics not vacant; and of these, one, that of Dunwich, was vacated by the death of Boniface in that same year[1]. In his place Theodore consecrated Bisi, 'a man,' says Bede, 'of much holiness and piety.' The see of Rochester was filled by Putta[2], whom Wilfrid had ordained priest; but this appointment was not altogether successful, for Putta, though a skilful Church musician, had no aptitude for affairs, and, as we shall see, could not stand up against difficulties. Proceeding to the North-country, he found that 'for three years' Chad had been 'ruling the Church of York' in a manner which Bede calls 'sublime[3].' But nothing escaped the keen eye of the archbishop[4]: from his rigidly Roman point of view, he noted a flaw in Chad's episcopal position. 'You have not been consecrated in a regular manner[5];'—he referred, apparently, to what might be represented as the intrusion of Chad into a see for which provision had been already made by Wilfrid's Frankish consecration, and also to the fact that two of Chad's consecrators were Britons, observers of the non-Catholic Easter, and as such condemned by 'the statutes of the Apostolic see,' which Theodore carried with him. Wilfrid's biographer cannot but admire Chad as 'an admirable teacher,' and more as 'a true servant of God, and a very meek man[6],' although he probably exaggerates his self-humilia-

Theodore and Chad.

[1] For Boniface sat seventeen years from 652; Bede, iv. 5.

[2] Theodore probably did not invite Wini's assistance; above, p. 247.

[3] Bede, v. 19, in sense of 'excellent.'

[4] 'Perlustrans omnia,' Bede, iv. 2.

[5] 'Non fuisse rite ordinatum,' ib.

[6] Eddi, 14, 15. A writer in Dict. Chr. Biogr. (art. 'Ceadda') thinks

CHAP. VIII. tion. According to Bede's simple account, Chad answered in a very humble voice[1], 'If you are persuaded that I received the episcopate in an irregular manner, I willingly retire from the office; for I never thought myself worthy of it[2]: indeed, it was only for obedience' sake, when commanded to undertake it, that I consented, though unworthy.' The command that he referred to must have been that of Oswy and the other authorities concerned. It is to be observed that according to this representation of his words, he did not confess, as a matter of personal conviction, that he had done wrong[3], or allowed himself to be wrongly consecrated; he simply announced that if Theodore felt sure of this, he would not defend his position. Theodore was touched and softened[4] by this utter absence of self-assertion. 'No,' he said; 'you are not bound to lay aside the episcopate.' But Chad, it seems, insisted on retiring to his monastery at Lastingham[5], and left York accordingly, whereupon Wilfrid naturally took possession of the see. But very shortly afterwards an arrangement suggested itself, which might secure for the Church the episcopal services of Chad as well as of Wilfrid. The Mercian king desired Theodore to supply him and his people with a bishop[6].

that the objection was a mere 'pretext,' devised to get rid of Chad and make room for Wilfrid. This is not at all required by the facts.

[1] 'Voce humillima,' Bede, iv. 2.

[2] This partly reminds us of the famous speech ascribed by a 'legend' to St. Wulstan of Worcester, which was possibly modelled upon it. See Freeman, iv. 376.

[3] As Eddi would represent it, 'Peccatum, . . . poenitentia humili secundum judicium episcoporum confessus emendavit.' There were no other bishops in the North, at the time, beside Theodore, and, doubtless, Wilfrid, who would have returned from Kent to Northumbria.

[4] Malmesbury wrongly ascribes this feeling, not to Theodore, but to Wilfrid.

[5] Bede, iv. 3, v. 19. I follow Raine's order of events: it seems most likely that the 'consummating' of Chad's consecration took place, not, as Eadmer says, before his retirement to Lastingham, but when he was summoned back to be bishop of the Mercians. See Fast. Ebor. i. 51. All happened, evidently, within a few weeks. Richard of Hexham says that 'Chad was deposed, and returned to Lastingham'; X Script. 293.

[6] Bede, iv. 3. Eddi says that Wulfhere had previously given Wilfrid a sort of commission to find another bishop for Mercia; 15. This does not agree with Bede; and we cannot rely on Eddi's accuracy.

Theodore instantly saw his way. 'He refused to consecrate a new bishop for the Mercians, but asked King Oswy to give them Chad:'—an expression which implies that the Northumbrian king's consent was necessary for the settlement of one of his subjects as bishop of a 'South-humbrian' Church. Chad had so many associations with former Church-work in Mercia, as the brother of Cedd, and as connected with Lindisfarne, that he would be specially fitted to succeed Jaruman: and any irregularities in his consecration might be corrected by Theodore himself. This was done: 'Theodore completed his consecration afresh, in the Catholic manner.' What does this imply? Eddi tells us that the bishops 'fully ordained Chad through all the ecclesiastical grades[1].' If the latter statement were literally accepted, it would imply that not only Chad's consecration, but his previous ordination, must have been regarded as null on the ground of the 'schismatic' character of the prelates who performed them. Undoubtedly great authorities had pronounced such consecration or ordination to be void[2]. But this was not universally ruled[3], and Wini at least was no schismatic[4]; so that a real reiteration of Chad's orders, including the episcopate, would have constituted one of those peremptory judgements which ignored the distinction, so obvious to all CHAP. VIII.

[1] Eddi, 15. Eadmer (c. 17) follows Bede, Malmesbury follows Eddi.

[2] As to schismatics, the natural sense of the Nicene Council's decisions respecting Novatians (can. 8) and Meletians (Ep. Synod. in Soc. i. 9) points in this direction. See Morinus, De Sacr. Ordin. par. 3. p. 120; Routh, Scr. Op. i. 416. Bingham, indeed, interprets the two decisions diversely, b. iv. c. 7. s. 7, and s. 8; and Tillemont, vi. 678, 814, understands both as referring, not to reordination, but to a reconciliatory and confirmatory benediction.

[3] See Bingham, iv. 7. 7, 8, that there was no uniform rule in the ancient Church as to this question; e.g. the Donatist bishops were not reconsecrated, nor were those who had been consecrated by the heretical Bonosus, nor who came over from Macedonianism. He suggests that the 'benedictio impositae manus,' ordered by the first Council of Orleans in 511 (Mansi, viii. 353) in case of converted Arian clerics, 'perhaps does not mean a new ordination, but only a reconciliatory imposition of hands.' But see Hefele on the other side, Councils, iv. 90, E. T. Theodore's 'Penitential' orders that 'one who has been ordained by heretics should be ordained over again, if blameless.'

[4] Consecration by one bishop was deemed valid. Above, p. 66.

CHAP. VIII. modern churchmen, between what is irregular and what is invalid[1]. If, however, we simply follow Bede's account, and illustrate it by an extant decision ascribed to Theodore[2], we may suppose that the archbishop intended simply to add whatever forms might have been omitted, to supply canonical defects, and then to rehabilitate Chad for all purposes of episcopal jurisdiction. If Theodore was over-punctilious in this matter, his next act exhibits him in a very pleasing and kindly light. He had evidently taken a strong liking to Chad; and hearing that it had been the latter's habit[3] to go about his diocese on foot, 'he ordered him to ride whenever he had a longer circuit than usual before him.' Chad objected, out of 'zealous love of pious labour,' and probably with remembrances of his old master Aidan. But the archbishop, in this as in graver matters, was masterful when he met with any resistance; and he saw that Chad's notions of humility and mortification were imperilling his practical efficiency. 'You *shall* ride,' he said; and with his own aged hands he lifted Chad bodily on horseback, 'because,' says Bede with charming simplicity, 'he had ascertained him to be a holy man.'

Chad, bishop of Lichfield.

It must have been in the September of 669[4] that Chad thus resumed episcopal work, and settled himself in that same Lichfield where Wulfhere had once desired to establish

[1] Cp. Hefele, ii. 359, E. T. See the case of Formosus' ordinations, recklessly 'annulled' by Stephen VI.

[2] Theodore's Penitential, ii. 9. 1 (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 197): 'Those who have been ordained by bishops of Scots or Britons, who are not catholic in the matter of Pasch or tonsure, have not been united to the Church, sed iterum a catholico episcopo manus impositione confirmentur.' But these words describe a case beyond Chad's. Bede evidently regards Chad as having been a real bishop during his government of the church of York. Compare the Roman legend about Kentigern, that the pope supplied 'quae deerant consecrationi ejus,' Vit. Kent. c. 27, cp. c. 11. See Hook, i. 155; Warren, Lit. Rit. Celt. Ch. p. 68. It has been ruled by Roman authorities that, if the final imposition of hands, with 'Accipe Spiritum Sanctum,' has been omitted at a priest's ordination, it must be supplied later: Ch. Qu. Review, x. 199.

[3] Bede, iv. 2; compare iii. 28, 'non equitando,' &c.

[4] For Chad held the Mercian see two and a half years; and he died in March, 672.

Wilfrid, but where no Mercian bishop, as yet, had 'held his see.' There he found, or built, a church of St. Mary, to the east of the site now occupied by 'the fair cathedral[1]'; and also, near it, erected a house to be his dwelling 'when he was not at work in the ministry of the Word[2].' Seven or eight brethren used to share at such times his studies and devotions; but outside the walls was to be seen, engaged in manual labour, a man who had a remarkable history of his own. This was Ouini, or Owin, who had been born and bred in East-Anglia, and had come thence to Northumbria, in 660, as steward of the household to the princess Etheldred, when after the death of her first husband, Tonbert the 'Gyrvian,' she was given in marriage to Egfrid son of Oswy[3]. The enthusiastic devotion of the East-Anglian court had taken hold of its trusted servant. One day he had appeared in a rustic dress, with axe and hatchet, like a common woodman, at the door of Lastingham. He had quitted his high office, 'left all that he had[4],' and begged for admission into the monastery. Study was not in his line, but he offered to devote himself to field-work: and he ultimately followed his abbot and bishop to Lichfield. Wulfhere also endowed the bishopric with fifty 'hydes' of land for a monastery 'in a place called Ad Barvæ, that is, At the Grove, in the province of Lindsey,' supposed to be Barrow in Lincolnshire, where 'traces' of Chad's discipline existed when Bede wrote[5]. The work of so large a diocese, even with the aid of a horse, must have tasked all his energies. Bede tells us much of his profound CHAP. VIII.

[1] Marmion, vi. 36.

[2] At 'Chadstowe,' now Stowe, at the end of 'the Pool.'

[3] The date is given by Florence, and agrees with Thomas of Ely's account of St. Etheldred. 'Owin' may possibly have had the administration of the Isle of Ely; Vit. Etheldr. c. 8, in Act. SS. Benedict. ii. 745. Thomas calls Owin a worthy 'custos et provisor' to Etheldred. He is said to have lived at Winford, near Hadenham; Bentham, Hist. of Ely, p. 51. The monumental inscription upon the tomb, '✠ Lucem tuam Ovino da, Deus, et requiem, Amen,' is 'perhaps one of the most venerable monuments of Saxon antiquity'; Palgrave, p. cciii. 'It long served as a horse-block,' but is now in the south aisle of Ely cathedral.

[4] 'Pura intentione supernae retributionis,' says Bede, iv. 3.

[5] Bede, l. c. He was thus bishop 'Merciorum simul et Lindisfarorum.'

CHAP. VIII. religious awe, on the authority of Trumbert, a monk 'who had been brought up in his monastery and under his rule,' and who was 'one of those who instructed' the future historian 'in the Scriptures[1].' According to his account, Chad represented, very markedly, that type of piety which distinguished the great ascetics, and the most earnest of the early Teutonic Christians, and fixed their thoughts with such intensity on the awful side of their religion. 'He was ever subject to the fear of the Lord, and in all his actions mindful of his end[2].' Everything which seemed to him a voice from God was taken as a loud call to self-scrutiny and contrition, a warning to prepare for the stroke that was still withheld[3]. If a high wind swept across the moors at Lastingham,—or, we may add, around the little cathedral at Lichfield,—he at once gave up his reading, and implored the Divine mercy for mankind. If it increased, he would shut his book, and prostrate himself in prayer. If it rose to a storm, with rain or thunder and lightning, he would repair to the church, and give himself 'with a fixed mind' to prayer and the recitation of psalms, until the weather cleared up. If questioned about this, he would quote the Psalmist's words, 'The Lord thundered out of heaven,' and urge the duty of preparing by a serious repentance for 'that tremendous time when the heavens and earth should be on fire[4], and the Lord would come in the clouds with great power and majesty, to judge the quick and the dead.' Yet with all this dread of Divine judgements, Chad, in his own words, had 'a continual love and desire of the heavenly rewards[5]': and 'it was no wonder,' says Bede, 'if he rejoiced to behold the day of death, or rather the day of the Lord, seeing he had so

[1] Bede, l. c. : 'Namque inter plura,' &c.

[2] 'Novissimorum suorum.' Ecclus. vii. 36 (40, Vulg.).

[3] 'Discussis penetralibus cordis nostri . . . solliciti ne unquam percuti mereamur.'

[4] 'Coelis ac terris ardentibus,' alluding to 2 Peter iii. 12.

[5] To him, as to Bede, there was no difficulty in harmonizing such texts as Heb. x. 31 and 1 John iv. 8. Compare the account of Bede's own death : 'He sang the sentence, "Horrendum est incidere in manus Dei viventis," but also quoted St. Ambrose, "Nec mori timeo, quia bonum Dominum habemus."'

anxiously prepared for it until it actually came[1].' It came by an access of the often-recurring pestilence, which had proved fatal to many members of the church of Lichfield before it attacked the bishop himself[2]. It was said that Owin[3], at his work in the fields near the 'mansion,' heard a sweet sound, as of angelic melody, come from the south-east and gradually reach and fill the oratory where Chad was, until after half an hour it rose again heavenward. While pondering what it might mean, he saw Chad open the window of the oratory, and clap his hands, as he was wont to do by way of summoning any one who was outside. He entered: the bishop bade him call 'the seven,' his special companions, and come with them. All came: he bade them 'cherish love and peace among each other, and towards all the faithful,' and adhere to all 'the rules of discipline which they had learned of him or seen him observe, or found in the acts or sayings of the fathers who preceded him.' 'My time is very near: that lovable guest[4] who used to visit our brethren has come to me to-day. Go back to the church, and bid the brethren commend to the Lord my departure, and also remember to prepare for their own[5],—the hour of which they know not.' And then, the story proceeds, after they had received his blessing and departed in great sorrow, he told Owin privately that the voices which he had heard were those of 'angels come to summon him to those heavenly rewards which he had ever loved and longed for, and that they would return in seven days and take him thither with them.' He was speedily taken ill, and on the seventh day, Tuesday the 2nd of March, 672, after receiving his last Communion, he closed an episcopate which, alike in Northumbria and in Mercia, deserved the CHAP. VIII.

[1] Bede, iv. 3: 'Non autem mirum si diem mortis, vel potius diem Domini,' &c. Comp. Bede, iv. 24, on Cædmon, and iv. 28, on Cuthbert.

[2] Bede, iv. 3: 'Supervenit namque clades,' &c.

[3] Bede does not say through whom this came to him. He considers Owin to have been 'dignus cui Dominus specialiter sua revelaret arcana, dignus cui fidem narranti audientes accommodarent.'

[4] Meaning, the angel of death. Cp. a story in Bede, iv. 9.

[5] 'Vigils' are here mentioned: Aidan had been diligent alike 'in study and in vigils,' Bede, iii. 17; and cp. iv. 25, 'vigiliis sanctis ... salutaribus.'

CHAP. VIII. epithet of 'most glorious[1],' and procured for the name of St. Chad of Lichfield a high place among the saints of his country. He was buried in St. Mary's church, but afterwards removed to the later church of St. Peter[2]: and he was succeeded by one who had long served him as deacon, a 'good and modest man' named Winfrid[3].

The desirableness of treating his Mercian life as a unity has led us to anticipate the order of events. Changes had taken place in Northumbria, in Wessex, and in Kent, while Chad was at work in Mercia and in Lindsey. Oswy's reign, which Bede significantly characterizes as 'most laborious[4],' was drawing near its end when he 'gave' Chad to Wulfhere. He was then in his fifty-eighth year, 'weighed down,' says Bede, 'by illness,' but not thinking it fatal, and making plans, in case he should get better, for gratifying his late-grown admiration for Roman usages by going to Rome, and ending his days among its 'sacred places': he even begged Wilfrid to be ready to act as his guide, and promised him 'no small gift of money[5].' This was not to be. He died on the 15th of February, 670, according to Bede's text, but apparently we should read 671[6], and was buried in the minster of Whitby, where also the bones of Edwin were deposited. His crown passed to his son Egfrid, who was now twenty-five[7], and whom Bede in one passage describes as 'most pious[8]' on account of his friendship for Benedict Biscop, while Eddi dilates on his religious excellence, his gentleness among his own people, his bravery and success in war,—for instance, in his suppression of a Pictish revolt, when he 'filled two rivers with the corpses of the dead[9]';

Death of Oswy.

[1] 'Gloriosissime,' applied to his Mercian episcopate; Bede, iv. 3.

[2] Bede describes his shrine as 'a wooden structure in the form of a small house, with a hole through which part of his "dust" could be taken out.'

[3] Bede, l. c.: 'In cujus locum,' &c.

[4] Bede, iii. 14.

[5] Bede, iv. 5.

[6] See Plummer on Bede, iv. 5. For his burial see Elmham, Hist. Mon. S. Ang. p. 188.

[7] See Bede, iv. 26, that in 685 he was in his fortieth year.

[8] Hist. Abb. 1.

[9] Eddi, 19; adding that the pursuers thus actually crossed the river 'siccis pedibus.' The rivers were probably the Forth and Teith, or the

and, we may add, in another campaign with Wulfhere, by which he recovered Lindsey[1]. At the beginning of his reign he lived on friendly terms with Wilfrid, who was then at the height of his prosperity and popularity. We seem to see him going about his diocese with the energy of one born to 'repair the breaches' and 'build the old waste places[2]': at York he 'shuddered[3]' to see his cathedral fallen into a miserable dilapidation, which implies some negligence on the part of Chad; for otherwise Wilfrid would not have found the roofs decaying, the windows devoid of glass, and the inner walls blotched with rain and haunted by birds. He repaired the roofs, covered them with lead, glazed the windows, cleaned the walls with lime, decked the altar with new furniture[4], and obtained new property for the church. At his beloved Ripon he reared 'a basilica of polished stone, towering to a great height, with pillars of varied form, and arched vaults, and winding cloisters[5]'; and invited the king, his brother Alfwin, and a number of sub-kings, reeves, and abbots to attend the dedication 'in honour of the chief of the Apostles.' On

Wilfrid, bishop of York.

Tay and Earn; Skene, Celt. Scotl. i. 261. The Pictish leader was named Bernhacth.

[1] Eddi, 20; Bede, iv. 12: 'superato . . . et fugato Wulfhere.' Malmesbury, 'partem provinciarum Northanimbrorum regi cesserit;' G. P. iii. 100. See above, pp. 177, 207.

[2] This was a duty prescribed to bishops; e. g. 4th C. of Toledo, c. 36 (A. D. 633); 'Episcopum per cunctas dioeceses parochiasque suas per singulos annos ire oportet, ut exquirat quo una quaeque basilica in reparatione sui indigeat;' Mansi, x. 629. Here both 'dioeceses' and 'parochiae' are used for districts within a diocese in our sense of the word; cf. Dict. Chr. Antiq. i. 559.

[3] 'Horruit spiritus ejus,' Eddi, 15. The windows, says Malmesbury, had been covered with thin linen or trellis-work. Fridegod says,

'Humida contrito stillabant assere tecta;
. . . . . pluviae quacunque vagantur,
Pendula discissis fluitant laquearia tignis.'

See Lingard, A.-S. Ch. i. 263; Freeman, v. 609.

[4] 'Lymphis perfunditur absis,
Albanturque suis lustrata altaria peplis.' Frideg. 451.

[5] Eddi, 16; and Malmesbury, G. Pontif. l. c., 'porticuum inflexu.' This church stood some 200 yards from the site of the present cathedral; and the crypt under the latter must belong to another church, built either by Wilfrid, or by Eadhed, bishop in 679. An opening in it, communicating with a passage, is called 'St. Wilfrid's Needle.'

CHAP. VIII. such a day he was truly in his element; and we may imagine the interest with which the function of which he was the centre would be watched by a little boy then being trained up in the monastery, afterwards the great missionary archbishop Willibrord[1]. The altar, was elaborately blessed, vested in purple and cloth of gold, the paten and chalice hallowed[2], the Eucharist celebrated: then Wilfrid, in front of the altar, with his face towards the people[3], recited a list of the lands recently or previously bestowed upon him, and also of the sanctuaries once held by the British Church[4]. Then came a public feast, kept up with barbaric extravagance for three days and nights,—a strange concession, we may think, to the coarse tastes of the Yorkshiremen. Wilfrid added to his other 'gifts for the adornment of God's house' a large golden cross[5], and a copy of the Gospels in four volumes, written in letters of gold on purple vellum, all contained in a case[6] made of gold and jewels,—a treasure without parallel in Eddi's experience, which was long preserved in Ripon minster. At Hexham, also, on land given by the pious Queen Etheldred[7], he built, in honour of St. Andrew, a church of great length and height, with 'manifold columns and porches,

[1] Act. SS. Bened. saec. iii. 1. 603.

[2] The Gallic rite of dedicating an altar was elaborate. In the next century, according to the use of York, holy water and oil were poured on the new altar, with several prayers: its slab was blessed, its coverings put on, and the vessels, placed on it, were hallowed. Egb. Pontif. p. 39 ff. Cp. Duchesne, Origines, p. 391 ff.

[3] 'Stans . . . ante altare, conversus ad populum,' Eddi, 16.

[4] 'Quas reges . . . illi dederunt.' Eddi names four districts, one being near the Ribble. Raine suggests that the other three, 'Gædyne, Dunutinga, Cætlævum,' are Gilling, the vale of the Duddon, and Cartmel (Hist. Ch. York, i. 26). An extract from Peter of Blois' lost Life of Wilfrid, in Mon. Anglic. ii. 133, names three districts, Rible, Hasmundesham (Amounderness), Marchesiæ (the Mersey district), all in Lancashire. For the claim on old British Church-property, see Raine in Dict. Ch. Biogr. iv. 1180.

[5] See his epitaph at Ripon, Bede, v. 19: 'Sublime crucis radiante metallo . . . trophaeum.' See Bishop Browne, Lessons from E. E. Ch. Hist. p. 112, and cp. above, p. 52.

[6] 'Bibliothecam,' Eddi. So the epitaph, Bede, l. c., 'Ac thecam,' &c.

[7] The property had come to Etheldred as a marriage gift; Rich. Hexh. de statu Hagust. Eccl. c. 7, X Script. 294.

a complication of ascending and descending passages[1].' And at this day, the visitor who looks round the exquisite minster of Hexham will find nothing worthier of his attention than the small crypt of Roman masonry, with two Roman inscriptions built up in its walls, on the western side of the transept: descending into it, he enters the only remaining part of Wilfrid's church, 'the building deep under ground formed of admirably carved stone,' which Eddi includes in his description of a structure that, as far as he knew, had no equal 'on this side of the Alps.' The bishop also exerted himself for the improvement of Divine service: he set Eddi and Æona to carry on the special work of teaching Church-song, or, as Eddi makes him express it[2], of 'training choirs to sing responsively, according to the custom of the primitive Church.' But if Wilfrid was munificent as a church-builder, and active as a promoter of choral worship, he was also indefatigable as a chief pastor: he is depicted as riding about incessantly to baptize and confirm[3], holding ordinations[4], forming new church settlements, and amid all this whirl of activities retaining his habits of ascetic devotion. Of these we are told that CHAP. VIII.

[1] Eddi, 22. Richard of Hexham expands this description: 'Parietes ... columnis suffultus, et tribus tabulatis distinctos, ... erexit. Ipsos ... et capitella columnarum ... et arcum sanctuarii, historiis et imaginibus, et variis caelaturarum figuris ex lapide prominentibus, et picturarum et colorum grata varietate ... decoravit. Ipsum quoque corpus ecclesiae appenticiis et porticibus undique circumcinxit.' In the stone staircases and 'deambulatoria' and winding passages up and down, many men could stand without being seen by any one in the church. The cloisters had oratories and altars of their own. The minster was enriched with splendid 'ornaments,' vestments, and books: and the 'court' (atrium) was surrounded by a strong thick wall. Altogether, this minster 'surpassed all the nine monasteries' of which Wilfrid was 'father and patron,' and 'all others in England'; X Script. 290.

[2] Eddi, 47. See Benedict. Greg. Op. iii. 650. Comp. Joan. Diac. Vit. Greg. ii. 6, on Gregory's compilation of antiphons, and his 'schola cantorum.' Above, p. 140.

[3] Eddi, 18. See the story of the Ripon monk surnamed 'Bishop's son,' whom he had baptized and claimed for 'God's service.'

[4] 'In omnibus locis presbyteros et diacones sibi adjuvantes abundanter ordinabat;' Eddi, 21. Here we see the germ of a parochial system: so in Bede, iii. 22, we find bishop Cedd ordaining clergy 'per loca.' Yet in 734 Bede had to exhort bishop Egbert to ordain priests for the several villages; Ep. to Egb. 3.

CHAP. VIII. neither in summer nor in winter did he drink more at his meal than the contents of one small cup, and that he persisted in washing his whole body in cold water before going to bed, until, when he was quite an old man, the Pope directed him to abstain from so severe a discipline[1]. At the same time, no austerity of manner was discernible in him: he made himself 'dear and lovable' to people of all races[2], and his gracious geniality, the outcome of a genuinely kind heart, was like sunshine to all who felt its presence. 'Abstinence,' in him, did *not* generate 'pride,' —so says his biographer with much significance. He was the typical man of Church and realm; the king admired and relied on him: the queen confided to him her longings for a monastic life, which her husband at last reluctantly permitted her to gratify by taking the veil from Wilfrid's hands in Ebba's convent at Coldingham; abbots and abbesses made him their heir or their trustee, and nobles committed their sons to the great prelate who had been a thane's firstborn, that under his eye they might be prepared for 'God's service, if they chose it,' or if, when grown up, they preferred a secular life, might be 'presented as soldiers to the king[3].' He played an important part in Frankish politics by inviting Dagobert, the young heir of Austrasia, from his place of exile in Ireland, and sending him over in princely state, to ascend the throne of his father[4]. This is the picture of Wilfrid in the splendours of a well-deserved ascendency[5]: we shall see ere long how the unique brilliancy of his position contributed to provoke a great vicissitude, which did but bring into fuller light the real nobleness of a princely and Christian soul.

Benedict Biscop. The companion of his first journey in Gaul had, as we have seen, made three visits to Rome, before the year 671, when he resigned the abbacy of Canterbury, again re-

[1] Eddi, 21.

[2] Eddi, l. c. 'Inflatur nullo, Jesu moderamine, typho;' Frideg. 476.

[3] They were his gesiths or retainers; Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 176.

[4] Eddi, 28. Dagobert II was son of Sigebert II. He was born in 652, and sent into Ireland on his father's death. He reigned from 674 to 679, when he was murdered.

[5] See Raine, Historians of Church of York, i. p. xxvii.

pairing to the 'threshold of the Apostles,' and 'brought back not a few books of sacred learning of all kinds, which he had either bought or received as gifts from friends[1].' Returning by Vienne, he there took possession of other books which friends in that district had at his request procured for him. When he was again in Northumbria, he conversed with the king, went through the whole story of his life, 'did not conceal' his monastic fervour, explained all that he had learned at Rome or elsewhere on matters monastic or ecclesiastical, and exhibited his store of manuscripts and of relics; altogether impressing Egfrid so strongly that he received a royal grant of seventy 'hydes,' in order to found a monastery in honour of 'the first pastor of the Church,'—a design executed, some time later, at Wearmouth. CHAP. VIII.

School at Canterbury.

Such a zeal for ecclesiastical literature as Benedict Biscop had was united in his successor Hadrian, and in Theodore himself, who was popularly called 'the Philosopher,' with a love of learning much wider in its range, and kindred to that spirit which had made the great Alexandrian teachers employ the existing curriculum of secular studies as distinctly capable of serving the cause of Divine truth[2]. Hadrian, with the archbishop's hearty approval, founded at Canterbury a school in which religious training was combined with all other learning accessible at the time. As we have seen, Canterbury had a school in the early days of the archbishopric, which served as a model for that of Felix at Dunwich[3]: but now 'a crowd of pupils was assembled[4],' and 'streams of sound learning' of all sorts, sacred and secular, 'flowed daily for the watering of their minds;' so that Hadrian, and even the archbishop in person,—so marvellous was the old man's versatility and energy,—'delivered to their hearers the rules of ecclesiastical arithmetic' (i.e. for the calculation of Church seasons), of astronomy, of music, and even of medicine[5], side by

[1] Bede, Hist. Abb. 4.

[2] Euseb. vi. 18; Greg. Thaumat. Panegyr. in Origenem. Comp. S. Aug. de Doctr. Chr. ii. 40; Socrates, H. E. iii. 16.

[3] Bede, iii. 17; above, p. 143.

[4] Bede, iv. 2.

[5] See Bede, v. 3, for Theodore's opinion on bleeding. And the

CHAP. VIII.

side with 'the volumes of sacred letters[1].' Among these hearers were John, famous as 'St. John of Beverley,' bishop successively of Hexham and York; Aldhelm, afterwards abbot of Malmesbury and bishop of Sherborne; Oftfor, bishop of Worcester[2], Tobias of Rochester[3]; Albinus, the successor of Hadrian, who understood Greek fairly, and Latin thoroughly, and to whom we mainly owe it that Bede undertook his great work[4]: and, when Bede wrote, there were others living who had studied under Hadrian, and who 'knew Greek and Latin as well as they knew their own tongue wherein they were born[5].' This great school became the prototype of the yet more famous school of York in the next century, which, when presided over by Albert, afterwards archbishop, dealt with grammar, rhetoric, metre, astronomy, physics,—and out of which arose the illustrious Alcuin[6].

Monasticism in Kent.

Monasticism, also, received some impulse in Kent at this time. Egbert, in the year of Theodore's arrival, had given the royal abode at Reculver, whither Ethelbert is said to have retired when he settled Augustine at Canterbury, 'to Bass, the mass-priest, to build a minster,'—so says the Chronicle. And in or about the next year, a tragedy of royal jealousy and suspicion produced a remarkable penitential foundation: Egbert, we are told[7], was so far swayed by a thane bearing the ominous name of Thunor as not effectively to forbid the murder of his young cousins Ethelred and Ethelbert, sons of his uncle Ermenred, and brothers of Ermenburga or Domneva, the pious wife of the pious Merewald, son of Penda and sub-king of the West-

'Penitential of Theodore' contains a curious medical dictum: 'leporem comedere . . . bonum est pro *desinteria*,' ii. 11. 5. Cf. Aldhelm, Ep. 3, for a quaint picture of Theodore showing some conceited Irish pupils how superficial was their knowledge of grammar and chronology, until they retired in confusion.

[1] 'Apicum.' Cp. Bede, Ep. ad Egb. 1, and iii. 8.

[2] Bede, iv. 23, 'De medio nunc dicamus.'

[3] Bede, v. 23.

[4] Bede, v. 20; and Praef., 'Auctor ante omnes,' &c.

[5] Bede, iv. 2; Green, Making of Engl. p. 335.

[6] See Alcuin, de Pontif. Ebor. 1431 ff.; Raine, Fast. Ebor. i. 101.

[7] For the legend, 'to which,' says Lappenberg, i. 246, 'history will not refuse a space,' see Simeon of Durham, Hist. Reg. 2–5; Elmham, tit. 7.

Mercians. Legend was diffuse on the circumstances which struck Egbert with compunction: the result was visible in the erection of the nunnery of Minster, in Thanet, on land[1] given by the king to Ermenburga as a 'wer-gild' or satisfaction for her brothers' innocent blood. Theodore consecrated her as abbess[2], and she was succeeded by her daughter Mildred, who became conspicuous among the female saints of the Old-English calendar[3]. CHAP. VIII.

Lothere, bishop of Winchester.

It was in the same year 670 that Theodore went, for a much more important function, to the West-Saxon capital. There had been no bishop of Winchester or Dorchester since the departure of Wini in 666; and Kenwalch, regretting his breach with Agilbert, sent messengers to request him to return. But Agilbert, now bishop of Paris, naturally answered that he was bound to his present charge[4]. 'However,' said he, 'there is my nephew Lothere, a presbyter, whom I think very well fitted to be a bishop: if the king will receive him to my old place, I am willing that he should go.' The proposal was accepted: a West-Saxon 'gemot,' which Bede, with a lax use of the term, refers to as a 'synod[5],' received Lothere with all honour; and the archbishop consecrated him in his own church of Winchester[6], which five years before had been the scene of Chad's very different consecration. Kenwalch closed his chequered, but on the whole very honourable life, two years afterwards; and his widow Sexburga, a woman of remarkable talents, succeeded in maintaining herself as queen regnant

[1] As much land, said the story, as 'cerva quam nutrierat una die peragraret' (Sim.). The king followed the hind; Thunor sneered, and the earth swallowed him! The spot was called 'Thunor's "law"' or 'Thunor's mound' (cf. p. 175). Bede alludes to wer-gilds in iv. 21.

[2] Thorn says that Mildred was the first abbess; X Script. 1907.

[3] Every one, for instance, who passes up 'Brasenose-lane' traverses ground belonging of old to a church named after the canonized granddaughter of Penda, and three columns of its crypt remain under the common-room of Lincoln College. For St. Mildred see Alban Butler, Feb. 20. Her father Merewald founded a convent at Leominster; her sister Milburga became abbess of Wenlock. He had another sister, Mildgith, and a brother Merewine.

[4] Bede, iii. 7.

[5] 'Ex synodica sanctione.' Cp. Murat. Lit. Rom. ii. 189.

[6] According to canons, e. g. fourth Council of Orleans, c. 5.

CHAP. VIII. for a year[1], until in 674, Escwin, according to the Chronicle, became king of Wessex, or, properly speaking, became chief among those petty kings whom Bede represents as dividing Wessex between them for 'about ten years' after the death of Kenwalch[2].

Death of Egbert. Another change of rulers took place in Kent, when Egbert died in the July of 673[3], and was succeeded by his brother Lothere, the third month of whose reign was distinguished by an event which forms a landmark; for Theodore, already secure in his majestic supremacy, and practically independent of royal support, held the first English provincial Council, on the 24th of September, at 'Herutford' or Hertford[4], a place probably chosen as fairly accessible, being on the border of South-east Mercia and of Essex.

Council of Hertford.

Provincial Synods. The synod of a province, according to Nicene rules[5], expressing, as they did, the mind of the whole Church upon the subject, was a necessary part of its organization. It was to meet twice a year, and to settle all disputes, and generally all matters, which affected the province as a unity. A similar provision was made by one of the 'Apostolical' canons, which referred to the synods thus held 'the doctrines of religion, and the ecclesiastical disputes which may arise[6]'; and 'the Council of the Dedication' at Antioch, in 341 repeatedly enforces the supreme judicial authority of a provincial synod, when fully constituted under the presidency of the metropolitan[7]. The Council of Chalcedon[8] found that the holding of 'the provincial synods

[1] Chron. a. 672; Malmesbury, G. Reg. i. 32.

[2] Bede, iv. 12: 'Acceperunt sub-reguli regnum gentis,' &c. See Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 171. The Chronicler, Florence, and Ethelwerd call Escwin king of the West-Saxons. He was of another branch of the house of Cerdic. On the extension of West-Saxon territory through Kenwalch's victories, see Freeman, Engl. Towns and Distr. pp. 83, 137.

[3] Bede, iv. 5.

[4] In Alfred's version, 'Heortford.'

[5] Nicene can. 5. Compare Euseb. Vit. Const. i. 51, as to Licinius' suppression of synods: *Ἄλλως γὰρ οὐ δυνατὸν τὰ μεγάλα τῶν σκεμμάτων ἢ διὰ συνόδων κατορθώσασθαι.* Compare Bingham, b. ii. c. 16. s. 16, 17. These assemblies began to be held in the latter part of the second century.

[6] Apost. can. 38; but this is supposed to be more recent than the Nicene and Antiochene synods (see Hefele, Hist. of Councils, i. 474, E.T.).

[7] Antioch. can. 20, ordering it to meet twice a year; cp. can. 3, 4, 6, 12.

[8] Chalced. 19.

prescribed by rules' had been neglected, and ordered that they should be duly held twice a year, for the purpose of setting right whatever needed correction. Since the date of that Council, Western synods had frequently upheld the institution: a bishop duly cited, said the second Council of Arles, must attend the synod, or if too ill to come, must send a deputy [1]: the last canon of Agde in 506 ordered that synods should be duly held according to the constitutions of the fathers [2]: the second Council of Lyons ordered that bishops of the same province should settle their differences before their metropolitan and comprovincials [3]. The British Church, as we have seen, had kept up its synods even when driven within the Welsh border [4]: the Frankish bishops were duly convened according to precedent [5]: the Church of Spain was equally observant of the rule [6]. It was simply necessary that the new English Church, as soon as it could be organized and consolidated, should have its provincial synods: Gregory had, long before this time, taken for granted that, as soon as possible, there would be this system at work, in the southern parts of Teutonic Britain, and also, in due time, in the northern. He had spoken of a 'synod' of the province of London [7], and virtually of a synod of the province of York. As yet there was but one province, which included north and south under Canterbury. And Wini did not appear at the Council: one would fain accept the story that he resigned his see in penitence in 672 [8]. At any rate, Theodore had only four suffragans present in person, with delegates sent to represent Wilfrid. One knows not why Wilfrid, a ready

CHAP. VIII.

[1] C. 18; Mansi, vii. 880. Compare Council of Tarragona, a. 516, c. 6, ib. viii. 542; Council of Epaon, in Burgundy, c. 1, ib. viii. 559; second of Tours, c. i, ib. ix. 792; second of Macon, c. 20, ib. ix. 957. One Spanish council (Emerita) in 666 recognizes 'the king's order' to hold a synod.

[2] c. 71; Mansi, viii. 336.

[3] Mansi, ix. 787.

[4] Above, p. 35.

[5] See fifth C. of Paris, c. 11; Mansi, x. 542.

[6] See fourth C. of Toledo, c. 3; Mansi, x. 617.

[7] Bede, i. 29: 'Quatenus Lundoniensis civitatis episcopus semper in posterum a synodo propria debeat consecrari.' See above, p. 75.

[8] Rudborne, Hist. Maj. Wint. (Angl. Sac. i. 192). Erkenwald, the next bishop of London, was consecrated in 675.

CHAP. VIII. and active traveller, did not make the journey[1]: and there is also something not easy to explain in the order in which the prelates are named,—Bisi, Wilfrid by his own delegates, Putta[2], Lothere (called Leutherius), and Winfrid. Wilfrid was considerably senior in consecration to all, Theodore included; but Bisi may have been older than his fellow-suffragans[3]. Bede makes it clear that the prelates alone formed the synod: it was a 'Council of bishops,' and no other persons were constituent members of it: this was the ancient Catholic constitution of synods[4]. But it was quite in accordance with that constitution that 'many Church-teachers' who were not bishops, but who 'both loved and understood the canonical statutes of the fathers,' should be present,—as Malchion, a priest of signal ability, had been present at the first Council of Antioch[5], and Athanasius, as a deacon, at the Council of Nicaea.

Theodore would be sure to observe whatever solemn forms were in use on the Continent at the opening of a synod[6]. We may presume that the bishops and 'teachers' prayed silently for a while, and that then one bishop prayed aloud. The members then sat down, two on each side the archbishop, together with the representatives of Wilfrid. Our account of the proceedings was drawn up by Theodore, and written out, as in his name, by 'Titillus the notary' or secretary. The solemn commencement, 'In the Name of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ,' was a usual one[7], and we find bishops sometimes appending 'in

[1] It is probable that Wilfrid, knowing what Gregory had contemplated, did not wish to appear simply as one of Theodore's suffragans.

[2] He is the only one of the suffragans who is named after his see, which is called 'the castle of the Kentish-men which is named Hrofescæstir.' The rest take national titles, such as 'of the East-Angles, of the Northumbrians.' See, on this, Freeman, ii. 605 ff. Compare the territorial titles, Argyll, Orkney, Moray, Meath, &c.

[3] See Bede, iv. 5, fin., on his incapacitating 'infirmity.' And Wilfrid ranked, it is supposed, as bishop *de facto* of York from 669.

[4] Potter on Ch. Government, p. 225; Pusey on Councils, pp. 34, 51; Hefele, i. 17–25, E. T.

[5] Euseb. vii. 29.

[6] See fourth C. of Toledo, c. 4, for an account of the forms prescribed by that Council in 633; Mansi, x. 617. 'None of the laity attended the Council of Herudford;' Palgrave, Engl. Comm. p. 171.

[7] Council of Osca or Huesca, 598, begins, 'In nomine D. n. J. C.;'

the name of Christ' to their own signatures[1]. The next words, 'The same our Lord Jesus Christ reigning for ever and governing His Church,' were an amplification of a form used in the third Council of Braga in 572[2], and contrast strikingly with the date from a regnal year found in canons of King Reccared's reign and in others of the Spanish synods[3]. Theodore began, as he himself says, by requesting his beloved brethren, for the fear and love of the common Redeemer, to join him in taking counsel together[4] on behalf of their faith, that 'whatever had been decreed and defined by holy and approved fathers[5] might be inviolably observed by all.' One might have expected that here, as in the case of other Councils[6], would have followed some dogmatic statement of faith: but Theodore goes on to say that he added 'other observations tending to the preservation of charity and of the unity of the Church.' After this prefatory address, he asked each of the members of the synod, in order, whether he agreed to keep the ancient and canonical decrees of the fathers. They all answered in the affirmative; they would do so 'by all means,' 'most willingly,' 'with all their hearts.' Thereupon Theodore at once produced the book of canons referred to; it was the collection of ancient canons made by Dionysius Exiguus in the opening of the sixth century[7], beginning with the 'Apostolic canons,' and then exhibiting those of Nicaea, Ancyra, Neocaesarea, Gangra, Antioch, CHAP. VIII.

Mansi, x. 481. Comp. Council of Barcelona, ib., 'Cum duce D. J. C.;' 2nd of Seville, 619, 'In nomine Domini et Salvatoris nostri J. C.,' ib. 557. 1st of Lateran, 649, 'In nomine Domini Dei Salvatoris nostri J. C.,' ib. 863.

[1] E. g. Mansi, viii. 622, at Valencia, and x. 478, at Toledo.

[2] Mansi, ix. 836. Compare Council of Clovesho in 747, 'Regnante in perpetuum Domino nostro J. C.;' and Kemble, Cod. Dipl. i. 146, &c.

[3] Mansi, x. 471, 477, 481, 531, 614, 661.

[4] 'Tractemus,' i. e. treat of, consider. See Mansi, iii. 892: 'Quoniam igitur universa fuisse arbitror tractata,' &c.

[5] 'Probabilibus.' So in 1st Lateran, c. 18, 'probabiles ecclesiae patres.'

[6] E. g. 4th of Toledo, c. 1, Mansi, x. 615; 6th of Toledo, c. 1, ib. 661.

[7] See the Ballerini, de Antiq. Collect. Can. part 3. c. 1. s. 2. 9. This collection, they say, ib. s. 2. 6, excels in the translation of the Greek canons, in its order, in its titles, 'necnon ipsa omnium documentorum sinceritate.' Theodore would naturally bring it with him from Rome.

CHAP. VIII. Laodicea, Constantinople, Chalcedon, Sardica, and the African code. In this series Theodore 'had marked' ten points, occurring 'in different places,' as specially necessary to be observed by the English Church. These were taken up and considered, in the following form: Theodore calls them 'capitula,' heads, or as it is sometimes rendered, articles.

(1) 'That we all keep the holy day of Easter together, on the Sunday after the fourteenth moon of the first month' (i. e. so as to exclude the fourteenth moon from the list of possible Easter Sundays). This was the Antiochene Council's rule, can. 1, referring to the Nicene resolution [1].

(2) 'That no bishop shall invade the "parish [2]" (or diocese) of another, but shall be content with governing the people entrusted to himself.' This was from the fourteenth and thirty-sixth 'Apostolic' canons, the thirteenth of Antioch, the second of Constantinople, the forty-eighth of the African code [3]. (The fifteenth Nicene, adduced by Johnson, refers to the removal of a bishop from one see to another.)

(3) 'That whatever monasteries have been consecrated to God, it shall not be lawful for any bishop to disturb them in any matter, nor to take away by force any part of their property.' This is an amplification of the twenty-fourth of Chalcedon, which does not expressly refer to

[1] See above, pp. 88, 165, 225.

[2] The ancient or 'Eusebian' sense of *παροικία*, 'the body of Christians dwelling within a certain area under one bishop' (see above, p. 209), naturally passed into that of 'the area within which they dwelt,' i. e. what we call a diocese; see Suicer in v. and Selater's Orig. Draught of Prim. Church, p. 32. We find this use also in Wihtred's Privilege to Kentish churches, Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 239; in can. 25 of Council of Clovesho, ib. 371; in the legatine synod of 787, ib. 449; in king Kenulf's letter to Leo III, ib. 522; in Gregory III's Ep. 10, to St. Boniface, Mansi, xii. 285; in Boniface's to archbishop Cuthbert, c. 1; frequently in Hincmar; in a grant of king Ethelred, in 1012, to 'Hrofenis parrochiae episcopus,' Palgrave, Engl. Com. p. ccxxiv, &c. In the 'Life of St. Anskar' 'parochia' and 'dioecesis' are synonymous. Yet 'parochia' is used for our 'parish' by Council of Agde, c. 21; of Epaon, c. 25; 3rd (or 2nd) of Vaison, 1; 3rd of Orleans, c. 5; 4th of Toledo, c. 74; Chalon, c. 5, and cf. Gregory the Great's Dialogues, iii. 38 and the Anon. Life of Cuthbert, 6. 4. In Theodulf's Capitula it has both senses: Mansi, xiii. 995, 998.

[3] So in inferior Councils, as 3rd of Orleans, a. 538, c. 15.

such encroachments on the part of a bishop, but only places under censure those who permit the secularization of monasteries once dedicated by the consent of the bishop. That Council indeed strongly asserted the jurisdiction of bishops over monasteries[1], which during the last two centuries, through the growth of the monastic system, had been restrained by canons[2] on the Continent, and often ceded by 'exemptions' or charters of privilege. CHAP. VIII.

(4) 'That the monks themselves[3] do not roam from place to place, that is, from monastery to monastery, except by the permission of their own abbot, but remain in that obedience which at the time of their conversion they promised.' This is based on the fourth and twenty-third canons of Chalcedon, which were framed to guard against disorderly interference in public affairs, ecclesiastical and civil, on the part of monks, such as those violent Eutychian partisans who had behaved like a 'gang of robbers' at the second Council of Ephesus. 'Conversion' here means forsaking of the secular life for the monastic[4].

(5) 'That no cleric shall leave his own bishop and roam about anywhere at his pleasure, nor, if he comes anywhere, be received without the commendatory letters of his prelate. And if, when once received, he refuses to return when

[1] Can. 4. See the writer's 'Notes on Canons of first four General Councils,' p. 141.

[2] See 4th of Toledo, c. 51, Mansi, x. 631, rebuking bishops who set monks to work for them like slaves, and almost turn the monasteries into possessions of their own. The council limits a bishop's right in a monastery to (1) exhorting monks to holy living, (2) instituting abbots, &c., (3) correcting breaches of the rule. See, too, Gregory the Great's Roman council forbidding episcopal encroachments; e. g. no bishop shall take away any of the revenue, property, or documents of a monastery or of the cells and 'vills' which belong to it; Mansi, x. 486. Cp. Guizot, Civil. in Fr. lect. 15. The Council of Rouen distinctly recognizes the bishop's duty of inquiring into the internal state of monasteries and nunneries; ib. x. 1201.

[3] 'Ipsi.' The other reading is 'episcopi.' This is defended by Todd, Life of St. Patrick, p. 49. But 'it is impossible' (Plummer): see Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 121.

[4] Cp. Reg. S. Bened. 1. So Gregory the Great used the term, ep. iii. 65. In Council of Gerona, c. 6, it is used for the entrance into clerical life; Mansi, viii. 549. So in 4th of Arles, c. 1, 2; ib. viii. 626. Compare Greg. Turon. de Mirac. S. Mart. iii. 15: 'converti decrevit, scilicet, ut humiliatis capillis . . . deserviret antistiti.'

CHAP. VIII. summoned, both the receiver and the person who has been received shall incur excommunication.' This is made up from the fifteenth and thirty-fourth Apostolic canons, the third and seventh Antiochene, the forty-first and forty-second Laodicene, twenty-third of Chalcedon, and hundred-and-fifth African[1]. Commendatory letters of this sort, called 'systaticae,' were natural and befitting guarantees of the cleric's character[2].

(6) 'That foreign bishops and clergy be content with the hospitality freely offered them, and that no one of them be allowed to perform any sacerdotal office without permission of the bishop in whose diocese (*parochia*) he is known to be.' This is based on the thirteenth Antiochene and eleventh Sardican.

(7) 'That the synod be assembled twice in the year.' This was altered in discussion, on account of 'divers hindrances' to two meetings, exactly as the Nicene provision for two such meetings, before Lent and in the autumn, or the Antiochene specifying the third week after Easter and October, had been altered for Africa by the Council of Hippo into a yearly meeting[3]. The resolution stood thus, 'That we meet once a year on the 1st of August, in the place which is called Clofeshoch,'—a place most probably to be identified with Cliff-at-Hoe near Rochester,—the peninsula of Hoe or Hoo being a convenient basis for the Mercian supremacy in Kent[4], and also near at hand for

[1] Compare Council of Reims, a. 625, c. 12: 'Quod si sine epistolis (sui pontificis) profectus fuerit manifestis, nullo modo recipiatur;' Mansi, x. 596. So Council of Agde, c. 38, ib. viii. 331; and of Epaon, c. 6, ib. viii. 560. Theodulf, a deacon of Paris, was often excommunicated by his bishop, because he delayed to return 'ad ecclesiam suam in qua . . . ordinatus fuerat'; Greg. Turon. H. Fr. x. 14.

[2] See Bingham, b. ii. c. 4. s. 5 (vol. i. p. 100). He distinguishes the 'commendatoriae' given to clergy when about to travel (among others) from the 'dimissoriae' given to clergy who wished to settle in another diocese. See 'Notes on Canons of first four General Councils,' p. 163.

[3] Mansi, iii. 919: comp. another form of it, Cod. Afr. 18, ib. 719. So the second of Orleans in 533, and three others following it, prescribe *one* meeting; the third of Toledo allows one to suffice because of distance and poverty; Mansi, ix. 997. The fourth of Toledo names May 18 as the day.

[4] See T. Kerslake's 'Vestiges of the Supremacy of Mercia' (reprinted from Transact. of Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society),

Theodore. Councils did meet there in 716, 742, and—the most important—in 747. CHAP. VIII.

(8) 'That no bishop shall set himself above another out of ambition, but all shall acknowledge the time and the order of their consecration.' This is based on the eighty-sixth of the African code[1].

(9) This was one of Theodore's favourite points, 'That as the number of the faithful increases, the bishops be increased in number.' Theodore did not extract this literally from his book: he inferred from certain African canons[2], restraining an irregular multiplication of bishoprics, and also from the sixth Sardican canon of like purport, that an increase, made regularly and for good reasons, was desirable[3]. In his native Cilicia, there were seventeen dioceses, mostly large[4]; and his provincial visitation had convinced him of the necessity of dividing the too large diocese of Lichfield and the enormous diocese of York. But although his proposition seems to us undeniably right, and Bede in his later years urged the same idea on Bishop Egbert[5] long after the Northumbrian diocese of 673 had been divided, Theodore could not carry his suffragans with him[6]; it may be that Wilfrid's deputies spoke out what they knew that their master would feel; and this opposition, successful at the time, though overborne afterwards,

p. 27 ff. He observes with much force that this Kentish peninsula would be very accessible from Tilbury on the other side of the Thames. He identifies the Cealchythe of six later councils with Chalk in the same district, S.W. of Cliff, Hatfield with Cliff itself, and would even place Herutford in the neighbourhood.

[1] See Mansi, iii. 789.

[2] Afric. 53, 56, 98; Mansi, iii. 744, 749, 803.

[3] It is suggested with great probability by Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 122, that this plan for dividing the 'parochiae' or dioceses was mistaken for an introduction of the 'parochial system,' such as Elmham attributes to Theodore. Hist. Mon. S. Aug., tit. 8. s. 115. See also Lord Selborne's Ancient Facts and Fictions, &c., p. 116 ff.

[4] Bingham, b. ix. c. 3. s. 16.

[5] 'Quis non videat quanto sit melius tam enorme pondus ecclesiastici regiminis in plures . . . dividi, quam unum sub fasce quem portare non possit opprimi?' Ep. to Egb. 5. He cites Gregory's programme as to twelve bishops for the North, under a metropolitan of York. Above, p. 75.

[6] Lingard, A.-S. Ch. i. 86.

CHAP. VIII. accounts for much of the difficulties that followed. The Council-record intimates a purpose only deferred, not abandoned: 'On this point, for the time, we said nothing.'

(10) 'As to marriages, that no one be allowed to have any but a lawful marriage. Let no one commit incest[1]; let no one leave his own wife, except, as the holy Gospel teaches, because of fornication. But if any one shall have expelled his own wife who has been united to him in lawful matrimony, if he is minded to be rightly a Christian, let him not join himself to any other, but remain in that state, or else be reconciled to his own wife.' Now, in Theodore's Penitential[2] penance is even imposed on a husband who, having found his wife to be unfaithful, 'refuses to put her away;' as if the exception in Matt. v. 32, xix. 9, constituted an obligation to divorce, which is more than can be said. Far severer penance is assigned to one who marries another woman after putting away his wife; but this refers to the case of divorce *not* justified by that exception. There is a passage in the Penitential which allows[3] the husband of a faithless wife not only to put her away, but to marry another, the permission to divorce in that one case being reasonably held to involve a permission to re-marry. This illustrates the sense of the Hertford 'capitulum,' which makes it at least lawful for the injured husband to abandon the faithless wife,

[1] For canons of that period against incest, see Council of Reims, 8. a. 624, Mansi, x. 595; and 5th of Paris, c. 14, ib. x. 542 (which forbids, *inter alia*, marriage of first cousins).

[2] Poenit. i. 14, 4; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 188. The Penitential professes to represent Theodore's answers to questions about penance and other points of discipline, as they came to the knowledge of a 'disciple of the Humbrians' (Northumbrians?) mainly through the medium of a priest named Eoda. See the remarks in Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 173.

[3] Poenit. ii. 12. 5; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 199. In this answer the divorced adulteress herself, if penitent, is allowed after five years to marry another man. The question of re-marrying in the excepted case of the wife's adultery was undecided in the ancient Church. St. Augustine personally held it wrong for an injured husband, who had put away his faithless wife, to marry again; but did not think the act plainly forbidden by Scripture, nor punishable by the Church. It was in effect *tolerated*, though some great authorities dissuaded from it. See Bingham, b. xxii. c. 2. s. 12, and Pusey in Lib. Fathers, Tertullian, p. 443 ff. Ἀπολῦσαι in Matt. xix. 3 implies *solutio vinculi*.

and in the next words clearly contemplates a different case, that of one who, without such warrant, has driven away a wife who has never forfeited her rights; he is thereupon reminded that, as a Christian, he is bound to remain single or to be reconciled to her[1]. CHAP. VIII.

Nine resolutions, then, were passed,—one having been for the time withdrawn. Theodore was a thorough man of business: he would not go by understandings and vaguely expressed agreements: he would have everything set down definitely, and accepted formally: there should be no mistake as to what was or was not passed,—no loophole left whereby, in after days, any 'occasion of contention' should be caused by any one who had sat in the synod. There stood the record, fairly written out by the secretary: according to the orderly continental usage, each member must sign it with his own hand. They did so, probably in such words as, 'I, —, bishop of the church of —, have subscribed[2]:' and Wilfrid's delegates would each sign as 'in the place of my lord Wilfrid[3].' And, as a final guarantee of the stability of the resolutions, it was enacted, as was often the case in continental synods[4], that any bishop who should ever 'attempt to contravene or infringe' the decrees then subscribed, should incur 'separation from all sacerdotal office, and from the fellowship of his brethren.' 'May the grace of God,' Theodore concluded, 'keep us in safety, living in the unity of His holy Church.'

So ended the Council of Hertford, a memorable assembly in the annals of the English Church,—hardly less so in

[1] Theodore perhaps had in his mind St. Basil's dictum in Ep. 217, can. 77, that he who left *τὴν νομίμως αὐτῷ συναφθεῖσαν γυναῖκα*, and married another, was, according to the Lord's judgement, an adulterer.

[2] E.g. 4th of Toledo, Mansi, x. 641. Sometimes the form was, 'Haec statuta definiens subscripsi;' 7th of Toledo, ib. x. 770. We find the form, 'Relegi et subscripsi,' in Council of Epaon, ib. viii. 564; or 'Consensi et subscripsi,' 4th of Orleans, ib. ix. 120.

[3] E.g. in the third council of Toledo, a. 589: 'Gaianus . . . agens vicem domini mei Fructuosi episcopi subscripsi;' Mansi, ix. 1002. So 5th of Toledo, ib. x. 657, &c. Or 'presbyter' or 'diaconus episcopi,' 8th of Toledo, ib. x. 1223. See Hefele, i. 21, E. T.

[4] E. g. 3rd of Orleans, c. 33, denounces any (bishops) who *neglect* to observe the decrees; Mansi, ix. 20: 4th of Orleans, 'Si quis . . . transgredi tentaverit;' ib. ix. 119; 3rd of Braga, 'transgressus;' ib. ix. 841.

CHAP. VIII. those of the English people. For while it gave expression and consolidation to the idea of ecclesiastical unity, it was also 'the first of all national gatherings[1]' for such legislation as should affect the whole land of the English, the precursor of the Witenagemots and the Parliaments of the one indivisible imperial realm. Theodore may thus far take no mean place among the men who helped to make England[2].

[1] Green, Hist. Engl. People, p. 30, and Making of England, pp. 333, 382. Comp. Stubbs, in Dict. Biogr. iv. 928, 930. It has been truly said that 'under the masterly hand of Theodore the unity of the English Church afforded a model of unity for the nascent English State.'

[2] Freeman (Hist. Essays, iv. 239) has said of the mission of Augustine that it began the process by which the *alter orbis* of Britain was to be taken out of its isolation. Another step in that process was the archiepiscopate of Theodore; but the process was very gradual until the Norman Conquest completed it.

CHAPTER IX.

East-Anglian diocese divided.

It might well seem that in the case of Archbishop Theodore, even a temporary check was to be followed by an advance, with hardly sufficient interval to allow of a sense of disappointment. As we have seen, he had not carried his point about the partition of dioceses, when he proposed it to the Council: it was considered, but the decision was deferred. Yet Bisi of Dunwich, on his return home, began to feel the pressure of infirmities [1], increased by the exertion of a double journey, and determined to resign his office. Theodore seized the opportunity; and, doubtless with the consent of the East-Anglian king Aldwulf, the son of Ethelhere and the nephew of Anna [2], he divided the diocese by forming a new see at Elmham, about the centre of our present Norfolk [3]. Badwin became its first prelate, while Acci was placed in the chair of St. Felix. It was the terrible irruption of the Northmen, two centuries later, which in its results annulled this partition; so that after Dunwich had been permanently abandoned, and the line of bishops of Elmham had continued until after the Conquest [4], the single East-Anglian bishopric was transferred to Thetford in 1075, and fixed at Norwich in 1094.

[1] Bede, iv. 5: 'Quo adhuc superstite,' &c.

[2] Not his son, as Thomas of Ely thought, Vit. Etheldr. c. 7, Act. SS. Bened. ii. 744. Aldwulf's mother was Hereswid, Bede, iv. 23; so that on her side he was the nephew of Hilda. He succeeded his uncle Ethelwold in 663, and reigned until 713. For his personal recollection of king Redwald's 'fanum,' see Bede, ii. 15. His daughter Redburge, or Edburge (or Egburge, Act. SS. Bened. iii. 279), became abbess of Repton; Tho. Eli. l. c. Two others, Ethelburga and Hwætburga, became abbesses of Hackness.

[3] He was adhering to 'tribal demarcations' within the kingdom; Green, Making of Engl. p. 343.

[4] See Jessopp's Diocesan History of Norwich, pp. 28, 29.

CHAP. IX.

But the attention of East-Anglian Churchmen was probably attracted, in this year 673, with at least equal liveliness of interest, by an event which had all the charm of ecclesiastical romance, while it inaugurated an important monastic undertaking, and had the effect, early in the twelfth century, of restoring another episcopate to the eastern part of England. We must remember that Etheldred[1], the daughter of the devout king Anna, and the sister and aunt of several royal nuns, had become the reluctant wife, first of Tonbert the chief of the Southern Gyrvians or 'fen-land men,' who inhabited South Cambridgeshire, and afterwards of Egfrid of Northumbria. The jointure or 'morning-gift[2]' which she had received from her first husband was no other than the isle of Ely, which Bede describes as a district of 'six hundred hydes[3], like an island, surrounded either by marshes or waters, whence it took its name from the abundance of eels which are caught in those marshes': which the historian of the Conquest describes as 'strictly an island' in the ages before

Etheldred at Ely.

[1] See Bede, iv. 19, and Thomas of Ely's Life of St. Etheldred in Act. SS. Bened. ii. 740, and epitomized in Angl. Sac. i. 597. Etheldred was born about 630 at Ermynge, now Ixning, in Suffolk, and married to Tonbert in 652, two years before her father's death. Tonbert died in 655: and her relations married her to Egfrid in 660. Bishop Stubbs has observed that the connexion of the Gyrvii with East Anglia accounts for the fact that they were Christianized much earlier than their Mercian neighbours: for Thomas, a Gyrvian, was consecrated bishop of Dunwich six years before the mission to the Mid-Angles.

[2] Lappenberg, ii. 338; Turner, iii. 71. Hexham, as we have seen, was her jointure from Egfrid.

[3] As usual, he calls them 'familiae.' See above, p. 182. Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. p. xxx, connects it with the root of 'higan, familia.' Bede, iv. 19: 'Est autem Elge,' &c. He had previously described the isle as 'undique aquis ac paludibus circumdata.' See Bentham's Hist. of Ch. of Ely, pp. 47, 79. Thomas of Ely describes it as 'locus difficultate adeundi et arboribus hinc inde circumdatus, habens aquas de supercilio collis tenues, sed irriguas'; Vit. S. Etheldr. c. 8, in Act. SS. Ben. ii. 745: and in his prefatory account of Ely, quoted by Wharton, Angl. Sac. i. xli, this twelfth-century chronicler celebrates the quietness and security of the 'famous isle,' its rich soil, its pleasant gardens and woods, its facilities for sport ('ferarum venatione'), its abundance of cattle and fish: 'Sunt in gremio insulae duodecim ecclesiae cum villis campestribus et modicis insulanis.' Malmesbury says (G. P. iv. 183) that the surprise of visitors at the abundance of fish was an amusement to the natives.

those drainage works 'which have changed the course of the rivers and altered the face of the country[1].' Here she led a devout life during the five years of her widowhood: and after her second marriage, she lived twelve years in Egfrid's house before she succeeded in extorting his consent to her retirement to the monastery of his aunt Ebba at Coldingham. At last, in 672, she was permitted to take the veil there from the hands of Wilfrid, to whom this unhealthy aversion for her wedded life as such,—for against Egfrid personally she had no complaint,—appeared a token of high sanctity[2]. After she had spent about a year in the house which reared its lofty buildings near the promontory which still bears the name of its foundress[3], her husband's longing to regain her, stimulated by the advice of his thanes, who doubtless regarded his previous concession as a weakness, brought him within a short distance of Coldingham. Etheldred had but just time to fly southwards: and legends grew up as to the marvels which had secured her escape and waited on her journey[4]. At last she found herself safe amid the fens and streams of her own domain; and there, after some deliberation as to the choice of a site, she fixed upon 'an elevation which in that part of Britain passes for a considerable hill[5],' and there founded a double monastery after the model of Whitby and

[1] Freeman, iv. 462: see his map there.

[2] Bede, iv. 19, quite agrees with Wilfrid. See too Thomas of Ely, c. 9. Contrast St. Columba forbidding a wife to think of going into a nunnery, and citing Rom. vii. 2, Matt. xix. 6; Adamnan, ii. 41. Gregory himself declared that 'the dissolution of marriage religionis causa, though allowed by human law, was forbidden by Divine,' quoting Matt. xix. 6; Ep. xi. 45. See the story of Berthegundis in Greg. Tur. ix. 33.

[3] 'Aedificia sublimiter erecta,' Bede, iv. 25.

[4] See Thomas of Ely, c. 11. Etheldred appears in these tales as sheltered for a week by waters miraculously rising up around a hill called Coldbert's Head; and as halting near the Humber, where her staff, fixed in the ground while she slept, grew into the largest ash-tree in the neighbourhood of 'Etheldredstowe.' See Bentham, Ch. of Ely, p. 52; Handbook to Eastern Cathedrals, pp. 195, 229, on the sculptures representing the life of Etheldred, in the octagon of Ely cathedral.

[5] Freeman, i. 275. She at first thought of a place called Cratunden, where, according to an Ely legend, a church had been built by St. Augustine and destroyed by Penda; comp. Thomas's preface in Angl. Sac. i. p. xlii, and his 'Vita,' c. 15, in Act. SS. Bened. ii. 754.

CHAP. IX. Coldingham[1], the precursor of the great abbey which has left us 'the most stately and varied[2]' of our cathedral churches. At last she was happy, in the life which represented her ideal, and she enjoyed the support of her cousin King Aldwulf, and the counsel and spiritual aid of her chaplain Huna[3],—and, ere long, the companionship of her elder sister Sexburga, the ex-queen of Kent[4]. 'It is said' that during her six years' abbacy 'she never wore linen, but always wool': that she seldom used a warm bath except on the eves of the three great festivals, among which it is curious to find the Epiphany taking the place of Christmas[5]: and that on those occasions she would first wash, or cause her attendants to wash, the feet of the nuns. Moreover, it was reported that she seldom took more than one meal a day, except on the greater solemnities, or under some pressing necessity: and that she never failed, when in fair health, to stay in the church, intent on prayer, from the matin service[6], which was then said soon after midnight, until dawn. One vivid little touch in Bede's picture[7] combines

[1] 'Viros et mulieres in eodem simul monasterio . . . et in ecclesia diutius servatum;' Tho. Eli. in Angl. Sacr. i. 599. The whole isle was devoted to the purposes of the community; ib. See above, p. 213.

[2] So Freeman esteemed it, i. 276.

[3] Tho. Eli. c. 15. After her death Huna became a hermit on an islet afterwards called Hun-ey. According to Thomas, Wilfrid alone exercised episcopal authority in Ely, and hallowed Etheldred as abbess. See Bentham, p. 56, that Ely was exempted from the jurisdiction of the East-Anglian bishop.

[4] Tho. Eli. c. 18: 'Sed et sanctorum genetrix Sexburga,' &c.

[5] 'Paschae, Pentecostes, Epiphaniae;' Bede, iv. 19. In Bede's Ep. to Egbert, c. 9, the chief days are named as the Nativity, the Epiphany, and Easter, Pentecost being omitted. The Epiphany occurs as a pre-eminent holy-day in his Life of Cuthbert, c. 11.

[6] 'Synaxeos.' This word, originally used for (1) a church-meeting for worship (compare *collecta*), and specifically (2) for the Eucharistic celebration, had come to mean (3) the divine office for the canonical hours; see Suicer and Ducange in v.; Bede, Vit. Cuthb. 10. Cp. Columban, Reg. Coen. 7; Bonif. Ep. 29. 'Septem igitur sinaxes sancti patres canendas constituerunt,' Thorpe's Anc. Laws, p. 328. For references to the matin office, see Bede, iii. 12; iv. 7; v. 9. Thomas of Ely says that all the inmates of the monastery were taught 'to love Divine worship, et decorem domus Dei tota observantia custodire'; Vit. Etheldr. 15.

[7] Bede, iv. 19: 'Ferunt autem quia cum praefato tumore,' &c. He tells the story of the operation performed by her physician Kynifrid: she died

the early habits of the young East-Anglian princess with the last illness of the abbess-queen, which was caused by the recurring pestilence, but was also accompanied by a huge and painful tumour under the jaw. 'This ailment pleases me well,' she would say: 'in my young days, I wore heavy necklaces of gold and pearls;—now, in their place, I have to carry this hot red swelling: fit penance for my former vanity, if it may but avail!' She died in 679[1], and was succeeded as abbess by Sexburga. CHAP. IX.

Her stay at Coldingham had probably been subsequent to that visit which Cuthbert, we are told, paid to Ebba, when, 'staying there some days, he exhibited, both in action and in word, that way of righteousness which he preached[2]:' and it was, to all appearance, prior to that grave moral deterioration of this community, which by degrees infected all the officials except the abbess; beginning with mere frivolity and a passion for 'fine garments,'—a frequent Coldingham.

with the incision still 'gaping.' Thomas of Ely says that she used to tell the postulants for admission, 'illam esse veram vitam quae praesentis vitae emeretur incommodo;' c. 15. See Alcuin, de Pontif. Ebor. p. 770 ff., 'in corpore vulnus . . . Apparet sanum,' &c.

[1] See Alb. Butler, June 23. Florence gives the same date, '9 Cal. July.' There is apparently a mistake in the text of Tho. Eli. '9 Cal. *Junii*' (May 24). Sexburga in 695 caused her sister's remains to be re-interred in 'a white marble coffin of beautiful workmanship brought from the desolate little city of Grantchester' (near Cambridge); Bede, iv. 19; cp. Clark's Cambridge, p. 9. The abbacy was held in succession, after Etheldred, by Sexburga, her daughter Ermenild, late queen of Mercia, and her granddaughter Werburga. It was in Edgar's time that the whole jurisdiction within the bounds of the isle of Ely was granted to 'St. Etheldred,' that is, to her church; Palgrave, p. 165. Comp. Hist. Eli. i. 4 (Gale, Script. i. 465), and see Freeman, i. 293. Her name became popularized as 'Audrey' (cp. As You Like It, iii. 1; whence 'tawdry,' used of cheap lace mementoes of Ely, cp. Winter's Tale, iv. 3, 'you promised me a tawdry lace'), and a place near Ely was called Aldreth; see Freeman, iv. 463.

[2] Bede, Vit. Cuthb. 10. It was during this visit that he went down one night to the sea, went into it up to his neck, and continued singing psalms till daybreak, then came out, knelt down, and said his prayers, whereupon 'two quadrupeds which are commonly called otters' came up out of the water, fawned upon him, warmed his feet with their breath, and dried them with their hair,—then, when he had blessed them, 'patrias relapsa sunt sub undas.' A monk, watching the scene from a cliff, was so awed that he could scarcely totter home, and implored Cuthbert's pardon. 'Did you, then, act the spy on me? Well, I forgive you, if you will tell no one of it while I live.'

CHAP. IX. infirmity among the inmates of Saxon cloisters [1],—but proceeding, as Bede intimates, in other cases, to 'wickedness' sufficient to discredit the system of double convents [2]. It is the first instance of monastic corruption which Bede has to record: in his later life he knew of much deflection from the received conventual standard [3], but he mentions none which can match the degeneracy at Coldingham. A priest named Ædgils [4], then a monk of the house, lived to tell him how an Irish-born inmate [5], devoted to penitential asceticism, was one day returning to Coldingham, after an excursion, with a brother-monk, when, looking at the monastery from afar, he predicted that a fire would consume it, and on being afterwards questioned by the abbess, reluctantly told her that he had learned this from a vision [6], but that the doom would not be accomplished in her days; how, after the community was informed of this

[1] On this see Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 450, 473, 509; Lingard, A.-S. Ch. i. 230; also ib. iii. 265, for St. Edith's defence of her splendid clothing; Turner, iii. 47. See Aldhelm, de Laud. Virginitatis, 55–58; Boniface's Ep. to Cuthbert, c. 9; and Chrodegang's Regula Canonicorum, c. 54, 'caveant canonici ne per immoderatum cultum vestium dehonestent religionis dignitatem.'

[2] Bede, iv. 25, 'a malitia inhabitantium,' referring to Vulg. Ps. cvi. 34.

[3] Bede, Ep. to Egbert, 6. [4] Bede, iv. 25: 'Quae mihi cuncta,' &c.

[5] His name was Adamnan. He had committed 'sceleris aliquid' in his youth, and when he came to himself had consulted a priest of his own race, asking for penance: 'he was strong, and could even fast a whole week.' 'Do so for three days,' said the adviser, 'and then I will return and tell you what more to do.' He never returned, being called away into Ireland. Adamnan, left to himself, took to fasting on all but two days in the week, Sunday and Thursday; Bede, iv. 25. So, it was afterwards believed, did St. Adamnan of Hy; Reeves's Adamn. p. lvii. Bede mentions a priest named Hæmgils, who, when he wrote, was an old man living on bread and water, as a hermit in Ireland; v. 12. In the Life of St. Guthlac by Felix, c. 32, an English attendant on bishop Heddi says 'inter Scottorum se populos habitasse et illic pseudo-anachoretas . . . vidisse,' together with truly devout men; Act. SS. Bened. iii. 278. On Irish penances, see above, p. 168.

[6] An unknown person, he said, stood by him during his nightly devotions, and told him that he alone in the whole community was in earnest about his soul. 'The cells made for prayer or study were turned into places for revelry, idle conversation, or other allurements.' Monks and nuns alike 'aut somno torpent inerti aut ad peccata vigilant.' Nuns, in particular, spent their time in weaving delicate garments in which to adorn themselves 'like brides,' &c.

strange prophecy, some amendment was observable, which, when Ebba was gone, gave place to the old sins, and worse. And so, Bede tells us, with his habitual awe-struck recognition of Divine judgements [1], 'while they said, "Peace and safety," the convent was burnt to the ground through some person's carelessness, but,' as 'all who knew the case could well perceive,' by 'a heavy vengeance from heaven [2].' CHAP. IX.

Mercia.

And now let us turn southward, and place ourselves, in imagination, among the Churchmen of Kent attached more or less closely to the archbishop, and thus informed as to ecclesiastical affairs in the southern and central kingdoms. They would hear a good deal about the state of the Church in Mercia. King Wulfhere, after losing Lindsey in his war with Egfrid [3], and gaining some dearly-bought advantage over Escwin, then king of a part of Wessex, in the battle of Beadanhead or Bedwin [4], ended his noble life in 675 [5], leaving the Church firmly settled in the Midlands: and his son Kenred, being a boy, was passed over in favour of his father's brother Ethelred [6], another of those sons of the great Pagan whom Christianity had made so effectually

[1] 'Lest, while we are yielding to the allurements of the flesh, repentina ejus ira nos corripiat.' Comp. Bede, iv. 3, v. 13, 14, and Epist. 15.

[2] It is said that on account of these scandals at Coldingham, Cuthbert, when bishop of Lindisfarne, with full 'consent of men and women,' excluded all women 'from the threshold' of his monastic cathedral (see Lingard, A.-S. Ch. i. 215), and that a separate church was built on the island 'in campi viventis planitie,' thence called the Green Kirk. De Dun. Eccl. ii. 7; cp. Ann. SS. Ben. ii. 878; Lingard, A.-S. Ch. i. 215. In Durham cathedral women could not go further up the nave than a cruciform line of blue stone west of the north door.

[3] Bede, iv. 12; see above, p. 267. Lindsey was a 'debatable land' between Mercia and Northumbria, but finally became Mercian.

[4] Chron. 675. For Escwin, see above, p. 273. On the result of the battle, cp. Hen. Hunt. ii. 37.

[5] On his reign see Smith's Bede, p. 746; Lappenberg, i. 178. His chief fault was the unworthy transaction with bishop Wini; but against this are to be set his exertions for Christianity, not only within his own realm, but in regard to the South-Saxon king. 'Christi nomen ubique locorum regni sui praedicare jussit;' Florence, a. 675. 'Christianitatem vix in regno suo palpitantem . . . enixissime juvit;' Malmesb. G. Reg. i. 76. He was buried at Lichfield. After his death his wife Ermenild took the veil at Sheppey, and his daughter Werburga (above, p. 207) at Ely.

[6] See above, p. 180. So among the Picts, 'the law of primogeniture was only partially recognized;' Robertson, Scotland under Early Kings, i. 34.

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its own. The vacancy of the Mercian throne was contemporaneous with the vacancy of the Mercian bishopric: Winfrid was deposed by Theodore for some 'disobedience[1],' which is not explained by Bede, but has been supposed to mean resistance to a partition of the great diocese of Lichfield. Gentle as Winfrid was by nature, he may perhaps have thought himself bound by reverence for Chad's memory to retain Chad's diocese as he had received it. Whether Theodore went through the form of a synodical trial and sentence, we know not; he would be somewhat too likely to disregard such restrictions on his authority[2]: but Winfrid made no resistance, uttered no appeal. He retired to the monastery of Barrow, which seems to have been under his own personal jurisdiction: and after some experiences on the continent, which, as we shall see, were almost grotesquely unfortunate, he ended his life, under the peaceful roof of his own convent, 'in all holy conduct[3].' He was succeeded by Saxulf, the abbot, and, in a sense, the founder of Medeshamstede[4], who, after having, as the monastic chronicler, Hugh the White, assures us, 'given birth to several dependent monasteries,' left the parent house in the care of a monk named Cuthbald[5].

Erkenwald, bishop of London.

'At that time also,' writes Bede, 'Theodore appointed Erkenwald to be bishop, in the city of London, for the

[1] Bede, iv. 6: 'Per meritum cujusdam inobedientiae.' Malmesbury says that he was expelled from Lichfield by king Ethelred, 'quia Egfridi partium fuerat' (G. Pont. iii. 100); but this would place the expulsion in 679, whereas Saxulf succeeded to Lichfield 'not long after' the council of Hertford (Bede, iv. 6), and probably in 675 (Stubbs, Registr. p. 3). 'He was unbuxum (disobedient) in som poynt;' Trevisa's transl. of Polychron. b. i. c. 55.

[2] He acted 'pro placito'; Malmesb. Gest. Pontif. i. 1. See Collier, i. 239. Bingham says that even if a metropolitan could depose a suffragan by his sole authority, the act was subject to revision by the synod; b. ii. c. 16. s. 16. 'Occasionally he (Theodore) ventured to transgress the strict letter of the canons;' Lingard, A.-S. Ch. i. 78.

[3] Bede, iv. 6: 'Depositus vero Vynfrid,' &c.

[4] 'Constructor et abbas,' Bede, l. c. Above, p. 204.

[5] He had founded a monastery 'cum heremiticis cellulis' at a place called Ancarig, afterwards Thorney, in Cambridgeshire. See Hugo Cand. in Sparke, Scr. Varii, pp. 6–8; Sprott's Chron. ed. Hearne, p. 172.

East-Saxons[1].' In after days, when this prelate was honoured as a saint, it was said that, when a little boy, he had heard Mellitus preach in London[2]. Bede has much to tell us of the 'two noble monasteries' that he founded, before his episcopate, for himself and for his sister Ethelburga[3],—one at Chertsey in Surrey, the other at Barking in Essex. The former was raised by the help of Frithwold, a Mercian sub-king[4]: the latter, like Whitby and others, was a double foundation, having a separate area for the monks apart from the nuns' building, and even a separate chapel, or oratory, for each order[5]. Of Barking Bede gives us, on the authority of a memoir of contemporary date, a series of anecdotes, several of which refer to the ravages of the Yellow Pest, and some belong to the class of instances of mysterious consciousness, or prevision, shortly preceding death[6]. When Bede wrote, men believed that the horse-litter[7] in which, when infirm, Erkenwald used CHAP. IX.

[1] Bede, l. c. (he writes 'Erconvald.') Alb. Butler, April 30. Cp. Milman, Ann. of St. Paul's, p. 11; Simpson, Chapters in Hist. of Old St. Paul's, p. 13. Loftie says that his 'career was an uninterrupted course of good, useful, and farsighted measures,' &c., and 'his festival was the great day of all the year at St. Paul's'; London (Historic Towns), pp. 150, 157.

[2] Dugdale, Hist. St. Paul's, p. 289.

[3] For 'Ædilburge,' as Bede writes her name, see Alb. Butler, Oct. 11.

[4] Malmesb. G. Pontif. ii. 73. See Monast. Angl. i. 426; Frithwald is called 'Surrianorum subregulus regis Wlfarii.' A description of the boundaries of Chertsey abbey-land traces them from 'the mouth of the Way to the eels' ditch, the old military way, . . . the great willow, . . . the head of the pool, the old spinney, the holm-oak, the three hills, . . . the march-brook, the three trees,' &c. Another form is in Kemble, iii. p. 401. Ethelburga was succeeded by Hildilith, a friend of Aldhelm; comp. Bede, iv. 10; Aldh. de Laud. Virgin. 1. Tanner, in 'Notitia Monastica,' dates the foundation of Chertsey, from its register, in 666.

[5] Bede, iv. 7: 'Cujus radius lucis,' &c. Comp. Mabillon, Ann. Benedict. i. 397.

[6] One story is of a vision, at dawn, of a radiant human body wrapt in linen, and borne up by cords brighter than gold out of the 'house' reserved for dying sisters, - shortly before the death of Ethelburga; Bede, iv. 9. In this passage we find the word 'pausare,' 'to go to rest' in death; comp. Bede, v. 8. In Adamn. Vit. Col. iii. 23 the word is applied to the remains of the dead, 'in quo . . . sancti pausant ossa.' Comp. Reeves's Adamnan, p. 378, 'Adomnanus . . . pausat,' and 'pausavit' as = 'quievit' in Chron. Scot. Bede mentions the 'cottage' of the sick and dying in the monastic precinct of Whitby, iv. 24.

[7] Bede, iv. 6: 'Etenim usque hodie,' &c. Cp. Malmesb. G. P. ii. 73.

CHAP. IX. to go about his diocese, was invested with wonder-working efficacy; a belief which could not have grown up unless the bishop had endeared himself to his people by true pastoral and self-sacrificing activity, such as would go far to consolidate the fabric of Church-life on ground that had once seemed to offer no sure foundation.

Aldhelm. Another event of 675 would call forth eager interest in the precincts of the ecclesiastical school in Canterbury. One of the students, Aldhelm[1], a youth of princely West-Saxon blood[2], who had shown a pre-eminent faculty for acquiring all the lore of the time,—Greek as well as Latin, and even Hebrew,—together with music and metrical rules[3], and had astonished even such a teacher as Hadrian by his aptitudes and attainments[4], had returned into Wessex, and become a member of a small community under the teaching and government of an Irish monk named Mailduf[5],—probably Moeldubh,—'in erudition a philosopher,' who had been attracted by the woodland beauty of a peninsular hill named Ingelborne, had obtained leave

[1] Alb. Butler, May 25; Turner, Angl.-Sax. iii. 400.

[2] Faricius, abbot of Abingdon (1100), who wrote his Life (Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxix. 65), makes him the nephew of king Ine; a manifest anachronism, as Malmesbury observes,—who adds that Aldhelm's father Kenten was a kinsman, not a brother, of Ine; Gest. Pontif. v. 88. See Elmham, s. 84: 'Aldhelm needs not to have his lineage supported by falsehoods.' Kemble (ii. 373) describes him as 'closely connected with the royal family of Wessex.'

[3] Bede calls him a man most learned 'all round, . . . a wonder of erudition in liberal as well as in sacred literature'; v. 18. See his Epist. 4, to bishop Heddi, on the study of metre and of calculations; his work 'De Septenario, et de Metris,' &c.; his frequent quotations from Latin poets. Faricius says that he could speak and write Greek; Vit. Aldh. c. 1. See Milner, Hist. Winch. i. 82. His reading, in fact, exceeded his literary discretion and good taste. We must not wonder at his believing that St. Clement of Rome wrote the 'Itinerarium Petri,' that pope Sylvester bound a pestilent serpent, or that Constantine was healed of leprosy by being baptized; De Laud. Virg. c. 25.

[4] Malmesb. l. c. Aldhelm refers to Theodore as having personally given instructions; Ep. 3.

[5] Bede, v. 18; Malmesb. v. 189; Lanigan, iii. 100. An Irishman 'ignoti nominis' reminded Aldhelm, 'You were bred up under a certain holy man of our race;' Ep. 5. See Newman on University Education, p. 31: 'Blessed days of peace and confidence (between England and Ireland), when Mailduf penetrated to Malmesbury,' &c.

to build a hut beneath the walls of its old castle[1], and had there lived by monastic rule, and taken pupils for his subsistence. He brought with him all the culture for which Irish scholars were then famous: a little society grew up around him; and his name has been thought to survive in 'Malmesbury[2].' Aldhelm had returned to Canterbury, but his second sojourn there was broken off by bad health, as we learn from his own letter to Hadrian, 'the revered preceptor of his childhood[3].' He returned to his studies under Mailduf, was ordained priest by Bishop Lothere[4], and in 675 was regularly appointed abbot. Better days now dawned on the poor and hard-working community. They had hardly been able to secure daily bread: but the renown of their new superior put an end to these straits[5], and a crowd of new brethren bore witness to his attractiveness as an instructor and a spiritual guide. It is probable enough that one or another great landowner came forward to assist the brotherhood[6]. The lowly chapel of Mailduf was superseded by 'a more august church in honour of the Lord and Saviour, and of the chief apostles Peter and Paul[7].' One incident of his earlier days at Malmesbury brings

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[1] 'Nemoris amoenitate . . . captus;' Malm. l. c.; Mon. Angl. i. 253, 257.

[2] Bede, v. 18: 'Maildufi urbem.' Mr. James Parker, referring to 'Meldunensburg' in Ine's charter of 701 (Cod. Dipl. i. 56), suggests 'Mældun,' hill of the cross (properly, mark), as 'Cristes mæle,' Chron. Abingd. i. 65, 338 (in lists of boundaries).

[3] Aldh. Ep. 7: 'corporeae fragilitatis,' &c. In Ep. 3 he alludes to Hadrian as 'urbanitate enucleata ineffabiliter praedito.'

[4] Faricius, c. 1. The grant of land at Malmesbury by Lothere is a manifest forgery; Cod. Dipl. i. 14.

[5] Malmesb. G. P. v. 197: 'Correxit nobilitas Aldelmi victualium inopiam.'

[6] Malmesb. G. P. v. 200. The charter ascribed to Kenfrith is very grandiloquent, and bespeaks a later time. That of king Ethelred is much simpler (Cod. Dipl. i. 27). But both may be spurious, and yet the tradition of some such grants may be trustworthy. One in which Baldred, in August 688, gives 'some land to abbot Aldhelm,' is referred by Kemble to Cadwalla's reign; Cod. Dipl. i. 32.

[7] Malmesb. G. P. v. 197. He afterwards built two other churches within the precinct, St. Mary's and St. Michael's; ib. v. 216. He adds that 'tota majoris ecclesiae fabrica' subsisted to his own time, surpassing all other ancient English churches in size and beauty. He was writing in 1125.

CHAP. IX. him more lovingly before us than all the panegyrics on his sanctity or his manifold acquirements, or on that style which to us appears so full of turgid affectations[1], although to William of Malmesbury it seems to combine the several excellences of English, Greek, and Latin[2]. The anecdote was derived from no less an authority than Alfred the Great[3]. It seems that the rude West-Saxons of the district were wont to hasten home after hearing mass, without waiting for the sermon,—sometimes, perhaps, to neglect church altogether[4]. Aldhelm, who had learned to sing, and to compose ballads, while a student at Canterbury, saw his way to making use of that talent. He took his station on the bridge which crossed the Avon southwards, and confronted the passers-by[5], who were intent on their marketings, but, like all Saxons, were fascinated by music[6], and stopped when he began a lively song[7]. 'Having done this more than once, and gathered a crowd of listeners,' he glided from such minstrelsy into a strain that brought in sacred words, and brought home serious thoughts. This 'blameless guile[8]' proved effective, where ecclesiastical

[1] E.g. Ep. 3, or the De Laudibus Virginitatis, c. 2, 12, 32. Of that work Malmesbury says, 'Nihil dulcius, nihil splendidius;' G. Reg. i. 3. His pedantry frequently takes a classical form: he talks, e. g. of the 'dura Parcarum quies,' and calls St. Athanasius a 'sacred flamen.' He is fond of Greek words, as doxa, sophia, kata,—and of alliteration; Ep. 3. 'Language that rivals Armado, or Holofernes, or Euphues;' Haddan's Remains, p. 267. See Turner, Angl.-Sax. iii. 403, 'a series of bombastic amplifications;' and Lingard, A.-S. Ch. ii. 152. A similar 'Grecizing' affectation characterizes many of the Chartae Anglo-Saxonicae in Kemble, e. g. 'Kyrius, archon, taumate, agie, catascopus,' &c. See also the pomposities of Odo's preface to Fridegod's Life of Wilfrid.

[2] Malmesb. G. P. v. 196; and Gest. Reg. i. s. 31. Bede calls Aldhelm 'sermone nitidus,' v. 18; praise to which he himself is far better entitled. See Lingard, ii. 153.

[3] Malmesbury, v. 190, referring to Alfred's Handbook, ib. 188. Comp. Faricius, c. 1: he gives it with some variations.

[4] So Faricius: 'ecclesiam non frequentabat.'

[5] According to Faricius, he met them as they were flocking into the town; according to Malmesbury (or rather, Alfred), when they were hastening home 'statim cantatis missis.' See above, p. 115.

[6] See the story of Cædmon, below. Cp. Lingard, A.-S. Ch. ii. 155.

[7] This song was long afterwards popularly current; Malmesb. l. c.

[8] Christian Year, Fifth Sunday after Trinity.

censures 'would have done no good whatever[1];' and his Pauline versatility was rewarded by a manifest increase of religious earnestness in his congregations. CHAP. IX.

His bishop Lothere died in the year following his own appointment to the abbacy[2]; and Theodore, in London, and doubtless with Erkenwald's assistance, consecrated Heddi, who, says Bede, was qualified for episcopal duties rather by an innate love of goodness than by any book-learning[3], but who evidently appreciated the abilities and the character of the scholar-abbot, for we find Aldhelm writing to him as to his 'peculiar patron,' and dilating on the difficulties of Roman law, of prosody, arithmetical calculations, astronomy and astrology[4]. The West-Saxon realm was just now in a 'somewhat' chaotic state: there seem to have been several sub-kings,—one of them, Escwin[5], more potent than the rest, but no one acknowledged by all, until by degrees Kentwin[6], a brother of Kenwalch, established his sove- Wessex.

[1] 'Profecto profecisset nihil,' Malmesb. l. c.

[2] See Kemble, Cod. Dipl. i. 16, for a charter dated on Nov. 6 in this year 676, and ascribed to 'Osric, king,' i. e. sub-king, of the Hwiccas. He is made to say that when first the Gospel doctrines were brought home to him after his baptism, he had confined himself to the erection of a 'pontifical chair': but that he has 'now' resolved to found 'coenobialia loca' for men and for women, and grants to abbess Bertana land near the city called Hât Bathu (i. e. Bath, called Hata-Bathum in Chron. a. 972). But the document exhibits the signatures of both Lothere and his successor Heddi, whereas Heddi was not consecrated in Lothere's lifetime; Bede, iv. 12. Osric might be sub-king as early as 676: he was so, apparently, in 681, when he is said to have founded the monastery of Gloucester; and see Bede, iv. 23. The difficulty caused by Florence's mention of Oshere as sub-king in 679 might be got over: he probably antedated Oshere. But the matter of the document would seem to show that, if genuine, it must be ascribed to a later year. Bishop Stubbs thinks Osric *may* have been the son of Alchfrid son of Oswy, and the uncle of Oshere; Dict. Chr. Biogr. iv. 160, 162.

[3] Bede, v. 18: 'Bonus quippe erat,' &c. On this Malmesbury says, 'Non parvo moveor scrupulo, quippe qui legerim ejus formales epistolas non nimis indocte compositas;' G. P. ii. 75. See the lines addressed to him, and ascribed to Theodore, 'Te nunc, sancte speculator,' &c., in Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 203.

[4] Aldh. Ep. 4. On the study of Roman law at this period, see Kemble, Cod. Dipl. i. p. viii. Cp. Eddi, 43, on Wilfrid's proficiency in it.

[5] 'Nearest to the royal stock,' says Malmesbury, G. Reg. i. 2. For a number of sub-kings in Wessex fifty years earlier, see p. 130.

[6] Comp. Bede, iv. 12, with Chron. 676, which makes Kentwin succeed

CHAP. IX. reignty, and, although an elderly man, displayed on one occasion the warlike energy of his house by 'driving the Britons to the sea[1].' His name is of some interest to us in this Thames valley, in connexion with the original foundation of the great abbey of St. Mary of Abingdon. For it was in the first year of his reign that Hean[2], the nephew of the sub-king Cissa, obtained from his uncle a grant of land for a monastery amid the 'Bagley-wood' of that period, on a spot called Abba's hill[3], a name transferred some twenty years later to Seukesham[4], when, after many delays[5], the design was carried out on that ground near

to Escwin. Some verses wrongly ascribed to Aldhelm describe a church founded by Bugge, daughter of Kentwin (prob. lect.) during the reign of Ine.

[1] Chron. 682. 'Victoriosus et vehemens,' Hen. Hunt. Hist. ii. 38.

[2] Chron. Abingd. vol. ii. pp. vii. 269. Hean is said to have been stirred by a sermon on 'the camel and the needle's eye.' This seems an imitation of the story about St. Antony. The land granted by Cissa was a piece of the public 'folcland'; ib. pp. xii. 497. Hean's sister Ceolswith, or Cilla, actually founded a nunnery in honour of St. Helen at a place called Helenstow: it was afterwards removed to Wytham; vol. i. 8, ii. 269.

[3] 'A little beyond the vill called Sunningwell, between two very lovely streams which enclose the spot quasi quemdam sinum;' Chron. Ab. vol. i. p. 3. In other words, 'near Bayworth;' ib. ii. 268. See Tanner, Not. Mon. p. 10, 'two miles nearer Oxford than the present' Abingdon, 'near Bayworth, or Chilswell,' where Chilswell farm now stands, on old property of the abbey, below Hen-wood (qu. Hean's?). The tale of an Irish (or British) monk 'Abben,' who dwelt on the 'mount' as an abbot, is a mere legend: 'Abingdon' is derived from Abba, an early settler in Berkshire; Chron. Ab. ii. p. v. The story mentions 'a hermit who dwelt in Cumnor wood'; ib. p. 270.

[4] Or 'Sheovesham.' The Chronicle describes Seuekesham as 'civitas famosa, . . . divitiis plena,' surrounded by broad green meadows, where were found traces of British Christianity, and among them a black cross, which no one could profane by perjury 'sine periculo vitae,' &c.; i. 6, 7; and which became the palladium of the abbey. A more modest account, tracing it to Cilla, is in ii. 269.

[5] See Stevenson's Chron. Abingd. i. 9, for the alleged charter of king Ine, dated 699, marked as spurious by Kemble, Cod. Dipl. i. 53, but supposed by Stevenson to be reducible into component parts, which, taken separately, present no difficulties; Chr. Ab. ii. 496. The transactions, in his view, were as follows: Cissa grants some lands to Hean for monastic purposes; Cadwalla, when king of Wessex, grants some twenty 'hydes' (including 'Cumnor wood'), which, according to the fragment of his charter (ib. i. 8), he had measured 'partim equitando, partim navigando': Ine finds that Hean has not complied with the conditions of Cissa's grant, revokes it, and 'restores the land to the commonwealth':

the river where we still see some scanty remains of the once stately monastery which made the new 'Abbendun,' our Abingdon, ecclesiastically and historically important. Heddi must have come into the valley,—at what time, we know not, but probably soon after his consecration,—when he removed the bones of St. Birinus from Dorchester to Winchester [1], in token that the West-Saxon capital was now the one seat of the West-Saxon prelacy,—and withal deprived Dorchester of cathedral rank.

Ethelred ravages Kent.

Kent itself was now to feel the sharp edge of an invader's sword. King Lothere had given some offence to Ethelred [2]; or, perhaps, Penda's son was fired with the passion of a conqueror. He came down on the weaker kingdom at the head of a hostile force, and laid waste not only towns or villages, but 'churches and monasteries, without respect to piety or the fear of God [3].' Even in Canterbury some alarm may well have been felt for the archiepiscopal church, and for the abbey of SS. Peter and Paul, which had recently obtained a 'privilege' from Pope Adeodatus, denouncing spiritual censures against all who should disturb it [4]. But Rochester was actually destroyed. Its bishop, Putta, was just then absent; but on hearing of the disaster, he lost all heart. 'His church had been stripped of all its property, and laid desolate.' The simple-minded, inactive man had no spirit or energy for such a crisis. He withdrew into Mercia,—into the very country whence the ravagers had come,—attracted, perhaps, by the known kindness and munificence of Bishop Saxulf, who gave him a church,

Hean then promises that there shall be no further delay, takes the vows of a monk, and appoints an unnamed person as his abbot: thereupon Ine renews the grant. But within five years, Hean, with his abbot's consent, cancels this arrangement, and is absolved from his vows, A.D. 699. The actual establishment of the monastery took place some years later, during Aldhelm's episcopate. The Abingdon Chronicler did injustice to Ine's motives, vol. i. p. 9; see ii. p. xi.

[1] Bede, iii. 7.

[2] See Malmesb. G. P. i. 35, 'Nam Ethelredus,' &c.

[3] Bede, iv. 12. He dates this in 676. Compare Hen. Hunt. ii. 38.

[4] Elmham, p. 245. Another privilege, professing to come from pope Agatho, May 15, 675, is 'of questionable authenticity'; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 124. See above, p. 113; and cp. Freeman, iv. 407.

CHAP. IX. and a small piece of land[1], where he dwelt, exercising his ministry in quietness, and, according to Bede, going about, when invited, to give lessons in his own art of choir-music. This does not point to the regular formation of a bishopric; yet Putta's name heads the list of bishops of Hereford[2]. We may assume that he would not refuse to perform episcopal functions in the surrounding district of Hecana, as a deputy for Saxulf[3]; he would thus be regarded as its acting chief pastor, and in later traditions as actually its first bishop. In that tranquil home beside the Wye, perhaps where now the venerable cathedral and its dependent buildings give a special charm to the Hereford 'precinct[4],' Putta spent the rest of his life, 'never thinking at all' of a return to Rochester, where his successor Cwichelm found it impossible, for lack of means, to maintain himself, and resigned in 678, when Theodore consecrated Gebmund[5].

Cuthbert, prior of Lindisfarne.

Once more let us look northwards. The year of Ethelred's raid in Kent, and Putta's settlement in Hecana, was marked in Northumbria by an event of importance in the life of one who was gradually becoming the typical saint of that realm. Cuthbert had been removed by his abbot Eata from Melrose to Lindisfarne, 'that he might there also teach the rule of monastic perfection with the authority of a prior, and set it forth by a virtuous example[6]. He improved the

[1] 'Agelli non grandis,' Bede, iv. 12.

[2] Florence, append. See above, p. 259. The name of Hereford, 'the ford of the army,' records the passing of Saxon forces over the river to attack the Welsh borders; Taylor's Words and Places, p. 268.

[3] See Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 130. It is true that 'Bede says nothing about Putta as a bishop of Hereford' (Phillott, Dioc. Hist. Heref. p. 9), and that, so far as his narrative goes, Putta lived in Saxulf's diocese 'as a simple priest' (Plummer). Florence dates his death in 688, and names as his first successors, Tyrhtel, Torthere, and Wahlstod; the last of these is mentioned by Bede, v. 23, as 'bishop (in 731) of the people who dwell beyond the Severn westward.'

[4] Near the city is a hamlet named 'Putstone,' which gives a title to two prebends in the cathedral.

[5] Bede, iv. 12.

[6] Bede, iv. 27; Vit. Cuthb. 16; De Mirac. S. Cuthb. 14; Vit. Anon. l. 2 (Bede, vol. vi. p. 367). This cannot have been as early as 664, as Raine supposes (St. Cuthbert, p. 17 ff.), following Simeon. See above, p. 216.

discipline of the monastery by a compilation of new rules [1], drawn up at Eata's desire: and it was now his task to overcome the repugnance with which the monks regarded what they deemed an additional burden. Thus he had to face an opposition, on the part of daily and hourly associates, which, as Bede hints, extended to some bodily ill-treatment [2]; which would have certainly worn out one less firm, or exasperated one less loving, but which could not even ruffle his brow or sharpen his tones, and gradually yielded to the sweet power of his 'modest patience.' 'When, in discussions, he was harassed by insulting language, he would suddenly rise, break up the meeting, and go out with a calm face [3] and a quiet mind: on the very next day, as if he had met with no gainsaying whatever, he would repeat again the same exhortations, until, by degrees, he brought them round to what he desired.' His daily conduct was a lesson of devotion: sometimes he spent three or four nights together in vigil and prayer, without ever lying down: he was either alone in some retired place, or making something with his hands [4], while he recited psalms [5], by way of keep- CHAP. IX.

[1] The author of the Anonymous Life says, 'Et nobis regularem vitam primum componens constituit, quam usque hodie cum regula Benedicti observamus.' Bed. Op. vi. 369. See Lingard, A.-S. Ch. i. 217.

[2] 'Quae vel animo vel corpori adversa ingerebantur;' Bede, V. C. 16.

[3] 'Placido vultu.' Further on, 'inter tristia . . . faciem praetendens hilarem.' 'His gentleness and firmness . . . proved too much for the malcontents . . . A difficult antagonist: he would not dispute; he would not quarrel; but he would be obeyed;' Christ. Remembr. vol. xxiii. p. 69. The Anon. Vit. omits these troubles.

[4] His hands were 'large and broad'; Bede, iv. 31. Compare the ancient monks' habit of 'twisting ropes' (Coteler. Eccl. Gr. Mon. i. 340) or weaving palm-leaves into baskets; Sozomen, vi. 29.

[5] References to the devotional use of the Psalter are frequent in Bede. Thus, the monks of Hexham used to keep vigil with 'plurima psalmorum laude,' at 'Heavenfield,' on the night before the anniversary of St. Oswald's death; Bede, iii. 2. Psalms were said for the soul of Hilda, iv. 23: cp. v. 14. The Hewalds were 'constantly occupied in psalms and prayers'; v. 10. For Cuthbert's psalmody see Vit. Cuthb. 5, 34. Psalms were sung in Benedict Biscop's cell during his last illness; Hist. Abb. 9. Bede spent a large part of his last days 'in psalmorum cantu'; see Cuthbert's letter to Cuthwin. The custom was carried to excess when, e.g. Ceolfrid and his companions recited the whole psalter twice a day, beside the psalms of the hours, on their Romeward journey; Hist. Abb. 16: or when the English-born Willehad almost always sang 'one psalter' a day, sometimes

CHAP. IX. ing off sleepiness, or going about the island to see that all was well. If any of the monks complained of being disturbed in their nightly or noonday slumber, he would say pleasantly, '*I* am never annoyed by being aroused to do or think of something useful [1].' When he celebrated, 'it was rather his heart than his voice that was uplifted' at the 'Sursum corda': nor could he ever complete the service without tears [2]. As an administrator of discipline, his zeal for what was right became sternness towards all who were doing wrong: but honest confession awakened all his sympathy, and the penitent would be drawn into better ways by a renewed experience of such tenderness united to such holiness [3]. He used garments neither too smart nor slovenly; and his proscription of rich colours became a tradition among the Lindisfarne monks [4]. As at Melrose, he found work to do among the country people, and 'by his frequent visits, as his custom was, he stirred up many to seek after a heavenly reward.' Stories were told, as in his earlier life, about wonderful effects from his prayers [5]. Altogether, he seemed to be eminently the man for the place: yet after several years thus spent, he took a step which must seem strange to us, though to the men of his time it appeared to be the very crown of contemplative and ascetic perfection. In 676 [6], when he was about forty-five, he gave up his duties

even two or three; Vit. S. Will. 9. Compare Bede, iii. 27, on the amount of Egbert's psalmody.

[1] Bede, Vit. Cuthb. 16: 'Nemo . . . mihi molestiam facit me excitando de somno,' &c. It was usual for monks to sleep for awhile before or after the matin service; comp. Bede, v. 9. St. Liudger used to sleep, after the 'psalmody' of nocturns, in a 'solar' of the church of Utrecht; Vit. Liudg. 16. See too Benedict's Reg. Mon. c. 22, 48.

[2] Bede, V. C. 16. The celebration was still, as in Aidan's time, confined to Sundays; ib. 44. See above, p. 167.

[3] Bede, l. c.: 'Erat zelo justitiae fervidus,' &c.

[4] Bede, l. c.: 'Vestimentis utebatur communibus,' &c. Above, p. 269.

[5] Bede, V. C. 15.

[6] Simeon, de Dun. Eccl. i. 7, gives this date. It appears, indeed, that Simeon antedates his coming to Lindisfarne by some years; but he may be right as to the time of his resignation, as having taken place in 676, and in the third year before the consecration of Eata, which was late in 678. Bede assigns to him, vaguely, 'many' years of priorship both at Melrose and at Lindisfarne; V. C. 16, 17.

as prior of Lindisfarne, in order to live as a 'recluse' on the neighbouring islet of Farne, which Aidan had used for his periodical retreats [1]. His biographers regarded him as 'having thus chosen the better part [2]';—as if he had not proved his own signal capacities for that union of service and of devotion which he had enjoyed while dwelling in a community. The unhealthy extravagance into which the ecclesiastical mind of that age was led, on such subjects, by the accumulating influences of its hagiology, mingles with the good sense which such a writer as Bede exhibits on other matters. No one, apparently, remonstrated with Cuthbert: every one thought he was doing the very thing which would make him still more pleasing to God. He himself, however, was accustomed after his retirement to warn his friends against an exaggerated estimate of his hermit-life, and to extol as truly admirable the life of obedient monks in a community [3]. It was for his own special profit, as he viewed it, that he determined to live in solitude: and accordingly, he took up his abode in an island which had never before been regularly inhabited [4], and constructed for himself a round hut roofed with logs

[1] See above, p. 162.

[2] So Sim. Dunelm.: 'O pater dulcissime . . . sedebas cum Maria secus pedes Domini, optimam partem eligens.' (Comp. Life of St. Deicolus, 16, Act. SS. Ben. ii. 108, much to the same purport.) Bede (Vit. Cuth. 17) considers that he was thereby advancing 'de virtute in virtutem.' Before retiring to Farne he spent some time in 'a secluded place in the outskirts of the monastery ("cellae") of Lindisfarne'; Bede, l. c.; evidently this, his first essay at hermit-life was made in a cave bearing his name near Howburn; Raine's St. Cuthbert, p. 20. Probably it was in some remote part of Holy Island, such as that to which his successor retired for Lenten devotions; Bede, V. C. 42: Skene says, in the S. W. corner, Celt. Sc. ii. 211. Irish monasteries sometimes had 'diserts' or places for solitary devotion: there was one such at Derry, and near the shore in Hy; Reeves's Adamnan, p. 366. Cp. Stokes, Irel. and Celt. Ch. p. 178. Fiacc is said to have spent the time from 'Shrove Saturday' 'to Easter Saturday' (i. e. Easter Eve) in a cave; Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, i. 243.

[3] 'Ne conversationem ejus quasi singulariter excelsam mirarentur . . . "Sed jure," inquit, "est coenobitarum vita mirabilis . . . quorum plurimos novi meam parvitatem longe . . . anteire;"' Bede, V. C. 22.

[4] See Raine's St. Cuthbert, p. 20 ff.; Murray's Durham and Northumberland, p. 212. It is 'a little island of basaltic rock'; Green, Making of Engl. p. 378; see Bede, iv. 28. It is referred to in several passages of Reginald of Durham's 'Libellus de S. Cuthberto.' (Surtees Soc.)

CHAP. IX. and straw: its wall, made of huge stones and turf, rose externally above a man's height, but internally was sunk much deeper, 'so that the pious inhabitant might see nothing but the sky[1].' The cottage, as Bede once calls it[2], had two compartments, one of which served as an oratory[3]: and one window, which looked to the west. In the centre, with the help of Lindisfarne monks, he dug a pit, which next morning appeared like a well full of water,—of water, it was thought, miraculously produced from the hard rock[4]. A larger hut, for visitors[5], was built at the landing-place, looking towards Lindisfarne, with a spring of water near at hand. Cuthbert, at first, used to leave his cell in order to greet his brethren, and wash their feet with warm water[6], a service which they sedulously returned. They used to supply him with bread, until, in order not to burden the monastery, he made them bring him some instruments of husbandry, and some grain:—wheat, when sown, did not come up, but in the next year barley answered better[7].

[1] Bede, V. C. 16: 'Quatenus . . . pius incola nil . . . praeter coelum posset intueri.' Or, as in iv. 28, 'coelum tantum . . . cujus introitum sitiebat,' &c.

[2] 'Casula,' Bede, Vit. Cuthb. 27. In c. 18, 'tuguriunculum,' 'mansio,' or 'monasterium'; cp. iv. 28, 'mansionem angustam.' On this cell, see Anderson, Scotland in Early Christian Times, p. 125.

[3] In Vit. Cuthb. 46, Bede speaks of its walls as '*tabulis* minus diligenter coaptatis compositi.' It looked southwards: he afterwards erected a cross outside it, and placed under the turf, to the north of it, a sarcophagus given him by the abbot Cudda, ib. 37. On the site stands a chapel of St. Cuthbert, probably 700 years old, fitted up for service, which is performed 'about twice a year'; Murray's Durham and Northumberland, p. 213.

[4] The water never failed, and never 'flooded the pavement'; Vit. Cuthb. 18; cp. iv. 28.

[5] 'Major domus,' Vit. Cuthb. 17. He had himself been hospitaller at Ripon. See above, p. 215. There was such an office at Lindisfarne; Bede, iv. 31: cp. Vit. Cuthb. 39, 44. There were 'guest-houses' in Irish monasteries, as at Armagh; see Reeves's Adamnan, pp. 157, 345, 361. See, too, the rule of St. Benedict, c. 53, that guests who arrive 'tanquam Christus suscipiantur.'

[6] Cp. Adamnan, Vit. Col. i. 4. He very seldom took off his leather buskins. Bede says that he kept them one year, from Easter to Easter, save for the solemn feet-washing on Maundy Thursday; Vit. Cuthb. 18.

[7] 'Adferte, rogo, hordeum, si forte vel illud fructum facere possit.' Vit. Cuthb. 19. He had promised them that if he could not grow corn for his own food, he would return to Lindisfarne: Bede, iv. 28, 'Si mihi Divina gratia,' &c.

To his brethren these visits must have been landmarks in their life [1]: but other friends came to see him, as Herbert, a hermit on an isle in Derwentwater, who paid him a yearly visit to enjoy his 'salutary instructions [2].' And beside these, from distant parts of Britain came strangers to tell him of their private troubles, 'and no man took home with him the sorrow that he brought.' Cuthbert knew well how to cheer the afflicted with thoughts of heaven, or of the fleetingness of earthly evil or good: he could 'describe to the tempted the various lures which might ensnare a soul destitute of love for God or for the brethren, but which a soul strong in perfect faith could pass through like a spider's web [3]': 'his speech, seasoned with salt, was wont to instruct the ignorant, reconcile those who were at variance, and make all feel that nothing was to be preferred to the love of Christ [4].' True it is, that the account of those nine years in Farne cannot stop here: solitude acted on Cuthbert's nerves and imagination as it had done on those of other

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[1] According to Bede, Vit. Cuthb. 8, he used to tell them that if he were on a rock in the midst of the ocean, hidden from all men's view, he should still not think himself free from the snares of the world and the love of money. And Bede (Vit. Cuthb. 27) gives a striking story, which Cuthbert had told in a sermon at Carlisle. One Christmas day, some Lindisfarne monks came over to Farne, and begged him to leave his cell, and spend the 'solemn and joyful day' with them in the guest-house. He consented; and they all sat down to their Christmas dinner, in the midst of which, as if stirred by an inward impulse, he began to talk of watchfulness against trials. The monks thought there was a time for all things: 'Do let us spend this day in gladness; it is our Lord's birthday.' 'Well,' said he, 'we will do so.' Presently, while they were enjoying themselves 'epulis et fabulis,' he was again moved to speak of preparing for trials. The poor monks became a little impatient; they thought the advice good, but inopportune: 'We have more than enough days for fast and vigil; to-day let us rejoice in the Lord, in memory of the great joy for all people.' 'Very well,' he said. But when, once more, the irrepressible warning broke from his lips, they felt that it meant something, and said, 'Let us do as you say.' He declared afterwards that he knew no more than they did of any approaching trouble; but when they returned home, they found one of their brethren dead of the pestilence, which raged for nearly a year afterwards, carrying off the majority of that 'noble society.' 'And now, brethren,' Cuthbert concluded, 'do *you* also be watchful in prayer, that if any tribulation should come upon you, it may find you ready to meet it.'

[2] Bede, V. C. 28; cp. Bede, iv. 29.

[3] Bede, V. C. 22.

[4] Anon. Vit. Bed. Op. vi. 372.

CHAP. IX. hermits[1], and conjured up phantoms of visible fiendish assault; and as time went on in that wild and grim retreat[2], the morbid element in his devotion became stronger; he would not come forth on the arrival of visitors, he would but look at them through the window; at last he even kept this closed, save when his blessing was expressly besought[3]. Enough of this: yet let us remember, in order to do justice to a phenomenon which to us may bear a fanatical aspect, that the hermit-life of Cuthbert was to the rude minds around him an impressive representation of spiritual power[4], and was largely overruled for the comfort of many a sore heart which would not otherwise have come under his ministry. Nor did it impair his gentleness, his lowliness, his habitual brightness of countenance and temper[5]. Still, when all this is said, we must still think that he was less truly a saint while dwelling in Farne than when, at Lindisfarne or at Melrose, he 'lived according to Holy Scripture, leading the contemplative *within* the active life[6].'

Wear-mouth. Passing on, in imagination, further south, we reach that domain, situated on the north bank of the Wear[7], which King Egfrid had granted to Benedict Biscop on his return from his fourth visit to Rome. The grant was made out of the king's private property[8]: the land was simply transferred

[1] See the Life of Antony, ascribed to St. Athanasius, c. 9: ἦν ὁ τόπος εὐθὺς πεπληρωμένος φαντασίας λεόντων ἄρκτων . . . , and for St. Guthlac, below, c. xii.

[2] Compare Bede, v. 1, for the sounds which a dweller on Farne would often hear, 'fragore procellarum ac ferventis oceani;' and Reginald, Libell. 31.

[3] Bede, V. C. 18, end.

[4] See Kingsley, The Roman and the Teuton, p. 180.

[5] Anon. Vit. C.: 'Omni hora hilaris et laetus;' Bed. Op. vi. 372. See Reginald on Cuthbert's taming the eider-ducks until they allowed him to stroke them, and nestled trustfully in his bosom, Libell. 27. Raine describes the dalmatic in which his bones were found wrapt as having eider-ducks embroidered on it; St. Cuthbert, p. 194. On his fondness for these creatures cf. Kingsley, Hermits, p. 295; and compare Guthlac, below, and Columba bidding farewell to his white horse, and Columban fondling squirrels, &c. Above, p. 289.

[6] Anon. Vit. C. Bed. Op. vi. 369.

[7] See Surtees, Hist. and Antiq. of Durham, ii. 2.

[8] 'De suo largitus;' Bede, Hist. Abb. 4.

as 'bookland,' or land held under charter [1], to Benedict, with the injunction to raise on it a monastery in honour of St. Peter. The foundation is dated in 674 [2]: a year later, Benedict made a special journey to Gaul in order to obtain skilled masons, such as he could not find nearer home, for the erection of the abbey church. In this he was aided by a friend, an abbot named Torthelm [3]; the church, 'built of stone after the Roman fashion, which the founder always loved [4],' rose with great rapidity: when it was nearly finished, he sent for Frankish glaziers, who not only glazed the windows of the church [5], cloisters, and refectory, and made lamps and vessels for the church, but taught their craft to the Northumbrians [6], and so far contributed to English civilization. All the furniture and vestments 'which Benedict could not procure at home, he took care to purchase abroad [7].' It must have been a stirring time at Wearmouth while the works were in progress, and new products of foreign art were continually coming in. So energetic, and so well served, was Benedict, that he found it possible to roof in the church, and to use it for mass within one year from the foundation [8]. The rule for the brethren was framed by Benedict, probably from that of Lerins, but certainly with reference to whatever seemed best in the customs of all those seventeen 'very ancient' monasteries which he had visited during his travels [9]. The system of

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[1] As opposed to 'folkland,' which is now understood to mean (not national property, but) 'land held by custom under the old common law,' as distinct from land held under writing or deed.

[2] Bede, Hist. Abb. 4.

[3] Anon. Hist. Abb.; Bed. Op. vi. 418.

[4] 'Lapideam . . . juxta Romanorum quem semper amabat morem;' Bede Hist. Abb. 5. Cp. Bede, iii. 4; v. 21. See Reeves's Adamnan, p. 177; and above, p. 15.

[5] Above, p. 267; cp. Greg. Tur. de Glor. Mart. i. 59.

[6] Bede, Hist. Abb. 7. See Malmesb. G. Pontif. iv. 186.

[7] 'De transmarinis regionibus advectare,' &c. Bede, l. c.

[8] Bede, l. c. Freeman considers the porch of Monkwearmouth church to be 'plainly a piece of the work of the seventh century,' v. 899.

[9] Anon. Hist. Abb., Bed. Op. vi. 418; Bede, Hist. Abb. 9; Lingard, A.-S. Ch. i. 208. So St. Boniface sent Sturmi to visit the great monasteries of Italy, in order to study their rules and 'traditions,' with a view to the new foundation of Fulda; Vit. S. Sturmi, 14; Pertz, Mon. Germ. Hist. ii. 371.

CHAP. IX. his great namesake, as we infer from words of his own, was highly esteemed by him, but was not adopted indiscriminately or in the lump. In these and all his labours

Ceolfrid. he had a 'most active coadjutor' in Ceolfrid[1], whose history was only less interesting than his own. It was in some sense like his own: for Ceolfrid also was nobly born, and had been piously trained[2], and at eighteen had entered the monastery of Gilling[3], then ruled by his kinsman Tunbert, afterwards for a short time bishop of Hexham. With him Ceolfrid afterwards went to Ripon, and entered the monastery of Wilfrid, who ordained him priest, at the age of twenty-seven, in 669. He then travelled into Kent, in order to study the monastic discipline of the great Gregorian houses: and also visited the abbot Botulf at Ikanho, by way of enlarging and varying his experience of such institutions. Yet, when he returned to Ripon, he undertook the homely office of baker to the monastery[4]; and, while heating the oven and preparing the loaves, used mentally to go over, and perfect himself in, 'the ceremonial acts of the priesthood.' He was soon, however, elevated to the priorship, and Benedict obtained Wilfrid's leave to transfer him to the same office at

[1] Anon. Hist. Abb., Bed. Op. vi. 416; Bede, Hist. Abb. 6. See Lingard, A.-S. Ch. ii. 392; Alb. Butler, Sept. 25; Church Quart. Rev. xxv. 437.

[2] His father, a 'comes,' had one day prepared a rich banquet for Oswy; a call to arms prevented the royal visit, and then 'ille, gratias divinae dispensationi referens,' assembled all the poor, sick, and wayfarers within reach, set them down to the meal which had awaited 'the earthly king,' and with his wife waited on 'the heavenly King in His lowly ones'; Anon. Hist. Abb.

[3] Above, p. 187. The former superior, Kynefrid, went to Ireland 'for the purpose of studying the Scriptures and seeing the Lord more freely in tears and prayers'; Anon. Hist. l. c.; see above, pp. 184, 212.

[4] Anon. Hist.: 'Siquidem tempore non pauco pistoris officium tenens,' &c. Different handicrafts were practised by the monks; see Bede, v. 14, on the wicked monk who was skilful as a carpenter. St. Columba had a Saxon as baker at Hy, Adamn. Vit. Col. iii. 10; and see ib. iii. 12, on 'diversa opera.' Cp. St. Boniface, Ep. 69: 'Stirme in coquina sit, Bernardus . . . aedificet domunculas vestras.' St. Sturmi, remembering the rule that 'artes diversae' should be practised in a monastery, set some of his monks to make a new channel for the river Fulda; Vit. Sturm. 20. Cp. St. Benedict, Reg. c. 57, 'Artifices si sunt,' &c.

Wearmouth. At first he had some trouble with high-born monks, who had been attracted to the new house by the secular rank once belonging to its founder, or by the royal patronage lavished on his undertaking, but who 'could not endure regular discipline[1].' So vexatious was their bearing, that Ceolfrid even threw up a task which they seemed to render hopeless, and went back to Ripon as to a home. But he was induced by Benedict to return, and thenceforward his character developed a steadfast energy and soundness of judgement which through a long period of monastic rule were united with a simplicity and affectionateness, a ready sympathy, and a fervour of devotion, which commanded the love of the whole society[2]. Another of the first inmates of Wearmouth stands out in Bede's pages as a very attractive figure: we see a young man of twenty-four, strong and handsome, with 'a sweet voice and a cheerful temper,' taking pleasure in sharing the commonest labours with his fellow-monks, at work in kitchen or garden or bakehouse, threshing or winnowing, or milking the cattle[3],—who yet, like his cousin the founder-abbot, had been a 'king's thane[4]': his name was Easterwine. A third brother, who, like these two, attained to the highest dignity in the house, was a deacon named Sigfrid, who is described as 'pre-eminently intent on Scriptural studies,' but amid them had to bear the burden of weak health, so that, as Bede quaintly expresses it, 'his efforts to keep innocency of heart

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Easterwine.

Sigfrid.

[1] Anon. Hist.: 'Nam et invidias quorumdam nobilium,' &c. Cp. Bede, Hist. Abb. 9, where Benedict warns his monks against choosing an abbot for the sake of his noble blood. Comp. Green, Making of Engl. p. 346.

[2] Bede, Hist. Abb. 12, 13: 'Industrius per omnia . . . acutus ingenio, actu impiger, maturus animo, religionis zelo fervens . . . Incomparabilem orandi psallendique sollertiam . . . mirabilem et coercendi improbos fervorem, et modestiam consolandi infirmos' (here 'modestiam' seems to mean gentleness), &c.; and ib. 14, 'nutritoris tutorisque . . . spiritualis . . . libertatis et pacis.' The Anon. Hist. Abb. speaks of him as 'acer ingenio, strenuus actu . . . flagrans amore simul et timore divino,' &c. See Bp. Browne, Lessons from E. E. Ch. Hist., p. 62.

[3] Bede, Hist. Abb. 7: 'Ventilare cum eis et triturare, oves vitulasque mulgere, in pistrino, in coquino, in cunctis monasterii operibus, jocundus et obediens gauderet exerceri,' &c. Cp. Benedict, Reg. c. 46.

[4] 'Minister.' See above, p. 129.

CHAP. IX. were carried on under pressure of an incurable affection of the lungs[1].'

Hilda at Whitby.

Let us go southward again, and observe the condition of that already famous convent which had been the scene of the Conference, and which looked down in its pride of place over the German Ocean. In Hilda, the royal grand-niece of the great Edwin, we see the old Teutonic type of a woman of wise 'rede' and mighty influence, a Veleda[2] or an Alioruna, softened and transfigured into 'the Mother' whose advice was sought by princes, and who 'held out to many' at a distance 'an example of the works of light[3].' Hers had been a career signally conspicuous and widely effective. Born three years before the fall of Ethelfrid,—baptized at York by Paulinus, at thirteen,—bent on joining her sister, Queen Hereswid, in a Frankish convent, and only recalled, by Aidan's express summons, to Northumbria,—for one year a nun in a small cell on the north of the Wear,—then abbess of Hartlepool[4] in succession to Heiu,—then foundress and abbess of Whitby in 657, she was sixty years old when, in 674, she began to suffer from recurring attacks of fever, and 'for six years ceased not to labour under the same disease, but in all that time never omitted to give thanks in her own person to her Maker, and publicly as well as privately to teach the flock committed to her charge to serve the Lord obediently while they had health, and under adversity or bodily infirmity to be faithful in rendering thanks to Him[5].' A noble woman,

[1] Hist. Abb. 8: 'irremediabili pulmonum vitio.' Cp. Anon. Hist. Abb.

[2] Tacitus, Germ. 6. 'The name of Hild was that of a Saxon war-goddess; also nearly synonymous with Fate;' Stevenson, Chron. of Abingdon, ii. p. xxxviii. Cp. Merivale, Conversion of Northern Nations, p. 150. So Wilson, Prehistoric Ann. of Scotl. ii. 387: 'In an ancient poem in the Icelandic Saga, Hilda, the Scandinavian goddess of war and victory, is introduced with her weird sisters, the Valkyries,' &c.

[3] Bede, iv. 23: 'Tantae autem erat ipsa prudentiae,' &c. For Hilda's career see above, pp. 135, 188, 212.

[4] Bede mentions several Northumbrian religious houses of lower rank, as Abercorn, Carlisle, Tynemouth, Hartlepool, Gilling, Hackness, Coquet Island, Watton, Derawood or Beverley, a place near the Dacre, and one in Elmete.

[5] Bede, iv. 23: 'Percussa etenim febribus,' &c. The discipline of bodily affliction is a favourite theme with Bede: cp. ii. 17; iv. 9, 19, 31; Vit.

we may well say,—strong and wise, true-hearted and firm of purpose, with warm affections and clear discernment, using her great capacities for rule and guidance in the true spirit of 'a mother in Israel,'—in some sense a mediaeval Mère Angélique: one sees how she had largely succeeded where Ebba had ultimately failed, impressing her own mind on the double community which bowed to her as its head, establishing a tradition of unanimity and unselfishness[1], and, as Bede says, 'making her monks give so much time to the study of Scripture, and so much heed to the practice of good works[2],' that bishops came to think of her house as the best place for supplying competent 'ordinands,' and five of the brethren[3], whom Bede enumerates, 'all of them persons of signal worth and holiness,' attained the episcopal dignity. But there was one inhabitant of the monastery whom his brethren venerated for a gift which they ascribed to special inspiration; although they could not have imagined the unique place which he was to hold, through all generations of their race, as the father of English poetry. Rude warlike ballads were doubtless current among the Angles who came with Ida, and the Saxons who came with Cerdic,—songs of the great deeds of ancestors, such as might form, when mingled with lays of lighter mood, 'the salt of the feast[4]' alike to eorl and ceorl: but something greater

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Cædmon.

Cuthb. 28, 37; Hist. Abb. 9; where also he says that Benedict Biscop during a long illness took care 'in dolore semper Auctori gratias referre,' &c. He repeatedly refers to medical treatment, e. g. iv. 19; v. 3; V. C. 23, 30, 37, 45. He mentions various kinds of ordinary disease, as fever, paralysis, tumour, affection of lungs, pleurisy, dysentery, diarrhoea.

[1] Bede, iv. 23: 'Maxime pacis et caritatis custodiam docuit, ita ut, in exemplum primitivae ecclesiae, nullus ibi dives, nullus esset egens, omnibus essent omnia communia,' &c.

[2] Bede, l. c.: 'Tantum lectioni divinarum Scripturarum,' &c. Higden, Polychron. b. 5. c. 19, calls her 'sancta, prudens, litterata.'

[3] Bosa bishop of York, Ætla of Dorchester, Oftfor of Worcester, John of Hexham and York, Wilfrid II of York.

[4] Lord Lytton's 'Harold,' p. 29. See Turner, iii. 58; Palgrave, Engl. Comm. p. 390; and Freeman, v. 587, who more than once remarks (i. 392, iii. 733) that there are fragments of old ballads in Henry of Huntingdon: see the sayings recorded by him as to great battles (above, pp. 123, 152,

CHAP. IX. announced its presence, perhaps before Oswy's death, certainly during Hilda's abbacy, under circumstances as unpromising as ever attended a literary epoch. To know what it was, we must glance at the life of Anglian herdsmen[1] employed on a farmstead, which stood on part of the abbey property. One of these, a man well on in years, bore the name of Cædmon. He was behindhand with his fellows through inability to sing[2]: and whenever he made one of a 'beer-party[3],' at which it was expected that 'for mirth-sake' each in turn should play the 'gleeman,' he could not see the harp being passed round towards him without starting up from the unfinished meal, and going home shamefast[4]. One evening he had thus left his mates, and gone, not to his own dwelling, but to the cattle-shed which for that night was under his charge. There he lay down and slept, and in his dream some person stood by him, and greeted him by name. 'Cædmon, sing me something.' He thought that he answered, 'I cannot sing: that is why I came away from the party.' 'However, you have got to sing to me[5]!' 'What must I sing?' 'Sing of the creation.' And so, in his sleep, these verses came to him: 'he sang, in praise of God the Maker[6],'—

176, 203). Compare the story of the Frisian Bernlef, who was much loved because . . . 'antiquorum actus regumque certamina bene noverat psallendo promere'; Vit. S. Liudg. ii. 1.

[1] For an Old-English description of their duties, see Turner, ii. 546. Dr. Atkinson indeed thinks that Cædmon was probably a 'gebûr,' 'villanus,' a tenant under the monastery, and of 'British' birth; Memorials of Old Whitby, p. 13 ff. But he seems to underrate the intelligence of Anglian 'folk' at this period.

[2] See Lingard, A.-S. Ch. ii. 154: 'To chant the songs of gleemen to the harp was an acquirement common even to the lowest classes.' This Atkinson questions.

[3] So king Alfred translates 'convivium.' Cp. Turner, iii. 31.

[4] Bede, iv. 24: 'Surgebat a media coena, et egressus,' &c.

[5] 'Attamen mihi cantare habes.' Cp. Bede, iii. 22, 'in ipsa domo mori habes;' and also iv. 14, 'exspectare habes;' iv. 24, 'neque enim mori adhuc habes.' So in the Quicunque, 38; 'homines resurgere habent.' This use of 'habeo' occurs in the writings of African fathers.

[6] See the original Northumbrian text in Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Reader, p. 195, and Plummer, ii. 251. Bede's Latin professedly gives the sense, rather than the exact order of the words. See Lingard's version of

Now should we praise the Guardian of the heaven-realm,
The Maker's might and His mind-thought,
(And the) works of the glorious Father, as He of each wonder,
Eternal Lord, created the beginning[1].
He erst shaped for children of men
Heaven as a roof,—the holy Creator:
Then the middle world did mankind's Guardian,
Eternal Lord, afterwards create,
Earth for men,—(the) Lord Almighty.

On waking, he retained in memory what he had seemed to sing in his dream, and presently added other words to the same purport. He then told the bailiff, or 'tun-reeve[2],' what had happened, or, as Bede says, 'what a gift he had received:' and was by him straightway conducted to the abbess, who, 'in the presence of many learned men,' heard his story. All agreed that it was a Divine boon bestowed on the herdsman: they then read to him a portion of Scripture, and bade him turn it into poetry if he could. He went off with his task, and 'next morning produced the passage excellently versified': whereupon 'the Mother[3]' persuaded him to become a monk, solemnly received him into the community, and ordered that he should be instructed in the whole course of sacred history. He listened attentively to all that he was thus taught, and 'ruminating it over, like a clean animal, turned it into most sweet verse': and then his teachers were his hearers while 'he sang to them of the creation of the world, the origin of mankind, the whole history of Genesis, the Exodus, the entrance into Canaan, other events of Scripture history, the Incarnation, Passion, Resurrection, the coming of the Holy Spirit, the teaching of the Apostles[4]. Many a poem

Alfred's text, ii. 408; and Turner, iii. 266. Compare the verses on death, repeated by Bede when dying.

[1] Bede renders, 'cum sit aeternus Deus, omnium miraculorum auctor exstitit.'

[2] Kemble, ii. 176; a 'tún, enclosure, farm, vill, or manor.' See Green, Making of England, p. 180, Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 93, for the history of the word. Cædmon would be under the orders of the tun-reeve.

[3] Bede, iv. 24: 'Unde mox abbatissa,' &c.

[4] On the 'Metrical Paraphrase,' now extant under the name of Cædmon, see Dict. of Chr. Biography, i. 370. Thorpe, in his edition of it (1832), inclined to regard it as generally authentic. It has, however, character-

CHAP. IX. also did he make about the awful future judgement, the terrible punishment in hell, the sweetness of the heavenly kingdom, the blessings and the judgements of God; in all which, his aim was to draw men away from the love of wickedness, and to stir them up to the love and diligent practice of well-doing. For he was a man very religious, and humbly obedient to the discipline of the rules, but kindled with fervent and zealous indignation against those who chose to be disobedient.' As to 'frivolous' songs, we are assured that Cædmon *could not* compose any such. All his works were the outflow of a pious mind, and were often found effective as stimulants to piety, to 'contempt for the world, and craving for heavenly life.'

How long he lived as a monk in Whitby, we know not. But it is natural to connect this account of the outburst of his poetic powers with the exquisite narrative of his happy death, which probably happened not long afterwards. With all his own vividness and pathos, Bede makes us see the old man in the fortnight of his last illness, which does not confine him to his bed. One evening he asks the attendant to prepare for his reception in the out-building assigned to the sick and dying[1]: the man wonders, but takes Cædmon thither before midnight. After some

istics which do not suit a Whitby herdsman. Evidently it is a compilation from several writers, one of whom must have really known war, when 'men saw the grim war-*mote*, the hard hand-play.' There are very noble passages in the poem; in Adam and Eve, while unfallen, 'was burning love of the Lord;' 'Mickle wonder that God eternal would ever bear that so many a "thane" was misled by the lies' of Satan; 'Let us turn thither where He sits . . . the Saviour Lord, in that dear home,' &c. The poem begins with words in the same tone as the undoubted fragment, but not identical with it: and ends with the fiends' words to Satan, 'Thus be now in evil: good erst thou wouldest not.' It is curious that Satan is described as sending an inferior fiend to beguile Adam and Eve: this tempter twines himself, in form of a 'worm,' round the tree of knowledge, and announces himself as God's angel, &c. The 'harrowing of hell' takes place on the dawn of Easter-day; Eve and Adam plead with Christ, and are released. Green ascribes to Cædmon himself the Genesis poem, *minus* a long series of verses, 'which include the famous passage about Satan.' Making of Engl. p. 370. But Plummer thinks 'there is no evidence . . . to connect these poems with Cædmon.'

[1] Cp. Bede, iii. 27, iv. 14, for the cells set apart for the sick, and iv. 9, that of the dying in monasteries.

pleasant talk to the other patients, he asks, 'Have you the Housel[1] within?' meaning the Holy Eucharist, reserved (in one kind only) for the sick. They answer, 'What need have you of the Housel? you have not got to die just yet[2],—you talk too cheerily for that.' 'However,' he rejoins, 'bring me the Housel.' He takes it into his hand[3], and asks whether they all feel kindly towards him[4]. They reply, 'Surely, and we pray you to feel so towards us.' 'Dear children,' such is the sweet answer, 'I feel kindly towards *all* God's servants[5].' He then 'fortifies himself with the heavenly viaticum[6],' and asks how soon the brethren would be 'awakened for nocturnal lauds[7].' 'It will not be long,' they say. 'Good; then let us wait for that hour.' He signs himself with the cross, lies back on the pillow, falls asleep, and so 'in stillness' passes away: his last words harmonizing with all that he had uttered 'in praise of his Creator.' Such was the death of the poet-monk of Whitby: read the account of Bede's own

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[1] Alfred's rendering of Bede's 'eucharistiam,' *husle* from 'hostia.' The chalice was not in this case reserved. Compare the story of Serapion in Euseb. vi. 44; and Bede, iv. 14, 'oblationis particulam.'

[2] Above, p. 312.

[3] The ancient practice of receiving the Eucharist into the hands (e. g. Cyril Hier., Cat. Myst. 5. 21; and see Bingham, b. xv. c. 5. s. 6) was still retained in the case of *men*. Cp. Greg. Turon. H. Fr. x. 8.

[4] 'Had they all a *mild mood* towards him?' 'Yes, they were all blithe of mood,' &c. Cp. Hist. Abb. 13, on Ceolfrid's farewell.

[5] 'God's *men*,' Alfred. On the Old-English custom of choosing a lord, or becoming the 'man' of a superior or lord who was to give protection in return for fealty, see Freeman, i. 119; Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 90.

[6] Cp. Bede, iv. 14: 'viatico Dominici corporis et sanguinis;' iv. 23, 'viatico sacrosanctae communionis;' and v. 14, 'sine viatico salutis.'

[7] Alfred inserts, 'to teach God's folk.' 'Nocturn lauds' mean matins: cp. Vit. Cuthb. 40, 'nocturnae psalmodiae;' and Hist. Trans. Cuthb., Bed. Op. vi. 414. So Bede refers to the time 'matutinae laudis,' iii. 12; and to the 'psalmody matutinae laudis,' iv. 7. By a coincidence the phrase is translated in the Lay of the Last Minstrel, 'midnight lauds.' So Hist. Abb. 7. See Benedict, Reg. Mon. 10. So in the 'Excerptions' ascribed to Egbert, but of later date (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 415), no service intervenes between the nocturnal 'synaxis' (matins or matin lauds) and prime (No. 28, Johnson, Engl. Can. i. 189). In the sixth century to say Ps. 50 (our 51st), the Benedictio (=Benedicite), the Alleluiaticus (Ps. 148–150), with a 'little chapter,' was to finish matins, Greg. Tur. Vit. Patr. vi. 7. Gradually this concluding part of matins became a distinct office of lauds.

CHAP. IX. last moments, written by an eye-witness and prefixed to his History, and you will find the two scenes very similar in form, and altogether identical in spirit. Of Bede also it might be said, as he has said in express words of Cædmon, and also implicitly of Aidan, Hilda, Chad, Sebbi, and Egbert, that 'he closed his life with a beautiful and tranquil end[1].'

[1] Bede, iv. 24: 'Unde et pulchro vitam suam fine conclusit . . . tranquilla morte mundum relinquens.'

CHAPTER X.

To pass from the convent-life of Wearmouth or of Whitby to the personal troubles and public dissensions which constitute the great 'cause of Bishop Wilfrid,' is as if one were suddenly transported from the margin of a land-locked harbour to a rough coast lashed by a rising sea. That the sea, so to speak, would rise,—that, sooner or later, Wilfrid's splendid prosperity would be interrupted, must have been evident to him, one would think, ever since he placed the veil on the head of Queen Etheldred. Her husband knew well, and could not be expected to forget, who it was that had upheld her, with the whole force of his spiritual influence, in a resolution the reverse of wife-like [1], and at whose feet she had sealed it by pronouncing those new vows which were to nullify the old in her estimation. To that step, indeed, a consent had been wrung from him by what he would regard as her impracticable and unnatural obstinacy [2]: the marriage

Wilfrid's troubles.

Alienation of Egfrid.

[1] Thomas of Ely unintentionally makes the case worse for Wilfrid, saying that he 'dissimulavit, provide atque prudenter,' as if agreeing with the king, and promised to persuade the queen to abandon her purpose; 'veritus ne, sicut contigit, ob rem hujuscemodi offensum illum haberet. Et dum circa talia, ut aestimabatur, sanctus pontifex reginam alioqui intenderet . . . egit vir beatus sua industria, ut potius divortium quaereret,' &c.; Vit. Etheldr. 9; Act. SS. Bened. ii. 747. Neither Bede (iv. 19) nor Eadmer (Vit. Wilf. 25) knows of any such insincere promise.

[2] Thomas represents him as objecting strongly to a separation from a beloved wife, but at last yielding to her importunities, 'licet invitus, tamen eam dimisit invincibilem;' Act. SS. Ben. ii. 747. A maiden espoused to Sigebert II of Austrasia, on arriving at his court, 'concealed her purpose' for a week, and then took the veil 'within closed doors': the king (afterwards canonized, but a 'Fainéant') 'gave her over to the Lord.' She had acted, we are expressly told, 'by the advice' of St. Gall; Vit. S. Galli, i. (Pertz, Mon. Germ. Hist. ii. 12). Trickeries devised for a monastic interest were not then deemed unworthy of religion.

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had, under the peculiar circumstances, been declared void, and Egfrid had been allowed to contract another; but he was not the less alienated from the prelate who had so systematically thwarted him in regard to his domestic comfort. He would utter that complaint, often enough heard afterwards, and in his case at any rate not unjust, that the Church had come between wife and husband: and his new queen, Ermenburga, from a personal dislike [1] to her predecessor's confidential guide, appears to have stimulated the irritation of Egfrid by appealing to his susceptibilities as a prince. Wilfrid's magnificent position, his 'secular glory and riches,' the number of monasteries under his obedience [2], the stately buildings which he had reared, the 'host' of attendants, nobly born and nurtured, who appeared in his halls, arrayed like the king's thanes in the palace [3],—these things were easily represented as unbefitting any one ecclesiastic, and as proving that he ought not to hold a bishopric coextensive with the kingdom.

Scheme of diocesan partition.

We seem to hear the first mutterings of a storm that afterwards assailed the proud elevation of a mitred

[1] Eddi compares her to Jezebel, c. 24; but we know that he had applied that name to Bathildis, and we must not expect fairness of judgement or moderation in language from so pronounced a partisan. See Fridegod, 'ceu garrula perdix Culpabat justum collatis rebus abuti,' 606: and Eadmer, 26, 'Per hanc igitur diabolus,' &c.: and Richard of Hexham, 'in cujus corde Sathanas contra . . . episcopum odiorum et invidiae fomenta conflans;' De stat. Hagust. Eccl. c. 7, X Script. 294. Etheldred was still living at Ely.

[2] Richard of Hexham, ib. c. 5, calls him 'the father of nine monasteries,' and says that many abbots and abbesses 'commended their houses to his keeping, others named him their successor.'

[3] Eddi, 24: 'Enumerans ei . . . Wilfridi . . . omnem gloriam saecularem et divitias, necnon coenobiorum multitudinem et aedificiorum magnitudinem . . . exercitum sodalium regalibus vestimentis et armis ornatum.' Eadmer, 26, makes her say to Egfrid, 'Your whole kingdom is his bishopric. What if,' in time of war, 'he should keep back his men from fighting on your side?' Malmesb. G. P. iii. 100, p. 219: 'Conflavit ergo pontifici regina invidiam, quod tot abbates, tot abbatias, haberet, quod aureis et argenteis vasis sibi ministrari faceret, quod "clientum turba," nitore vestium superbiens, illius latus obambularet.' He had just before intimated that some jealousy of this sort had existed earlier, and had been allayed by Etheldred, 'sanitate consilii.' See Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 176.

chancellor or a prince-bishop: and it so happened that these royal jealousies were excited just when Theodore was bent on carrying out his scheme of diocesan partition. That scheme he pursued from motives of a public character; in regard to Northumbria, it involved the abatement of Wilfrid's ecclesiastical greatness[1]: but Theodore's misfortune and fault consisted not simply in aiming at this as a step necessary for the general good of the Church, but in associating himself with the animosities of a court as instrumental towards his object, and in neglecting such considerations of order and justice as would have checked the march of his own high-handed[2] absolutism. We are in some difficulty as to the facts, between the open partisanship of the biographer and the disappointing reticence of the historian: Bede had evidently a strong reluctance to go into the subject[3], and it is one of the very few cases in which he has laid himself open to the charge of keeping back what he must have known. He says so little in the way of explanation, that he does not help us to know whether or when Eddi says too much,—although we may be sure that he does say too much when he imputes to Theodore the coarse guilt of CHAP. X.

[1] Lappenberg suggests that he may have feared that Wilfrid was laying the foundations of an independent archbishopric (such as St. Gregory had contemplated); i. 182. Malmesbury says, the queen prejudiced him.

[2] 'He carried it with a high hand towards the bishops;' Johnson, Engl. Can. i. 87. See Ornsby, Dioc. Hist. of York, p. 62. 'He was . . . even inclined to subordinate strict justice to politic expediency;' Bp. Stubbs, Dict. Chr. Biogr. iv. 931.

[3] See Raine, Fast. Ebor. i. 81. He mentions but does not explain the 'dissensio' in iv. 12, and in the long chapter which 'professes' to summarize Wilfrid's life, v. 19, refers to the 'charges' brought against him, and the two 'expulsions.' In his last work, Bede lets fall words which might suggest that he supposed selfish motives to have prompted Wilfrid. 'Cum antistes, dictante amore pecuniae, majorem populi partem . . . in nomen sui praesulatus assumpserit;' Ep. to Egb. 4; but his reserve is probably accounted for by strong personal ties to one of the bishops who were more or less opposed to Wilfrid, 'St. John of Beverley;' his fervent admiration for others, as Bosa, Eata, and St. Cuthbert; and his high esteem for the scholarly king Aldfrid. That he knew Wilfrid personally appears from iv. 19. He calls him 'most learned,' iii. 25, 'beatae memoriae,' iv. 19, 23, v. 18; and does justice to his missionary zeal, iv. 13.

CHAP. X. Theodore in Northumbria.

taking a bribe from Egfrid[1]. However, as far as we can make out anything, it seems that in 678 Egfrid invited Theodore to revisit Northumbria; that they discussed the division of the Northumbrian diocese, and Theodore allowed himself to be persuaded that Wilfrid's co-operation or assent was not to be hoped for, and must be dispensed with; and that, acting on this assumption, he summoned more than one bishop[2] to support him in the proceedings which he meditated, but did *not* communicate with the bishop most directly concerned. An assembly, partly secular and partly ecclesiastical, was convened; and in Wilfrid's absence it was resolved to form, out of his over-large diocese, two other bishoprics for Bernicia and Deira, and another for the district of Lindsey, lately recovered from Mercia. But this plan would have left Wilfrid in possession of the see of York, and the charge of part, probably the larger part, of Deira[3]. According to the combined statements of Wilfrid and Eddi, the suffragan bishops did not concur in the consecration[4]; and Theodore, without their assistance, consecrated Bosa, a monk of Whitby, a man, says Bede, 'of great holiness and humility[5],' Eata, the devout and gentle-hearted abbot of Lindisfarne, and Eadhed, who had accompanied Chad on his journey to the south for consecration[6]. The elevation of these three

Division of diocese of York.

[1] Eddi refers to Balak and Balaam, 24. Malmesbury, G. Pontif. p. 220, follows him in this imputation, 'xeniorum obtentu;' which naturally excites Elmham's wrath, Mon. S. Aug. p. 276. Malmesbury, however, elsewhere ranks Theodore and Wilfrid together as 'those two eyes of Britain'; G. Pontif. i. 1. Fridegod says that the king and queen deceived Theodore, 'veri doctorem, justi quoque *paene* sequacem:' 614.

[2] Wilfrid says, 'in conventu Theodori . . . aliorumque tunc temporis cum eo convenientium antistitum;' in Eddi, 30. Who these prelates were we know not. For 'mixed councils' see above, p. 223.

[3] So Malmesbury says that Theodore maintained 'sufficere tantos sumptus tantaeque dioecesis circuitum *quattuor* episcopis'; G. P. p. 220.

[4] Wilfrid says, 'absque consensu cujuslibet episcopi . . . ordinaret;' in Eddi, 30: and Eddi, 'inordinate solus ordinavit;' 24. Can it be that the suffragans, whoever they were, declined, when it came to the point, to follow Theodore? Or did they merely abstain from taking part in the new consecrations?

[5] Bede, v. 3; iv. 23.

[6] He had been Oswy's chaplain; Bede, iv. 28. Eddi permits himself to describe these three Northumbrian ecclesiastics as 'non de subjectis illius parochiae'; 24.

to the episcopate took place in Wilfrid's own cathedral at York[1]: he could not but receive tidings of such an event, and could not but repair to the court[2], and ask why his diocese was to be thus cut up against his will. The answer of the king and the archbishop was, 'We find no fault in you, but we have thought good to do this, and we shall abide by it[3].' Theodore, not to say Egfrid, had committed himself by thus acting without Wilfrid's knowledge. It could not be said that the division of the diocese had been proposed to Wilfrid, and he had deliberately set himself against it. Theodore had taken for granted that he would do so; and by this premature judgement had damaged his own case, and exhibited that fatal indifference to equity which so often besets a rigid disciplinarian invested with hierarchical supremacy, and resolute to ignore the rights of subordinates, and even the requirements of fair dealing, for the sake of a policy beneficial to the Church[4]. CHAP. X.

Thus hardly used,—we must needs say, thus unjustly treated,—Wilfrid took a step which, in Britain, was new, and which has not always been equitably judged. He could neither condone this violation of his diocesan rights, nor hope for a reconsideration of the case from a provincial synod under the presidency of Theodore[5]. He looked, as if by instinct, to that great Church for which from early years he had entertained so profound a reverence: Wilfrid appeals to Rome.

[1] Bede, iv. 21, 'Eboraci.' Wilfrid was absent; Eddi, 24.

[2] Eddi, 24: 'Regem et archiepiscopum . . . cum omni populo.' Eadmer says he came to the palace 'hilari corde, alacri vultu'; 27. Fridegod makes him ask, 'Cur laedor, pater?'

[3] Malmesbury quotes Juvenal's 'Sit pro ratione voluntas.'

[4] The partition, says Martineau, though 'desirable, could only be lawfully and canonically effected with the consent of Wilfrid; and it is a serious charge against Theodore . . . that, under the pretence of effecting what was unquestionably a good thing for the Church, he stooped to gratify the enmity of Egfrid and Ermenburga against Wilfrid by assisting in the persecution of that prelate;' Ch. Hist. Engl. p. 93. So Malmesbury says, 'Et haec quidem recte dicta possent videri, si eum . . . vel non omnino spoliatum dejiceret, vel saltem cum consensu ejus ageret;' G. P. iii. 100, p. 220. His 'consent' had been made impossible.

[5] See Raine in Fast. Ebor. p. 78, and in Dict. Chr. Biog. iv. 1181.

CHAP. X. he recalled his own visit to Rome, which had been crowned by the special blessing of the then Pope; it occurred to him that wrongs done at home could be set right by means of an appeal to that 'Apostolic See,' from which Theodore himself had derived his mission: and 'after taking counsel,' says Eddi, 'with his fellow-bishops,' he declared in their presence that he did thus make appeal[1]. The announcement which he had made required his instant departure for Italy, and seems to have been treated, at once, as involving the forfeiture of all his rights in the see of York. The design of setting up three prelates to work in Northumbria along with him, and of reserving to him the first place and the church of the royal city, was now altered into a plan for superseding him altogether. Thus Bosa was appointed to preside over the whole of Deira, as bishop of York: Eata was to superintend all Bernicia from his own church of Lindisfarne, or from Wilfrid's minster of Hexham: while Eadhed[2] became the first bishop of Lindsey as such, then once more attached to Northumbria[3]. It was at this time that Theodore hallowed Finan's church at Lindisfarne

His entire exclusion from Northumbria.

[1] Eddi, 24: 'Cum consilio coepiscoporum suorum.' Wilfrid, in Eddi, 30: 'Consacerdotes meos . . . episcopos tantummodo protestatus.' According to Eddi,—who compares the appeal to St. Paul's appeal from the Jews to Caesar (!)—it was then that Wilfrid, 'turning away from the royal tribunal, said to the flatterers who were laughing merrily, "On the anniversary of this day on which you are now spitefully laughing at my condemnation, you will be weeping bitterly amid your own confusion,"' which was fulfilled at the burial of prince Alfwin in 679. It is probable that Eddi, an enthusiastic partisan, wrongly inferred, from the fact of the protestation in presence of the suffragan bishops, that they had encouraged Wilfrid to appeal. If they did encourage it, they seem to have repented of having done so; for we do not find that any bishop supported Wilfrid's cause between his expulsion and his restoration.

[2] Bede, iv. 12: 'Et hunc primum eadem provincia proprium accepit praesulem.' Chad had held it with Mercia.

[3] Lindsey was Northumbrian under Edwin and Oswald, was conquered by Penda, regained by Oswy, re-conquered by Wulfhere, recovered by Egfrid at latest in 675, and again conquered by Ethelred in 679. Then Lincolnshire was finally separated from Northumbria; but even in 1092 the archbishop of York claimed Lincoln as belonging to his own 'parochia' or diocese: Florence, Chron. ii. p. 30. He was obliged to give up the claim for a supposed equivalent; see Raine, Fast. Ebor. i. 151.

in honour of St. Peter[1], with a view, no doubt, to the exhibition of his metropolitical authority within the former stronghold of 'schismatic' Celticism, as well as to the due performance of such dedication-ceremonies as would probably have been omitted by a Celtic bishop[2].

Aspects of his appeal.

Such were the circumstances under which took place the first appeal to Rome against the action of English Church authority. What are we to say of this appeal? No doubt, it contrasts very pointedly with the action taken by the African hierarchy in the latter years of the great Augustine's life, when, ignoring the 'Sardican Council's' resolutions[3] which empowered the Roman bishop in certain cases to appoint a new trial, and relying on the genuine Nicene canon[4] which ordered ecclesiastical causes to be terminated in the respective provincial synods, they declined to acknowledge a 'transmarine' sentence pronounced by Rome, in regard to cases which had arisen in Africa[5]. At the same time, it must be remembered, first, that the principle of appeal from a provincial episcopate to a patriarch or quasi-patriarch had been admitted, as to the East, by the Œcumenical Council of Chalcedon[6]:

[1] Bede, iii. 25: see Lingard, A.-S. Ch. ii. 385.

[2] Walafrid Strabo, in his Life of St. Gall, speaks of Columban as dedicating a church, with holy water and chrism and processional psalmody; Act. SS. Bened. ii. 233. The older 'Life' omits the chrism. See above, pp. 113, 167, 198.

[3] Sardic. can. 3–5; Mansi, iii. 7. The bishop of Rome was to order a fresh hearing before (1) the bishops of the next province to that in which the case had arisen, and then, if the complainant should be still dissatisfied, (2) before those bishops with presbyters delegated from Rome. These provisions were quoted by the agents of Rome as Nicene. The African bishops had never heard of them, and ascertained that they were not in the genuine text of the Nicene canons; and the only 'council of Sardica' which they knew of was the Arian rival assembly at Philippopolis, which had usurped the name of the true council. A traditional confusion of this sort *might* have caused the canons to be first neglected, then forgotten, in Africa. There is nothing in their provisions about appeals which is inconsistent with Western feeling in 343. They grant to Julius of Rome a strictly limited power in such cases: see 'The Roman See in the Early Church,' &c., p. 89.

[4] Nic. can. 5.

[5] See their final letter, Mansi, iv. 515; Puller, Prim. Saints, p. 197.

[6] Chalc. can. 9, directing a bishop or cleric who had a complaint against

CHAP. X. and next, that the relations in which the African Church stood towards Rome in 426 were not those in which the English Church stood towards Rome in 678. During that interval, the first see in Christendom, the one 'Apostolic see' in the West, had grown mightily in all the elements of command: and even if Wilfrid had admitted the principle of the African Council, he would have pleaded that a Church so recently founded as the English, and so recently consolidated by a metropolitan sent from Rome direct, the successor of that first English archbishop whom Rome, in the person of the sainted Gregory, had sent to plant the faith among English heathens, might naturally and rightly look to Rome for guidance in cases of emergency, and that guidance implied supervision, to be exercised on appeal; and further, that whereas causes were decided in Africa with all due ecclesiastical forms, the very rudiments of ecclesiastical justice were ignored by the recent partition of a diocese in the bishop's absence, and without his consent[1], and his actual deprivation after he had spoken of applying to Rome for remedy. But Wilfrid would *not* have admitted the African principle. It is true that he had not thought out as formulated a theory which would assign to Rome an ordinary right of intervention in all the domestic affairs of his native Church[2]; it was in a case which he fairly regarded as extreme that he looked to Rome for the justice denied him in England. But he had a feeling for Rome which was fed and sustained by cherished personal recollections, and he was ready to yield more to her, in practical Church action, than the bishops who wrote in such plain terms to Celestine I. And whatever respect he may have felt for the great names of the Gallican Church, he would probably have disapproved of the conduct of Hilary of Arles in reference to the appeal of Celidonius from a Gallic Council[3] and

his metropolitan to appeal to the exarch of the 'diocese' (aggregate of provinces), or to the see of Constantinople.

[1] Theodore might have remembered Cod. Afric. c. 56, 98, which expressly forbade this. Mansi, iii. 749, 803.

[2] This is well put in Wakeman's Hist. of the Church of England, p. 38.

[3] See Puller, Prim. Saints, &c. p. 206.

would have regarded the conduct of Leo the Great as simply a just assertion of authority; inhering in the chief bishop of the West. CHAP. X.

But his ideas on this point were not shared by the great body of English clergy and laity. They stood, indeed, in different degrees of obligation to the Roman Church. She was directly a mother-Church to Kent, and also to Wessex; indirectly and originally to East-Anglia; in a limited sense, considering the retreat of Paulinus, to North-umbria; in a technical but ineffective sense, considering the failure of Mellitus, to Essex, including London; not at all, Lindsey excepted, to Mercia. In so far as the several dioceses had been welded together in subordination to Canterbury, they were debtors through Canterbury to its spiritual parent; and they had all concurred in accepting Theodore as a special gift from the hands of Rome. They all, though probably not all with equal definiteness of conception, acknowledged in Rome a peculiar pre-eminence, a special heritage of apostolic grace; to all of them 'the See of Peter' was a title of august and sacred import, and they were too simple to analyze its significance, or to test its grounds. But, with all this, they had not, as a body, in 678, any clear notion that gratitude or reverence on their part meant a definite control on Rome's[1], and perhaps the more far sighted among them apprehended with good reason that if a foreign appellate jurisdiction were admitted in one case, the precedent was sure to have consequences in others. The aversion to 'outlandish' authority, keen and strong in the insular mind even through the later Middle Ages, was now, in Northumbria, even scornfully incre-dulous as to any practical exercise of such authority;

[1] See Freeman, i. 32: 'The English Church, reverencing Rome, but not slavishly bowing down to her,' &c. Comp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 246, 280. It would be a great mistake to assume that the language of Wilfrid or of Eddi about the Roman see would have been accepted by all their con-temporary churchmen; and the most 'Roman' minds of that age would have been astounded at any such claim of universal 'ordinary and immediate jurisdiction' as the Vatican decree of 1870 affected to have been, from the first, acknowledged as a papal prerogative.

CHAP. X. and, as far as we know, Benedict Biscop, with all that enthusiasm for Roman sanctities which repeated visits to Rome had fostered, never thought, on his return from the fifth of those visits, or afterwards, of taking Wilfrid's part in this quarrel. As for Theodore himself, he was duly conscious of the value of his Papal appointment, but he was not minded to be a mere Roman legate, nor willing to let his administration be overruled by Papal intervention on appeal. The increased stringency of his acts after that appeal is one of the most significant facts in this portion of the story [1].

Ebroin. And now let us follow the dauntless and indefatigable appellant. His biographer assures us [2] that his foes, in their eagerness to arrest his course, had requested Ebroin, as mayor of the palace for the Frankish king of Neustria and Burgundy,—the feeble Theoderic III,—to seize on Wilfrid if he passed through that kingdom, and either send him into exile, or kill his attendants and strip him of his property. It is curious that the same formidable minister should have checked Theodore's journey through Gaul, and set men in wait to fall upon Wilfrid. But, in fact, Ebroin had his own reasons, quite independent of English disputes, for hostility towards the man who, in the days of his splendour and wealth at York, had materially contributed to the elevation of the young king of Austrasia, Dagobert II, lately at war with Theoderic about frontiers. And Ebroin's hatred was deadly: it was in the October of this very year 678 that he put to death his old rival Leodegar, or 'St. Leger,' bishop of Autun [3].

Seizure of Winfrid. But on this occasion he missed his blow: his emissaries did catch and despoil an English bishop, whose name

[1] Nor did he, as we shall see, take any steps towards conforming to the papal judgement in favour of Wilfrid until six years after it was made known to him.

[2] Eddi, 25: 'Praemiserunt nuntios . . . ad Eadefyrwine impium ducem.

[3] See Alb. Butler, Oct. 2; Fredegar. Contin. 96; Kitchin, Hist. Fr. i. 94. The tyranny of Ebroin had been interrupted for a time by his forced withdrawal into a monastery. But he had speedily emerged, set up a rival king, and in 675 obliged Theoderic to 'come to terms with him' (L'Art de Vérifier, v. 415). He held supreme power until he was murdered 'by a private enemy' in 681 (Oman, Europ. Hist. p. 200).

was identical with Wilfrid's except in a single letter,— Wi*n*frid, the deposed prelate of Lichfield, then travelling, for his misfortune, in Neustria. He was cruelly maltreated and some of his attendants were actually slain[1]. Wilfrid had not landed in Gaul: he had proceeded to Friesland, the land beyond the Zuyder Zee, the inhabitants of which dwelt nearer to Britain than Saxons or Angles or Jutes had dwelt while still on the mainland, and are named by Bede as first among six nations akin to the English, and 'corruptly called G*a*rmans' by the Britons[2]. Adalgis, the Frisian king, received the English prelate with all honour[3], and was rewarded by hearing the Gospel from his lips. And here, more brightly than at any earlier period of his life, shone out the true Christian greatness of 'St. Wilfrid.' He was far too earnest in the cause of religion not to make every other purpose give way to a good opportunity of missionary work, such as he found among the Frisians. He preached, with the king's licence, every day[4], expounding the main doctrines of Christianity, —the Holy Trinity, 'the one baptism for remission of sins, and eternal life, after death, in resurrection[5].' As the year's fishing was unusually successful, and the autumn brought an abundant harvest, the simple-hearted people ascribed these blessings to the God whom Wilfrid served; and before winter set in he had, after due instruction, baptized many of the commonalty, and most of their

Wilfrid in Friesland.

Conversion of many Frisians.

[1] Cp. Eddi, 25, on his misfortune: 'Omni pecunia spoliatus, multisque ex sociis suis occisis, misere ad extremum sanctum episcopum nudum reliquerunt . . . errore *bono* unius syllabae seducti.' So Malmesbury: 'Luit ergo ille ambiguitatem vocabuli;' G. P. p. 221. Fridegod, 'tantum monogrammate lusus.'

[2] Bede, v. 9. See Freeman, i. 22. 'In mythical genealogies, Saxo and Friso are brothers;' Pearson, Hist. Engl. i. 105. We read of a young Northumbrian being sold as a slave to a Frisian in London, Bede, iv. 22.

[3] Malmesb. l. c.: 'Ejectus a patria, dilectus in Frisia.'

[4] Eddi, 26. On the great historical importance, to a large portion of the continent, of this sojourn of Wilfrid in Friesland, see Lappenberg, i. 181.

[5] Eddi, l. c. A definite instruction in Christian doctrine, a systematic 'delivery of the creed,' was in ancient times held essential to all Christian proselytism. Compare St. Augustine, de Catechizandis Rudibus, s. 52; and Alcuin, Ep. 28 (A. D. 796), on such orderly teaching before baptism. See Neale's Essays on Liturgiology, p. 146; and above, p. 137.

CHAP. X. chiefs. Then a striking scene followed. Ebroin sent to Adalgis, promising with an oath, in written words, to give him 'a bushel full of golden *solidi*' for Wilfrid's person or for Wilfrid's head[1]. The letter was read to the king at a feast, probably the great midwinter feast, in the presence of Wilfrid and his companions. He heard it read through, took the scroll into his hands, tore it deliberately to pieces, and flung them into the fire burning before him. Then, turning to the startled messengers of the powerful Frank, he spoke out his indignation[2]. 'Tell your lord what I now say: So may the Maker of all things tear in pieces and utterly consume the life and kingdom of one who is forsworn to his God, and keeps not the covenant into which he has entered!' 'It was thus decreed' to Wilfrid to be the first of the long line of English missionaries[3]. He 'spent the winter happily,' as Bede expresses it, 'with the new people of God[4];' but the impression then made on the Frisian mind must have been to a great extent superficial, for about ten years later we find that a devoted missionary 'preached for two years to the same nation without seeing any fruit of all his toil among his barbarian hearers[5]'; when, shortly afterwards, Willibrord and Wulframn began to work among them, they found a great ignorance of the first principles of Christianity; and to the close of the century, Pagan reaction was periodical in Frisia[6]. As was often the case in these

[1] Eddi, 27. A golden 'solidus' was then = forty silver denarii; in the next century it was lowered to the value of twelve. See Ducange.

[2] See the words in Eddi, 27.: 'Sic rerum Creator regnum et vitam in Deo suo perjurantis, pactumque initum non custodientis, scindens destruat, et consumens in favillam divellat.' Comp. Oman, Europ. Hist. 476–918, p. 284, 'the Frisians of the Klune-mouth, a race which the Merovings had never subdued.'

[3] Lappenberg, i. 181. Among the English missionaries of the succeeding period were Willibrord, the Hewalds, Boniface, Lull, Albert, Lebwin, Marcheim, Willehad.

[4] Bede, v. 19: 'Cum nova Dei plebe feliciter exigens.' Comp. Eddi, 26: 'Populum multum Domino lucratus.' So Fridegod, 665.

[5] See the touching account of Wictbert in Bede, v. 9.

[6] Alcuin, Vit. S. Willibr. i. 6; Vit. S. Wulfr. 3; Vit. S. Liudgeri, i. 3: 'In diebus Radbodi . . . gens illa . . . in errore infidelitatis erat excaecata.' Alb. Butler says (Nov. 7) that 'the seeds sown by Wilfrid must have

wholesale conversions, the seed had at first sprung up rapidly, '*because* it had no depth of earth.' CHAP. X.

In the spring of 679 Wilfrid resumed his journey, and was warmly welcomed in Austrasia by his former client Dagobert, who in gratitude urged him to accept the see of Strasburg[1], and, failing in this, did his best for his benefactor by loading him with presents, and sending him on southwards under the guidance of a Frankish bishop named Deodatus. Crossing the Alps, he descended into Lombardy, and was kindly received at Pavia by King Perctarit[2], a pious prince, a devout Catholic, and altogether a very different personage from the Lombards who had kept St. Gregory in such alarm. He had had many troublous experiences, extending from his exile in 662 to his restoration in 671. He told Wilfrid that he had received overtures from Britain to the effect that if he would detain 'the runaway bishop' on his journey, he should receive 'very great gifts'; and had answered by referring to those early days when he, too, was a fugitive from the usurper Grimoald, and found shelter in Pannonia with the Khan of the Avars. 'He, a Pagan, swore by his idol to befriend me, and answered Grimoald's offers of a bushel of golden solidi by saying, "May the gods cut my Wilfrid in Lombardy,

been almost rooted out before St. Willibrord's arrival in 690 or 691.' St. Boniface worked under him for three years, and long afterwards met his death in 'the still Pagan portion of Friesland' (Maclear), where he had to 'drive away Pagan rites,' and baptized 'multa millia hominum' before he was martyred; Willibald, Vit. S. Bonif. c. 11. Comp. Bonif. Ep. 90. Yet later, in 772, Willehad the Northumbrian (Vit. Will. c. 1) heard that the Frisians, 'hactenus pagani,' began to desire baptism; and on arriving in Frisia, was well received by St. Boniface's converts, but narrowly escaped with life from their Pagan countrymen. Again, Liudger had to destroy 'various idolatries' in Frisia; Vit. Liudg. i. 14: but his work had to stand the test of two Pagan persecutions.

[1] 'The greatest see in his realm,' at 'Streithbyrg'; Eddi, 28.

[2] Or Bertarid. Eddi calls him 'Berhther king of Campania,' by a mistake. When he died in 688, he 'carried with him the regrets of his subjects, whose hearts he had won by his gentle and wise rule.' See L'Art de Vérifier, iv. 385; and Hodgkin, Italy and her Invaders, vi. 242 ff. 'Justitiae tenax, mitis per omnia et suavis;' Paul. Diac. Gest. Lang. v. 33, 37. In 673, he built a monastery on the scene of a former escape. Fridegod, 719, makes him talk to Wilfrid 'post epulas, et post grati carchesia Bacchi!'

CHAP. X.

life asunder, if I thus forswear myself to them." How much more am I, who know the true God, bound not to ruin my soul, were it to gain the whole world[1]!' The good king sent Wilfrid on, with honour and due guidance, to Rome, where he arrived about the middle of 679. Twenty-five years had passed since he visited the 'Eternal City' in the buoyancy of his enthusiastic youth, studied its ecclesiastical rules under Boniface, prayed habitually in its sanctuaries, and bowed his head for the benediction of Eugenius I. The present Pope was Agatho, who had come to the see in the summer of 678: a prelate much loved for his kind-heartedness and geniality[2]. To him Theodore had sent a monk named Kenwald, with documents stating his view of Wilfrid's case: so that 'the dissension,' as Eddi says, 'was not unknown to Agatho.' Wilfrid had an audience of the Pope, and placed a written statement of the case in his hands: and some time afterwards, a Council of fifty bishops, with presbyters in attendance, was held by Agatho for the formal consideration of the matter[3]. The scene was that illustrious 'basilica of Our Saviour in the Lateran,' the true cathedral church of Rome, the 'mother and head,' in its own proud though inaccurate estimation, 'of all churches,' the prototype of the metropolitan church of Canterbury. It was distinguished among Roman churches by the name of 'the Constantinian,' and had been originally

and at Rome.

Council of fifty bishops.

[1] Eddi, 28. He had been once on the point of taking shelter in Britain. The wife of his son Cuniupert was an Englishwoman, probably a Kentish princess (Hodgkin, vi. 305).

[2] Anastas. Vit. Pontif. i. 135; Mansi, xi. 165. He was a Sicilian. He died Jan. 10, 682. By one account, he came to the see, not in 678, but in 679. Capgrave says of him, 'He kissed a misel' (leper) 'and mad him hool;' Chronicle, p. 97.

[3] In Mansi, xi. 179, is an account of a Roman council of sixteen bishops, held in October, 679, on episcopal dissensions in Britain, but without express reference to Wilfrid,—on the number of the Bishoprics, which were to be twelve with the archbishopric,—on the conduct of the clergy,—and for a council of bishops, kings, princes, &c. in 'all Saxony,' to be held by Theodore. But 'Eddius, Bede, and William of Malmesbury, all know nothing of this council' (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 135), which professes to have sent John the Precentor to Britain, with the canons of the council of 649. It rests on one MS. of Spelman's; it suits neither the time before nor after Wilfrid's arrival; and it reads (like too much else) as if concocted in the interest of Canterbury.

erected by the great imperial convert in the latter part of his reign[1]. Like his other and grander basilica of St. Peter, it had five aisles: but the baptistery of St. John, from which it popularly acquired the name that erelong superseded its august dedication[2], was a work of the fifth century[3]. The church, for all its unique dignity, had associations which to a thoughtful prelate would speak as forcibly of ecclesiastical troubles as of ecclesiastical majesty and strength. For the chapel of St. John the Evangelist[4] was a memorial of Pope Hilary's narrow escape from the 'Robbers' Council' at Ephesus[5]: and only twenty-six years had elapsed since Pope Martin had been dragged out of the basilica by the imperial 'exarch,' and carried away from Rome for maintaining, at a Council held on that same spot, the Catholic doctrine which an emperor had silenced[6]. The present Council, like the former, met in the 'secretarium' of the church, the chamber which served as the place for meetings of the bishop and clergy, and the transaction of ecclesiastical business[7]. Wilfrid, at first, was kept

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[1] Fergusson, Hist. Archit. i. 369; cp. 362. Martin I describes the Constantinian church as 'juxta episcopium,' Ep. 15, Mansi, x. 851. See Alb. Butler, Nov. 9, 'Dedication of the Church of Our Saviour.' The present church has been sadly modernized by various popes; but Leo XIII has done much to restore its beauty. The mosaic head of our Lord looks down from the sanctuary arch as it did in Wilfrid's time, and long before.

[2] The re-dedication as 'St. John Baptist's,' is thought to have taken place soon afterwards; Hodgkin, vi. 260.

[3] Hemans, Hist. and Monum. Rome, p. 658.

[4] In the Lateran baptistery, made 'ex argento et lapidibus pretiosis,' Anastas. Vit. Pont. i. 76. It has lost its antique beauty: but over its door 'Diligite alterutrum' recalls the touching tradition about St. John's brief sermon in his old age.

[5] Hemans, l. c. Hay, Walks in Rome, ii. 61.

[6] Mansi, x. 852; Hefele, Hist. Councils, b. 16. c. 1. s. 309; Milman, ii. 325; Dict. Chr. Biogr. iii. 854.

[7] 'Secretarium' was a Roman law-term for the justice-room of a magistrate (compare the 'secretum' which Paul of Samosata made for himself, Euseb. vii. 30`, as in Act. Scill. Mart., 'in secretario Carthaginis;' comp. Act. Procons. S. Cypr., 'Carthagine in secretario.' Ecclesiastically, the word has two senses: (1) a room where bishops received the greetings of their people ('salutatorium,' Greg. Ep. v. 56), transacted business, held meetings of clergy, or sat in synod: the second council of Arles forbade deacons to *sit* in the secretarium with the priests. So the council of Hippo in 393 met 'in secretario basilicae Pacis,' Mansi, iii. 732; other

CHAP. X. waiting outside the doors, as was usual in regard to petitioners or appellants. Agatho began by stating the business: they were met to consider a dissension which had arisen in the Churches of Britain. The bishops of Ostia and of Portus Romanus then said[1] that they had read the memorials presented on both sides,—those which had come from Theodore and others[2] 'against a certain bishop who, as they assert, has fled privily away, and, as they suppose, has come hither,' and the counter-memorial embodying the appeal of the 'bishop of the holy church of York': and that they found Wilfrid to have committed no offence which would canonically require his degradation, and to have 'observed moderation by not mixing himself up in any factious strife[3].' Agatho then ordered that Wilfrid should be admitted into the 'secretarium,' with the petition which he was said to have brought. He entered accordingly, and desired that his petition should be read. 'John, the Notary, read it to the Council.' Its purport was as follows. Wilfrid, a humble and unworthy bishop of 'Saxony'[4], had

councils, at Carthage, in the secretarium of the basilica Restituta, ib.; or of that of Faustus, ib. 699; the second of Seville, in that of the Holy Jerusalem Church, ib. x. 557: and so the council of Constantinople, A.D. 448, in Flavian's secretarium, ib. vi. 651. Hence, the sittings of the first Lateran council are called 'secretarii'; and see pope Zacharias, 'praeterito secretario,' Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxix. 833. Compare Greg. Ep. i. 19, and Benedict. note there, and Ep. iii. 56. The 'lesser secretarium' was (2) a vestry or sacristy, 'which the Greeks call Diaconicon;' Council of Agde, c. 66, Mansi, viii. 336: so in Bede, ii. 1. Gregory is buried 'ante secretarium'; and iii. 14, 26 on the 'secretaria' of Rochester and Lindisfarne. Above, p. 182. In old St. Peter's the secretarium or vestry was 'between the middle doorway of the nave and the southwest corner:' Lanciani, Pagan and Christian Rome, p. 222.

[1] Malmesbury, G. P. p. 226, abbreviates their speech, as given by Eddi, 29. It begins with an assertion of papal supremacy.

[2] Including, apparently, Hilda; Eddi, 54. Malmesbury reckons her among the bitter enemies of Wilfrid; G. Pontif. iii. 107. It must be remembered that several saintly persons in Northumbria took the same line, and Bede apparently thought that they were right.

[3] 'Neque secundum sanctorum canonum subtilitatem convictum cum de aliquibus facinoribus, et ideo non canonice dejectum, reperimus . . . potius autem et modestiam hunc tenuisse perpendimus,' &c., Eddi, 29.

[4] 'Saxonia' was sometimes used for what we should call England. So Adamnan, Vit. Col. i. 1, 9, ii. 46; cp. Reeves's Adamnan, p. xlv, and 'Four Masters,' a. 684. So Huætbert of Wearmouth, writing to Gregory II; Bede's Hist. Abb. 14. Boniface speaks of 'Saxony-beyond-Sea'; Ep. 49:

by divine guidance come to this 'apostolical summit[1],' as to a fortified place and tower of strength, from whence the rule of the canons was communicated to all the Churches. The Pope would know, from his private interview with Wilfrid, and from the memorial already presented[2], that 'certain invaders of his bishopric, not one only, but three,' had, 'at a meeting of Archbishop Theodore and other prelates,' presumed to take away the see which he had held for more than ten years, and uncanonically to promote themselves to be bishops 'in his own church' during his lifetime; and that Theodore had consecrated them without his assent, and even 'without the assent of any bishop.' It was not for him to ask why this was done: he would refrain from accusing one who had been sent[3] from that apostolical see. It would appear that he had been expelled without having been convicted of any canonical fault: yet, after such treatment, he had raised no seditious contention, but had invoked the assistance of Rome, and 'simply called the comprovincial bishops to bear witness' to the proceeding. He would accept any decision from the Council. If he were placed in his old see, let the invaders be synodically ejected[4]. If, again, it was resolved to have more bishops in Northumbria, let them at least be chosen from the clergy of his church by a provincial synod[5], so that he, Wilfrid, might 'serve God with them in peaceful unity.' We must pause a moment to observe that this statement suppresses what, no doubt, was prominent in Theodore's,—the fact that the subject of a division of CHAP. X.

cp. S. Greg. Ep. xi. 64. Kenulf of Mercia says that Augustine 'ecclesiis praefuit Saxoniae'; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 522.

[1] 'Apostolatus vester' was a common form of address to the pope as 'apostolicus,' successor of St. Peter: Liber Diurnus, No. 2 ff.

[2] 'Quae viva voce praesentialiter intimavi, et per satisfactionem petitionis scriptis narrantibus obtuli;' Eddi, 30.

[3] 'Directus.' So in Andrew's speech. See above, p. 258.

[4] 'De pristinis parochiis ecclesiae.' Here 'parochiae' is used somewhat laxly, as if to mean, 'from those newly-erected bishoprics which originally and properly formed parts of the diocese of York.'

[5] 'Et si rursus in eadem parochia, cui praefui, praesules adhibere providerit, saltem tales jubeat praevidere promovendos . . . .' Again, 'Si ita placuerit archiepiscopo et coepiscopis meis ut augeatur numerus episcoporum,' &c.

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dioceses had been mooted years before at the synod of Hertford, and had been acted upon in East-Anglia. It might also be inferred from Wilfrid's paper that Theodore's first notion had been to take from him even York itself; and, certainly, that Bosa, Eata, and Eadhed were strangers to the Northumbrian diocese,—which was the reverse of the fact. After a few eulogistic words from Agatho on the moderation of the appellant's conduct, the Council pronounced its decision. Let us carefully observe what this came to. Wilfrid was to be reinstated in his original diocese, that is, the diocese as it stood before the division[1]. The bishops who had been irregularly promoted were, 'as a matter of course,' to be expelled. But, *when* this was done, he was, with consent of a council to be assembled at York, 'to choose bishops as assistants[2], with whom he could live peaceably,' and who were to be consecrated by Theodore. The advantages of diocesan subdivision were thus to be secured, but without the sacrifice of due order: Theodore's work was to be undone, that it might be done over again in a better way. The usual penalties were then denounced against all who should 'attempt to resist this sentence, or not receive it obediently, or, after a time, attempt to infringe it in whole or part.' Such a person, if bishop, priest, or deacon, was to be deprived and put under anathema: if clerk (i.e. in any order below the diaconate) or monk, or layman of any rank, *or king*, he was to be excluded from the Holy Communion. On the other hand, whosoever should sincerely accept and help to carry out the decision, might well hope to 'be Divinely rewarded for that obedience which God prefers to all sacrifices.'

Decision in favour of Wilfrid.

Such was the issue of the Roman Council. Wilfrid indulged himself by staying in Rome until the spring of 680. To him it was doubtless a time of intense refreshment; and on the following Easter Tuesday, March 27, 680, the Pope gave him a token of support which must have yet further inspirited so devoted a client of Rome. A large

[1] 'Decernimus ut episcopatum, quem nuper habuerat, recipiat,' Eddi, 32.

[2] 'Adjutores.' This is not to be understood of mere coadjutors or assistant bishops in an *un*divided diocese. Compare Bede, Ep. to Egb. 5.

CHAP. X. Council of 125 bishops.

Council of a hundred and twenty-five prelates met on that day to provide materials for the expected Council at Constantinople on the question of Monothelitism[1]. Wilfrid 'having been acquitted,' as the Council-record says, 'on matters certain and uncertain,' i.e. on charges definite and indefinite, sat in this assembly as bishop of York, and professed the orthodox doctrine of the 'two wills and activities' of the one Christ in behalf of 'all the northern part of Britain and Ireland, and the islands, which were inhabited by the nations of the Angles and Britons, and also of the Scots and Picts[2]': and was even described in the catalogue as representative of the 'synod' or episcopal college of Britain[3]: the secretary of the Council having mistakenly imagined that his testimony to the orthodoxy of the insular Churches was given in the character of their accredited 'delegate.' He signed the synodal letter addressed to the Emperor Constantine IV, and his two brothers[4], and containing a long dogmatic statement: and he thus committed himself to the assertion, that the Council had 'expected that Theodore, archbishop of the great island of Britain, and philosopher, would attend, with others who still tarried in Britain[5]'. But they came not.

At last Wilfrid tore himself away from the holy places of Rome. He had spent many days in farewell visits to churches, and had obtained many relics, with an exact register of the saints to whom they were ascribed,—together with many other things 'for the adornment of

[1] Mansi, xi. 185; Hefele, v. 141, E. T. Compare the council of Milan held in 679 against Monothelitism; Mansi, xi. 173. See above, p. 253.

[2] Eddi, 53; Bede, v. 19; as Haddan and Stubbs read (iii. 140), omitting the comma placed after 'parte' by Smith and Hussey, and inserting 'que' after 'insulis.'

[3] Mansi, xi. 306. What Wilfrid really meant to say was, 'I can assure you that in those countries there is no heresy on this point.'

[4] Heraclius and Tiberius. Mansi, xi. 285. See Bury, Later Rom. Emp. ii. 309.

[5] Mansi, xi. 294; Hefele, v. 147. This expectation shows that Wilfrid was not formally accepted by the council as delegate for his own Church; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 141. So Bury, ii. 315. Did he wait at Rome to meet Theodore?

CHAP. X. Wilfrid in Gaul.

the house of God[1].' His passage through Italy was like a triumph: but on entering the Frankish territory he experienced a painful shock. Dagobert of Austrasia had been murdered at the preceding Christmas by a conspiracy of 'dukes,' and of some prelates whom Ebroin had intruded into sees, and whose position was menaced by the young king[2]. Eddi tells us that one of these bishops endeavoured to intercept Wilfrid, and represented the slain prince as having played the part of Rehoboam, by despising the bishops and laying burdens on his people. Wilfrid appears to have given a softer answer than the case merited[3], but one which had the effect of shaming the Frankish prelate by its very gentleness. 'Woe to me, a sinner!' he rejoined: 'thou art more righteous than I.'

Return to Northumbria.

Wilfrid pursued his journey until he once more found himself at home. And then came the shock of a supreme disappointment. He had, in fact, been too much elated by his success at the Roman Council to estimate the situation as it would present itself in Northumbria. To begin with, it is not easy for brilliant and fervid natures to understand the resisting force inherent in those who are strangers to their enthusiasm. Wilfrid fancied, it seems, that 'the Apostolic See' would be practically as potent a name to his countrymen as it had been through long years to himself. Again, he forgot, or did not sufficiently consider, that the settlement against which he could now use that name with all distinctness and authority was one in which many interests were now bound up, to which the king of the Northumbrians and the archbishop of 'all Britain' were alike committed, and which, if now assailed, would call out national feeling, both civil and

[1] 'More suo,' says Eddi, 33. Thomas of Ely says that he brought a privilegium for the monastery of Ely, according to Etheldred's request; Vit. S. Eth. 19. He bought one for Ripon and Hexham; Eddi, 51.

[2] Mabillon, Ann. SS. Bened. iv. praef. p. cxlv. 'Plusieurs prétendent qu'il est le même que S. Dagobert qu'on honore à Stenai.' A Gallic 'duke' was superior to a 'count,' having several cities under him, cp. Greg. Turon. viii. 18.

[3] 'It was for your good, not your harm, that I exalted him;' Eddi, 33. Fridegod and Eadmer amplify this, as if the chief of the regicides had drawn his sword against Wilfrid and menaced him with death.

ecclesiastical, in its defence. The Roman decree, duly drawn up, with its leaden 'bullae[1]' and its 'apostolic' seal, was in his eyes 'a banner of victory': he never reflected that to others it might be a provocation and an insult. The first step which he took was to show himself to his monks who had been wearying for his return, and, as Eddi expresses it, 'crying out to the Lord with tears;' the next was to visit King Egfrid, offer him a greeting of peace, and exhibit his treasured document, which he afterwards showed to the assembled Witan[2]. It is not difficult to imagine his amazement when the reading of the decree was interrupted by angry dissent on the part of 'some persons present,' and then by an anticipation of that bitter complaint which recurred so often in later days: 'The writings have been bought,—the "doom" was corruptly obtained[3]!' The line taken by Egfrid 'and his counsellors,' if we may believe Eddi,—and we have no other informant,—was signally unworthy, yet not impolitic as an expedient for the time. They did not touch the broad question of Rome's right to receive the appeal: they avoided a long discussion by a short cut, assumed that Wilfrid had got a verdict by bribing the tribunal, and dealt with him accordingly,—but never took any measures for ascertaining at Rome what would be its decision apart from such influence as he, by hypothesis, had used. Eddi affirms that the prelates 'who held possession of his bishopric' acquiesced in the resolution to 'imprison him for nine months without any token of respect.' Accordingly, everything was taken from him save the clothes which he wore. Ermenburga, firmly believing in the virtue of his reliquary[4], appropriated it

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[1] On the discovery near Whitby of a leaden 'bulla,' bearing the name of 'Boniface archdeacon' of Rome, see Bishop Browne, Lessons from E. E. Ch. Hist. p. 38. Bishops also used these 'bullae.'

[2] Eddi, 34: 'Omnibus principibus . . . necnon servis Dei.'

[3] Eddi, 'Diffamaverunt . . . ut pretio redempta essent scripta.' Hook's omission of the reason given for non-compliance is most unfortunate; Archbishops, i. 161. But the allegation shows that Rome had already a bad reputation for venality, which afterwards grew worse.

[4] 'Chrismarium,' properly a vessel containing the hallowed chrism,

CHAP. X. to herself, hung it up beside her in her carriage when she drove out, and kept it in her bedroom like a talisman. Egfrid swore 'by his own salvation' that none of Wilfrid's friends should visit him in his captivity: they were allowed one parting interview, in which the undaunted bishop reminded them of Israel's thraldom in Egypt, of the trials of Moses and the prophets, of the sufferings of the Divine Chief Shepherd, of the great 'teacher's' exhortations in Heb. xii. 1, 5[1]. He then passed into the custody of Osfrid, the reeve[2] or governor of a place which Eddi calls Bromnis, and which 'may, perhaps,' be identified with Broomridge in Northumberland[3]. There, at the setting in of the winter, the bishop was immured in a cell which was seldom lighted by sunshine, and never by a lamp. Darkness, however, had no terrors for Wilfrid: he sang his psalms as regularly as if he had been in one of his own minsters, and the guards are said to have been awestruck by an appearance of light within the dungeon[4]. The imprisonment was meant as a menace: Egfrid offered to give him back part of his old bishopric, and some other gifts, if he would submit to royal authority, and disclaim the genuineness of the document brought from Rome. 'I would rather lose my head,' was the answer. But Osfrid, believing that his

had come to be used for a 'theca reliquiarum'; see Ducange. He cites Greg. Turon. de Mirac. S. Mart. iv. 32, where the name is applied to a small case or box containing dust from St. Martin's tomb. Gregory's parents carried relics about their persons; de Gl. Mart. i. 84. St. Gall carried with him a 'little case' of relics, and made his prayers before it; Vit. S. Gall. When a pagan attempted to behead St. Willehad, the blow swerved aside on the leather band of the case of relics which 'in collo suspensam habebat'; Vit. S. Will. 4. The fashion became very general. William the Conqueror (who knew how to utilize relics for his own purpose) wore a reliquary round his neck on the day of his great victory; Freeman, N. C. iii. 464.

[1] Eddi, 35. The speech begins, 'Be mindful, and tell my brethren, of the days of old, how we read,' &c.

[2] Above, p. 139. The burghreeve or burhgerefa 'was essentially a royal officer, charged with the maintenance and defence of a fortress.' Kemble, Sax. in Engl. ii. 172.

[3] See Raine, Historians of Ch. of York, i. 51.

[4] Eddi, 36. 'Absentem diem lux agebat aemula,' Malmesb. G. P. iii. 101.

wife's recovery from a death-like stupor was due to some holy water dropped by Wilfrid into her mouth[1], entreated Egfrid, with adjurations, 'not to compel him any longer to afflict the holy and innocent bishop to his own perdition:' and the king transferred Wilfrid to Dunbar, where the reeve Tidlin was a man of 'sterner stuff[2].' But while the king and queen were visiting Coldingham, Ermenburga fell ill one night, and in the morning seemed to be dying of convulsions[3]. The abbess Ebba[4], remembering how Wilfrid had officiated in her church at Etheldred's profession, took advantage of her nephew's anxiety to reprove him for his injustice. If he wished his wife to recover, he must either restore Wilfrid to his bishopric,—which would be best,—or let him go whither he would. Egfrid yielded to his aunt's exhortations, released Wilfrid, gave him back his reliquary, allowed him to depart with his friends, when they had been re-assembled: 'and the queen was healed.'

This is the tale as told by Eddi. We know him well enough by this time to be mistrustful of his details, even when they do not assume a miraculous form. If he persuaded himself, also, that Egfrid repented of what he had done, the facts hardly bear out such a view. But his diffuseness is only the exaggeration of facts which Bede astonishes us by all but passing over; he ignores altogether this visit of Wilfrid to Northumbria, in his professed account of Wilfrid's life[5]; while in the course

[1] Eddi, 37. Fridegod, 861: 'conjunx . . . Praesidis infaustas, ha! ha! procurantis habenas.'

[2] Eddi has another marvel to tell: Tidlin caused iron chains to be made; they were tried on Wilfrid's hands, but proved to be either too tight or too loose, 38.

[3] Eddi, 39: 'Contractis membris simul in unum stricte alligatam.' Malmesbury says, 'Coepit aliena facere, insana dicere.'

[4] She is said to have died August 25, 683 (Alb. Butler). The Chronicle's date of 679 for the burning of Coldingham is too early; for it was burnt after her death (Bede, iv. 25), and this account of Eddi represents her as alive in 681,—let alone the received date of her death. Eadmer carelessly calls her the king's mother, c. 37, from a mistake as to 'mater' in Eddi.

[5] Bede, v. 19: 'Post haec reversus Brittaniam, provinciam Australium Saxonum . . . convertit.' 'There was but little sympathy between Wilfrid

CHAP. X. of his History he just says that 'on account of the king's enmity he could not be received in his country or diocese[1].' Nor does he say anything about the next event in Wilfrid's story,—his second sojourn in Mercia, which apparently began early in 681. Berthwald, the nephew of King Ethelred, an ealdorman or sub-king, whom Eddi calls a prefect, asked Wilfrid to accept some of his own land for the building of a monastery. 'Abide with me, for the Lord's sake!' Wilfrid was only too glad to comply: a sojourn in Mercia was for him a renewal of pleasant memories, centering in the kindly beneficence of Wulfhere[2]: he 'thanked God, who had given him some solace of rest'; and set to work to build 'a little monastery, which monks of his still held' when Eddi wrote[3]. But again his troubles returned. The old feud had again broken out between Mercian and Northumbrian royalties. An invasion by Egfrid had been defeated by Ethelred, in 679, near the Trent; and Alfwin, Egfrid's brother, a youth of eighteen, apparently sub-king of Deira, and much loved in both kingdoms, had fallen[4]. It was exactly a year after Wilfrid's expulsion when the corpse of Alfwin was brought into York amid the wild wailings of the people, who 'wept bitterly, and tore their garments and their hair[5].' This victory of Ethelred had reunited Lindsey to Mercia[6]: and Bishop Eadhed had been fain

and the great scholar;' Raine, Historians of Ch. of York, p. xxxiv. See above, p. 319.

[1] Bede, iv. 13: 'in patria sive parochia.' [2] Eddi, 14. [3] Eddi, 40.

[4] Bede, iv. 21. Malmesbury says quaintly, that Ethelred attacked Egfrid in battle, 'and admonished him to return home;' G. Reg. i. 77. The scene of the battle is said to have been at Elford on the Trent, in Staffordshire; Coxe's Wendover, i. 170. Tighernach calls Alfwin 'Almuine.' See above, p. 267.

[5] Eddi, 24. He adds that Egfrid thenceforward 'usque ad mortem sine victoria regnabat.' For the adventures of a young noble named Imma, who had been a 'gesith' of Alfwin, see Bede, iv. 22. He was taken prisoner, but his brother Tunna, an abbot, deeming him to be dead, took care to say mass often for his soul. Bede was told by some who heard it,—so he tells us,—from Imma himself, that his chains repeatedly fell off,—most frequently (as he ascertained by subsequent conversation with Tunna) at the time when the masses were said. The chapter indicates, moreover, the current belief in purgatory; compare Bede, v. 12: Hom. 49.

[6] 'Integritate regni recepta,' says Malmesbury of the Mercian king;

to flee into Deira, where he 'became bishop of the church of Ripon,' that is, if we take the words literally, had a diocese made for him out of York, with Ripon, as at present, for its see[1]. Peace had been made, when a protracted war seemed inevitable, by the 'salutary exhortations of Theodore, which wholly quenched the fire of a great peril[2],' and induced the Northumbrian king to be content with a wer-gild, or pecuniary satisfaction[3], for his brother's blood. But one of the fruits of this peace[4] was Wilfrid's compulsory removal from Mercia: Ethelred, and his wife Osthryd[5], Egfrid's sister, commanded Berthwald to send him away at a day's notice. Leaving his monks behind him, and taking with him several priests, as Eappa, Padda, Burghelm, and Oiddi, together with other attendants who were in his service[6], Wilfrid travelled across the border into Wessex: but soon the vindictive hatred of Ermenburga dispossessed him, for her sister, being Kentwin's wife, persuaded the king to banish him from the realm[7]. And then, as Bede says, tranquilly resuming his story, 'Wilfrid turned aside to the province of the South-Saxons[8],' whose king Ethelwalch gave him a solemn assurance of protection[9]. CHAP. X.

G. P. p. 220; Bede, iv. 12, 'recepisset.' See above, p. 322. Lindsey never again became Northumbrian.

[1] Bede, iii. 28: 'Hrypensis ecclesiae praesul factus est;' more express than iv. 12, 'Hrypensi ecclesiae praefecit.' So Florence, App. in M. H. B. p. 625. 'The possible see of Ripon,' Haddan and Stubbs, ii. 6.

[2] Bede, iv. 21. Compare Gregory of Tours, Hist. Fr. ix. 20.

[3] 'Multa.' See Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 188; Thorpe's Anc. Laws, p. 79, Glossary, in v. Compare, on the principle of such compensation, or 'satisfactio,' Tacitus, Germ. 21. See Gibbon, iv. 367; and Robertson, Scotl. under Early Kings, ii. 286. He refers to this intervention of Theodore, and gives various scales of 'wer-gilds,' English and foreign. See also Kemble, i. 270: and above, p. 273.

[4] It lasted apparently until Ethelbald of Mercia invaded Northumbria in 737.

[5] See Bede, iii. 11; iv. 21. She was murdered, long afterwards, by Mercian nobles; Bede, v. 24; Chronicle, a. 697.

[6] Bede, iv. 13. The Chronicler erroneously says that 'Eoppa' (*sic*) was sent by Wilfrid *and* Wulfhere to preach in the Isle of Wight in 661.

[7] Eddi, 40.

[8] Bede, iv. 13: 'Siquidem divertens ad provinciam,' &c.

[9] Eddi, 41: 'That none of his enemies should terrify him by the threat of the sword, nor make void the promise by greatness of gifts.'

CHAP. X. Wilfrid the apostle of Sussex.

And now we come to the most beautiful chapter in his life, that which furnishes the best example of the remark, that his character was ever noblest in adversity[1],—the strongest title which it can show to the aureole of pure saintship.

That little South-Saxon realm, traditionally one of the oldest of the kingdoms, was by far the most insignificant. It is simply omitted in Florence of Worcester's dynastic tables, as if, after the great things which Ella and his three sons had done from their landing at Kynor in 477[2] to the destruction of Anderida in 491, a spell had stiffened the South-Saxons into the utter negation of all stirring national life. Fenced in by the huge dim forest of the Andred-weald, which extended its arms into Kent and Hampshire[3], and into which the first Saxon invaders drove 'some of the Welsh[4],' or by Romney Marsh eastward, the people seemed to be inaccessible to the influences which were swaying their neighbours hither and thither, and, in particular, were unconscious of the great spiritual movement which had formed Kent and Wessex into districts of Christendom. Twenty years before, their king Ethelwalch, who, as we have seen, had become a Christian and married the Hwiccian Eaba, increased his dominion by receiving the Isle of Wight, and a strip of Hampshire called Meon, as a grant from his godfather Wulfhere[5]. He seems to have invited into his realm some six Irish monks, Dicul being their abbot[6], who built themselves a very small monastery at Bosham[7], near 'Cissa's-caster,' the Saxon town, called after one of Ella's sons, on the

[1] Raine, i. 61. But Churton is not warranted in suggesting that his 'prosperity had gone near to quench' his 'zeal for the cause of God'; E. E. Ch. p. 91.

[2] Cymenes-ora (Chronicle, a. 477) is Kynor on Bracklesham Bay, near Wittering.

[3] See Green, Mak. of Engl. pp. 11, 88. Above, p. 211.

[4] Chronicle, a. 477. [5] See above, p. 210.

[6] Bede, iv. 13. See Murray's Handbook for Kent and Sussex, p. 339; and Stephens's Memorials of See of Chichester, p. 7. But Dicul's little monastery was not 'one of the waifs and strays of the early *British* Church.' We meet with a Dicul, an Irish priest, in Bede, iii. 19.

[7] See Freeman, iii. 222, for Godwin and Harold as dwelling there.

site of the Roman Regnum. They dwelt there, unregarded by the heathens around them, holding their 'little Christian fortress,' but gaining no ground whatever. 'Not one of the country people cared to imitate their humble and poor life' of devout service, 'nor so much as to listen to their preaching[1].' It seemed a hopeless case; Irish zeal had done wonderful things in other mission-fields, on the Continent[2] and in Britain;—it fell flat and dead on the as yet unimpressible barbarians of Sussex. Dicul and his brethren had to live on amid the woods, bearing the burden of apparent failure, and keeping up by their presence and their devotions what seemed a fruitless testimony for God. Theirs was the position assigned in various ages to faithful labourers[3], who have worked and waited, not really in vain, just before the time appointed for other men's success. This was the condition of Sussex, 'wholly ignorant of the name of God, and of the faith,' when Wilfrid found refuge within its frontier in 681. CHAP. X.

With what thoughts must he have entered its woodlands, or looked forth on the sea from its coast! Fifteen years before, he had narrowly escaped with his life, and the lives of nearly all his companions, from the ferocity of Sussex 'wreckers,' urged on by their Pagan priest[4]. He now came once more among the people, shielded from actual peril by their king's patronage, but otherwise devoid of adventitious claims on their respect. Some of them may have heard that he was an exile, under the

[1] Bede, iv. 13: 'Sed provincialium nullus,' &c.

[2] See Haddan's Remains, p. 268; Goldwin Smith, Irish Hist. p. 27. Bishop Forbes says that 'all the west of Europe, from Iceland to Tarentum, felt the power' of the Irish Church; Kalendars, p. 341. See above, p. 109, for Columban, the typical Irish missionary to the Continent; cp. the phrase 'pro Domino peregrinam ducere vitam' used of Fursey in iii. 19.

[3] Palladius in Ireland; Livin, an Irish missionary who, after meeting with great opposition, was martyred in Belgium in 656 (Lanigan, ii. 468); Wictbert, who preached in Frisia for two years, and 'found no fruit of all his labour,' Bede, v. 9; Hans Egede in Greenland; Henry Martyn. Cp. Lightfoot, Hist. Essays, p. 87.

[4] Above, p. 243.

CHAP. X. ban of his own king and Witan. If he was to do them any good, to bring any light into their darkness, he must do so by his own missionary capacities: and we have seen how he put off the prosecution of his appeal in order to be a missionary among the Frisians. As Bede well says, although he was shut out from his own diocese, 'he could not be restrained from the ministry of evangelizing[1].' He began in a fashion which may be called Pauline: he seized a temporal emergency as a spiritual opportunity. A long drought had produced sore famine: so great was the despair produced by exhaustion, that men would go by forties and fifties to some cliff or beach, and with joined hands leap or rush into the sea[2]. The people were so truly barbaric that they were ignorant of fishing except for eels, although the sea and rivers abounded with fish. Wilfrid's versatility was equal to the occasion. He had always, it seems, taken interest in handicrafts: he bade his attendants collect nets used in eel-fishing, and cast them into the sea[3]: presently they hauled in three hundred fish of different sorts, which they divided into three parts, —for the poor, for the lenders of the nets, and for themselves. 'By which good service,' writes Bede, 'the prelate turned their hearts powerfully to love him,—and they were the readier to listen hopefully to his preaching about heavenly benefits, after they had through his agency received temporal good[4].' 'The hour' was indeed 'come, and the man.' 'The dull hard stone' of their hearts was melted: they gathered round the stranger who had lifted them out of their physical misery, and gratitude and confidence towards Wilfrid became faith—however rudimentary—in his Lord. He spent some months in a regular

[1] Bede, iv. 13: 'Non tamen ab evangelizandi potuit ministerio cohiberi.' In this part of Wilfrid's life, Bede far exceeds Eddi in vividness and fullness.

[2] This Bede tells as a report,—'ferunt.'

[3] St. Gall, on the lake of Constance, was wont 'squamigero gregi insidias componere': see the legend about the water-spirit who tried to damage his nets, Vit. S. Galli; Pertz, Mon. Germ. Hist. ii. 7.

[4] Quo beneficio multum antistes cor omnium in suum convertit amorem,' &c. Bede, iv. 13. 'To supply bodily needs *πολλάκις εἰς ψυχὴν φέρει, δι' εὐνοίας δουλούμενον*,' St. Greg. Naz. Orat. 43, c. 34, on St. Basil.

course of instruction[1]; and with such effect that ealdormen and thanes set the example of receiving baptism from his hand, and his four priests, then or afterwards, baptized the rest of the people. No doubt, as in other multitudinous conversions, there were some which were conversions only in name: and if we can rely on Eddi, the delight with which the king surveyed the good work led him to use direct pressure on those who would otherwise have held aloof[2]. On the day of the great general baptism, we are told that the long-delayed rain 'fell gently and copiously, the parched earth began to recover its freshness and verdure, the year came round again glad and fruitful[3].' 'And so, having cast off their old superstition and renounced their idolatry[4], the heart and the flesh of the people rejoiced in turning to the living God, understanding that He who is the true God had enriched them by His heavenly grace with both inward and outward blessings[5].'

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Thus, at last, the dew came upon that 'fleece' which had been dry in the midst of the watered ground. It came with the beginnings of civilization[6], to accompany

[1] Above, p. 137. Cp. Bede, ii. 14; iii. 7; iv. 16; v. 6.

[2] Eddi, 41: 'Alii vero coacti regis imperio.' Contrast Ethelbert, above, p. 58.

[3] Bede becomes poetical: 'Rediit viridantibus arvis annus laetus et frugifer.' Alcuin imitates him in de Pont. Eccl. Ebor. 595.

[4] 'Exsufflata;' alluding to the old custom of spitting as if in abhorrence of the Evil One, at the time of renouncing him and his works. See Bingham, b. xi. c. 7. s. 5; Palmer, Orig. Lit. ii. 177. In the Eastern Church this custom still continues; in the office for making a catechumen we find, 'Hast thou renounced Satan?' 'I have renounced him.' 'Breathe out, then (*ἐμφύσησον*), and spit at him.' Goar, Euchologion, p. 358. In Bede, v. 6, is a reference to the similar custom of breathing on the catechumen's face at the first exorcism: 'Exsufflante illo in faciem meam.' So the Gelasian Sacramentary, p. 113, ed. Wilson: 'Exsufflas in faciem ejus' (of a convert from paganism).

[5] Bede, iv. 12: 'Sicque abjecta,' &c. Cp. Ps. lxxxiv. 2. Alcuin, de Pont. Eccl. Ebor. 601, refers to the same text, and adds,

'Certius aeternis inhiantes pectore donis,
Quo sumpsere prius sibimet terrena per illum.'

[6] See Raine, i. 70. Meinhard won over some Lieflanders by teaching them to build a fortress for defence of their trade; Maclear, Conv. of Slavs, p. 158. John Eliot 'found it absolutely necessary to do what he called carrying on *civility* with religion'; Miss Yonge, Pioneers and Founders, p. 16. J. Price 'wisely qualified himself to act as a physician'

CHAP. X. and recommend it: some 'promise of the life that now is,' some initiation into the arts which improve its condition, assisted the announcement of 'that which was to come.' Wilfrid was now 'the Apostle of the South-Saxons': and he became their first resident bishop. Ethelwalch made over to him a royal 'vill,' his own place of abode[1], and added to it a domain of eighty-seven hydes consisting of Selsey, 'the Isle of the Sea-calf,' as Bede calls the seal: it was, in fact, a peninsula joined on the west to the mainland by a strip of ground about a sling's throw across[2]. Here the bishop was to establish a home for himself and his fellow-exiles, and a centre for missionary and episcopal work. The minster arose—doubtless, amid many pensive recollections of Ripon and Hexham—on a spot which has since then been submerged by the encroachments of the Channel, and is supposed to have been about a mile eastward of the present church[3]. He began his episcopate with a characteristic act of Christian kindness. The king had given him two hundred and fifty persons, living on the estate, 'as bondsmen and bondswomen: he saved them all, by baptizing them, from slavery to the devil, and by granting them their liberty, set them free from the yoke of slavery to man[4].' He set his faithful priest Eappa over the monastery; and Bede tells us how the pestilence made its way into the Selsey peninsula[5], and carried away many of Wilfrid's attendants, and also of his new converts; one of these

before going to Rangoon; ib. 142. Comp. Memoir of Bp. Steere, pp. 154, 168.

[1] Eddi, 41. Compare Ethelbert at Canterbury; above, p. 60.

[2] See Bede, iv. 13: 'Quo tempore,' &c. 'Such a place is called, by the Latins, a peninsula; by the Greeks, a cherronesos.' See Stephens's Memorials of See of Chichester, p. 15.

[3] In Camden's time it was visible at low water; Britann. i. 199. See Murray's Kent and Sussex, p. 327.

[4] Bede, iv. 13: 'Et quoniam illi rex,' &c. Kemble, Sax. Engl. i. 211. On such manumission of slaves, see Lecky, Europ. Morals, ii. 74, and above, p. 42. Cp. Council of Celchyth (Chalk?) in 816, c. 10; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 583.

[5] It largely infected communities, as at Lastingham, Bede, iii. 23; Lichfield, ib. iv. 3; Barking, ib. iv. 7, 8; Ely, ib. iv. 19; Wearmouth, Hist. Abb. 8; Lindisfarne and Carlisle, Vit. Cuthb. 27.

being a boy who, on the 5th of August, had a dream which shortly preceded his death, and in consequence of which that day was thenceforward observed by masses in memory of King Oswald in this Northumbrian colony at Selsey,—no other member of which, beside the boy, was at that time 'hurried out of the world,'—'and also in many other places[1].' CHAP. X.

And here let us leave Wilfrid among his South-Saxons. The strange restraint which had checked Bede's hand in that part of his narrative which should have described Wilfrid's sufferings is removed when he has to write, not of the magnificent prelate who seemed rather the first than the second man in Northumbria, but of the exile who knew so well how to make his own misfortunes 'turn out for the furtherance of the Gospel.' 'For five years he exercised in those parts the office of the episcopate, both by words and by deeds, deservedly honoured by all[2];' with the little cathedral of Selsey instead of York, with the poor simple neophytes of Sussex instead of the Northumbrian Church in its stately organization, with Ethelwalch and Ebba—a happy exchange—instead of Egfrid and Ermenburga;

[1] Bede, iv. 14. This 'puerulus,' an inmate of the monastery, and a boy of great simplicity, gentleness, piety, was taken ill of the plague, and was lying in bed alone, at 7 a. m. on the second of three days which had been appointed for a 'triduanum jejunium,' when he seemed to see 'the blessed *chiefs* of the apostles,' Peter and Paul, who, as Bede heard the story, told him that he would die in grace on that very day, but 'had to wait' until mass (missae) had been celebrated, that he might receive the viaticum: and that all the other patients would recover. This had been granted to the prayers of the king Oswald, beloved of God, who, in dying, prayed for all his nation, and therefore for them. The boy described the two appearances as having faces 'most pleasant and fair'; Peter was shorn like a cleric, Paul had a long beard. Eappa, on hearing the tale, consulted his 'annalis codex,' or calendar, ascertained that it was the anniversary of Maserfield (p. 175), and gave orders that masses should be celebrated 'in all the oratories of the monastery,' that then all the brethren should communicate at a mass in the church, and that 'a particle of the oblation' should be carried to the sick lad, who soon afterwards expired. It is easy to see how the story grew out of a dream and a coincidence. As it speaks of the 'viaticum dominici corporis et sanguinis,' it would seem that here (if not in Cædmon's case) the 'particle' was first steeped in the chalice; see Book of Deer, p. 90, 'Corpus cum sanguine . . . sit tibi,' &c.

[2] Bede, iv. 13: 'Nam ipse illis in partibus,' &c.

CHAP. X. his troubles settling down into the quietness of an 'apostleship,' which might for a while seclude the man whose name had been heard through Europe, but which, in the general estimate of his life, may be truly said to constitute its crown.

CHAPTER XI.

It has been natural to treat the first series of Wilfrid's troubles as one subject, and to pursue it without interruption; it is time now to look at the progress of the Church in various kingdoms since the division of his diocese in 678.

We meet, in the first instance, with a statement by Florence of Worcester [1], which assigns to 679 a fivefold partition of the Mercian diocese, the effect of which was to establish Bosel as bishop of Worcester, Cuthwin of Lichfield, Saxulf of Leicester, Ethelwin of 'Siddenacester,' and Ætla of Dorchester. This, it is said, was done by Theodore at the request of Ethelred, who was himself prompted by Oshere, 'king' of the Hwiccas. But the statement requires 'analysis and criticism [2].' Let us see what can be made good. As to Worcester, Bede tells us [3] that several years

[1] In the appendix to his Chronicle: 'Cui Hwicciorum,' &c. Oshere, the alleged promoter of the partition, is referred to in a charter of 734–737 as having induced Ethelred to give lands to two nuns; Cod. Dipl. i. 98. If Florence is correct, Osric must be dated after Oshere, for Osric was in office about 690; Bede, iv. 23. On the other hand, the evidence preponderates in favour of assigning the earlier date to Osric (see above, p. 297), and placing the accession of Oshere shortly before 693, when he granted land at 'Penitanham' to abbess Cutswid; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. i. 41. Bp. Stubbs supposes him to have been succeeded by his three sons, as 'comites,' about 704: Cath. of Worc. p. 5.

[2] Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 128. Florence, says Sir T. D. Hardy, 'is very good original authority as far as the see of Worcester is concerned;' Mon. H. Brit. p. 122. Still, the date of his death is 1118.

[3] Bede, iv. 23: 'De medio nunc dicamus.' He implies, by 'paulo ante' further on, that Bosel had not a long episcopate. Florence dates its termination (when, as Bede says, he resigned on account of illness) in 691. Probably, while bishop, he lived with monks around him, even if his cathedral 'family' was not composed entirely of monks; Stubbs, Cath. of Worc. p. 7. His church was called St. Peter's; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. i. 35; Green, Hist. Worc. p. 16.

CHAP. XI. after this, when Osric was 'king,' or sub-king, of the Hwiccian district, of which Worcester was the capital, Bosel was the bishop of that province, having been appointed when Tatfrid, once a monk of Whitby, had been elected, and then had died before he could receive consecration[1],—a circumstance which appears in the narrative of Florence. This enables us to believe that the bishopric of Worcester—a city which had a British name as Cair Guilagor[2], and which, says Florence, 'exceeded many other cities in the height and stateliness of its walls'—may be traced back to a time somewhat near 679. Leicester was also made a bishopric for the Mid-Angles; but Cuthwin[3], not Saxulf, was its first prelate, as Florence himself intimates in his catalogue of bishops: Saxulf retained his seat at Lichfield. We have heard how Eadhed was sent from Northumbria to preside over Lindsey: when Lindsey became again Mercian, Ethelwin, who had spent some time in Ireland as a student of theology[4], was established as bishop of Sidnacester, commonly identified with Stow, a village between Gainsborough and Lincoln[5]. Florence does not mention Hereford: Putta had probably settled there, and his presence, as that of a bishop who had been

[1] Bede, iv. 23.

[2] Nennius, p. 62. Also written 'Guoeirangon.' Ethelred's charter of 691–2 speaks of 'Weogorna'; Ethelbald's charter of 716 of 'Uigranceastre'; another of his, of 'Wigorna'; bishop Milred's, in 774, of 'Weogernacestre' (Kemble, Cod. Dipl. i. 35, 80, 108, 152); the Chronicle of 992, of 'Wigernaceastre.' 'The chieftain of "Hwiccas" had as much authority in his good city of Worcester as the king of Essex in London;' Palgrave, Angl.-Sax. p. 46. The Mercian capital was Tamworth.

[3] 'Virum religiosum ac modestum,' Flor. There was no regular succession at Leicester until 737; Stubbs, Registr. 162.

[4] Bede, iii. 27: 'Erant inter hos,' &c. Ethelwin was of noble 'Anglian' blood, and had come home from Ireland 'bene instructus'; his brother Ethelhun had died there of the pestilence. Ethelwin ruled the church of Lindsey 'multo tempore nobilissime,' and was succeeded by Edgar; Bede, iv. 12.

[5] 'Stow, the ancient Sidnacester;' Freeman, ii. 49. See Camden, Britan. i. 572: he observes that Eadnoth II, bishop of Dorchester, Leicester, and Sidnacester, in the eleventh century, built 'the church of Our Lady in Stow'; and that it was commonly believed 'in those parts that Stow was the mother church to Lincoln.' See, however, Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 129, 547. On Stow church as 'curious and interesting,' cp. Parker, Goth. Arch. p. 25.

obliged to quit Rochester, would prepare for the erection of a regular bishopric. The chief difficulty is about Dorchester. Florence evidently got his account of Ætla from a brief statement of Bede [1], that Ætla, a monk of Whitby, became bishop of Dorchester,—to which statement he added one of his own, that Dorchester was treated in 679 as a Mercian bishopric for 'South Anglia [2].' Now, in no other passage does Bede tell us of a see of Dorchester, distinct from that of Winchester, while Heddi presided over the latter church; and, beside this, we do not know that the district ecclesiastically dependent on Dorchester was then in any sense Mercian [3], if it ever did become so before the battle of Bensington in 777 [4]. It has been suggested that the statement of Florence is incorrect, and that Bede's is to be explained by identifying Ætla with Heddi [5]. Against this latter suggestion it is to be urged that Bede could not have confounded one of the scholarly disciples of Hilda with a prelate whom he repeatedly names Heddi, and expressly describes as *not* learned [6]. On the whole it seems not unlikely that, in the weakened and distracted condition of Wessex, Ethelred might have repeated the policy of Wulfhere by invading Wessex on the north, annexing Oxfordshire for the time to Mercia, and installing Ætla in the church of St. Birinus [7]. Very likely Florence erred in assigning all these arrangements to one time, and to Oshere what was rather due to a predecessor in the

[1] Bede, iv. 23: 'De secundo (Ætla) breviter intimandum,' &c.

[2] Kemble, i. 80. The term 'South-Anglian' had, however, a wider application. Thus in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. i. 96, 100: 'Ethelbald, king not only of the Mercians, but of all the provinces which are called by the general name of South-Angles;' where the lands referred to are in Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Gloucestershire; Pearson, Hist. Maps, p. 40.

[3] It was certainly West-Saxon under Kynegils in 635. See above, p. 170. Wulfhere's invasion of Wessex might be merely a raid.

[4] When Offa defeated Kynewulf; Chronicle, a. 777. See Freeman, Old-Engl. Hist. p. 82; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 130; Green, Making of Engl. p. 419.

[5] Mabillon, Ann. Bened. i. 595, distinguishes them.

[6] Bede, iii. 7; iv. 12; v. 18.

[7] Dorchester reappears as a Mercian bishopric in 869: so that the see of Lincoln, as transferred from Dorchester by Remigius, is thus akin rather to Lichfield than to Winchester.

CHAP. XI.

Hwiccian sub-kingship[1], Osric, the nephew of Ethelred, and apparently the son of Alchfrid of Northumbria. But it is probable that Theodore, encouraged by his success in Northumbria, would be eager to carry out his scheme in the Midlands. It was contemporaneously with these movements of Church extension in Mercia that the monastery of St. Peter at Gloucester[2], apparently, like Whitby, a community including monks and nuns, was founded, or completed, under the patronage of Ethelred, and by the munificence of Osric, the sub-king.

Saxon monks settled at Glastonbury.

A more illustrious place than any of those now mentioned, in a purely ecclesiastical sense, received a new endowment which formed an era in its history. From 658, when Kenwalch drove the Britons beyond the Parret[3], their oldest sanctuary, 'the isle of Avalon,' had come into Saxon hands. 'The one famous holy place of the conquered Briton which had lived through the storm of English conquest[4],'—with its 'Old Church' originally of woven rods, then covered with wood and lead[5], was inevitably abandoned by the one

[1] See above, p. 297.

[2] See Monast. Angl. i. 531; Hist. Mon. Glouc. i. pp. xiii. lxxii. 3 ff. (ed. Hart); where the date in the so-called charter of Ethelred, 671, is corrected to 681. Osric is said to have been Ethelred's nephew, although in this charter he and his brother Oswald, the reputed founder of the monastery of Pershore, are described only as 'ministri of noble race'; a description fatal to the genuineness of the charter. He is also usually identified with the Osric who reigned over Northumbria from 718 to 729, for whom see Bede, v. 23. Now, this king Osric, according to Simeon of Durham (Dun. Eccl. i. 13), was son of Aldfrid the Wise, the successor of Egfrid; but, as bishop Stubbs thinks, he may rather have been the son of Alchfrid their brother, 'the Disinherited,' who might have placed his children under the protection of his brother-in-law Ethelred; see above, p. 193. The first abbess of Gloucester, according to the local documents, was Kyniburga, the sister of Osric, apparently named after her mother, Alchfrid's wife, afterwards abbess of Caistor. She was consecrated, we are told, by bishop Bosel, and died in 710. Dean Spence's discovery of Osric's remains in Gloucester cathedral, is described in Good Words for 1892, p. 388 ff.

[3] Above, p. 210.

[4] Freeman, i. 436; cp. his Engl. Towns and Districts, p. 82 ff.

[5] Malmesb. de Antiq. Glaston. Eccl. and Gest. Reg. i. 20. The English learned to call it 'Ealdcyrc': 'St. Joseph's chapel' afterwards rose on its site, west of the great church. Compare the 'virgae' used for making a 'hospitium' in Hy, Adamn. Vit. Col. ii. 3, and Reeves's note, that Irish churches were sometimes so constructed, e.g. one at Glendalough. See above, p. 11.

race, and reverentially occupied by the other. Saxon ecclesiastics walked at will over the time-hallowed ground, ascended the 'Tor of the Archangel' on the east, looked northward towards the Mendips, southward towards the fen called Allermoor[1], and all around on similar marshes with fair green islands rising out of them, as Bekerey or Little Ireland, and meadowy Ferramere, and Andredesey 'more beautiful than all the rest[2].' A Saxon community of monks took possession of 'the wooden basilica' of the Virgin, consecrated by the memory of so many real and legendary saints[3]: the Ynys-vitryn of Celtic speech, afterwards called Avalon, settled down into its Saxon name of Glastonbury[4]: and Bishop Heddi, on July 6, 680, granted lands in the district, at Lantocal and in the isle of Ferramere, to Hemgils the abbot[5], by a deed which in its business-like brevity puts to shame not a few pompous pseudo-charters, while its solemn opening formula has a special emphasis as contrasting the 'change' of 'the old order' with the changeless 'reign of our Lord Jesus Christ[6].' We must also apparently assign to this period the foundation of a West-Saxon monastery within the limits of the British kingdom of Dumnonia at Exeter[7], the ancient Caer

CHAP. XI.

[1] See the plan in Monast. Angl. vol. i, before p. 1.

[2] Monast. Angl. i. 22. Yet Malmesbury (Gest. Pont. ii. 91) describes 'Glastonia' as 'in quodam recessu palustri posita . . . nec situ nec amoenitate delectabilis.'

[3] Cp. Malmesb. Gest. Reg. i. 20.

[4] Malmesbury's account is, that one Glasting from North Wales followed his lost sow until he found her under an apple-tree, near the old church in 'Yniswytrin,' whence he called the isle Avallon (Apples' Isle),—unless it was so called from one Avalloc who dwelt there for seclusion; Gale, i. 295. Glastonbury is in fact 'the burgh of the Glæstings,' a Saxon patronymic; Freeman, i. 573. See 'Glestingaburg' in Bonif. Ep. 70. Above, p. 11.

[5] Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 164; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. i. 24; Churton, E. E. Church, p. 113. Afterwards a charter was forged ascribing the grant of Ferramere, together with 'two small islands,' to Kenwalch in 670; Cod. Dipl. i. 10.

[6] 'Regnante et gubernante nos D. n. J. C. . . . Nihil intulimus in hunc mundum,' &c. These are common formulas: as to the latter, cp. charters of Ethelbald, Cod. Dipl. i. 107, 122. For the former, see p. 277.

[7] I. e. if 'Adestancastre' in Willibald's Life of St. Boniface, or 'Adescancastre' in Othlon's, is equivalent to 'at Exancester' or Exeter, as is usually said: see Pertz, Mon. Germ. Hist. ii. 355. Cp. Mabillon, Act. SS. Ben. iii. 2,

CHAP. XI. Wisc. For we find that about seven years after 680, this house, then ruled by an abbot named Wulfard, opened its doors to receive a boy from the neighbouring Crediton, whose name of Winfrid was to be lost in the glory of 'St. Boniface, Apostle of Germany and martyr.'

To return to Northumbrian affairs. The fifth Romeward journey of Benedict Biscop—the fourth, as Bede prefers to reckon it, taken directly from Britain[1]—was probably made five years after the foundation of Wearmouth, and in the year of Wilfrid's arrival at Rome. He was accompanied by 'his fellow-worker' Ceolfrid, who wished, as Bede expresses it, 'to learn what was needful' as to Roman rules of discipline[2], and to offer up his prayers in Roman sanctuaries[3]: and Agatho received the pilgrim-abbot with all honour, and granted him a letter of 'privilege' for Wearmouth[4]. Another boon was craved by Benedict, which in its results affected the whole Church of England. Would the Pope send back with him the abbot of St. Martin's[5], who was also 'arch-chanter' or precentor of St. Peter's, that he might teach the Wearmouth monks 'the system of chanting and reading' established in the Apostle's basilica[6]? Benedict's whole heart was absorbed

p. 6; Alb. Butler, June 5; Maclear, Ap. Med. Eur. p. 110. On the early history of Exeter, see Freeman's 'Exeter,' p. 5 ff. Winfrid was born about 680, for he was about seventy-five when martyred in 755. Tradition names Crediton as his birthplace; Camden, Britan. i. 39. Freeman suggests that West-Saxons may have advanced into this part of Dumnonia through Dorset, while North Devon was still British. When the boy prevailed on his father to let him enter a monastery, he was, according to Mabillon (Ann. Ord. Ben. ii. 15), about seven years old.

[1] Bede, Hist. Abb. 5; see too iv. 18. Cp. Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 126.

[2] In Anon. H. Abb. 'desiring to learn the duty of his degree more fully at Rome than he could in Britain.' Cp. Dict. Chr. B. i. 439.

[3] Bede, Hist. Abb. 6. 'Adorandi' seems to have the sense of 'visiting with religious reverence'; cp. ib. 2, 14.

[4] Bede, iv. 18: 'In munimentum libertatis monasterii, . . . juxta quod Ecgfridum,' &c.; Hist. Abb. 5, 12. See above, p. 113.

[5] 'On the Mount,' i.e. the Esquiline: it was founded by pope Symmachus in honour of SS. Sylvester and Martin.

[6] 'For a thousand years,' says Döllinger, 'after the fall of the Western empire, Rome possessed no school of importance, nor any seat of learning whose influence was widely spread. A famous singing school existed, and that was all.' Studies in Europ. Hist., E. T., i. 70.

in the welfare of his new foundation; but Agatho saw that a much wider purpose might be served by compliance with this rather bold request. It was, no doubt, a good thing to establish the Roman 'course' in a North-English monastery; but it was more important to secure the English Church, even by superabundant precautions, against the heresy of the Monothelites, which, after long troubling the East, was soon, as he hoped, to receive its death-blow at Constantinople [1]. Now, if John the Precentor were to go to Britain, he might carry a copy of the decrees of Pope Martin's Lateran synod, and communicate them formally to the English bishops, so as to be able to report on their theological position, and thus promote the triumph of orthodoxy [2]. So it was that, in 680, Benedict and Ceolfrid escorted John to Gaul, and halted at Tours, where the monks of St. Martin's own church received them with kindly hospitality, entreated the abbot of the Roman 'St. Martin's' to visit them on his return-journey, and furnished him with 'assistants for the work' which he had undertaken. It is easy to picture the joyous welcome with which the party were received at Wearmouth; the solemn reading of the 'privilege' which, as the brethren would be reminded, had been granted by the Pope at the express desire of King Egfrid: the delight with which the untravelled monks would turn over a goodly store of books of all kinds, brought from Rome to enrich their library [3], and, still more, the fair paintings which were to beautify their church,—here, those of the Virgin Mother and the

CHAP. XI.

[1] See Constantine Pogonatus' overtures to pope Donus I (676–678), and pope Agatho; Hefele, v. 137 ff., E. T.

[2] Bede, iv. 18: 'Unde volens Agatho,' &c. If Agatho had hoped, up to Easter of 680, to see Theodore in Rome (see above, p. 335), he would hardly have made these arrangements at an earlier date.

[3] One of the books was a 'pandecta' or complete Bible 'of the old translation (i.e. prior to the Vulgate)'; Bede, Hist. Abb. 12. Ceolfrid afterwards caused three 'pandectae' of the Vulgate to be made (perhaps by copyists brought from Italy). Two of these, according to his anonymous biographer (whose work Bede used), he left in his two monasteries; the third, which he took with him on his last Romeward journey, intending to present it to Gregory II, has been identified with the great Codex Amiatinus at Florence; cf. Studia Biblica, ii. 273 ff. Cp. Alcuin, Ep. 13, to the monks of Wearmouth and Jarrow: 'Videte librorum thesauros.'

CHAP. XI. Apostles, which were to be fixed to a board running across from wall to wall,—there, scenes from Gospel history to be hung along the southern wall of the minster, and there, again, representations of Apocalyptic visions to confront them on the north[1]. 'So that,' as Bede says, in a passage truly 'Gregorian' in tone, 'all who came into the church, however ignorant of letters, might be able, whichever way they looked, to contemplate, albeit only in painting, the ever-lovable countenances of Christ and His saints, or to dwell with quickened intelligence on the grace of His Incarnation, or by having as if before their eyes the trial of the Last Judgement, might remember to be stricter in examining themselves[2].' The monks, too, would highly value the privilege of learning the orthodox mode of chanting and reading, under their own roof, from the most eminent of all choir-masters[3], who, beside his oral lessons, took the pains to write out for them the whole Roman scheme of yearly festivals, which was long preserved at Wearmouth, and copied out for neighbouring monasteries from time to time[4]. Nor did the kindly Roman limit his good offices to Benedict's monks: from 'almost all' the religious houses in Northumbria those who had studied chanting,—probably the elder of them under James the Chanter, the younger under Eddi Stephen,—came to listen to John, and many besought him to come and give lessons in different places in the neighbourhood[5]. He also per-

[1] Bede, l. c.: 'Quintum, picturas imaginum sanctarum,' &c. See Lingard, A.-S. Ch. ii. 107; Green, Making of Engl. p. 373. Above, p. 52.

[2] Bede, l. c.: 'Quatenus intrantes ecclesiam,' &c. Observe Bede's ever-recurring thought of the Last Judgement. See Bede, iv. 24; v. 12, 13, 14; Vit. Cuthb. 14; Ep. to Egb. 1; and the account of his last hours.

[3] The monk who wrote the Anonymous History of the Abbots records this gratefully: 'Qui nos abundanter ordinem cantandi per ordinem et viva voce simul et litteris edocuit.' See Bed. Hom. 25. Probably the youngest of all those who heard John chant in the choir of Wearmouth was Bede himself. The most accomplished chanter among the clergy of Rome in those days, next to John, was the Syrian Sergius, who became pope seven years later, and, as pope, introduced into the mass the singing of the 'Agnus Dei.' Lib. Pontif. ed. Duchesne, i. 376.

[4] Bede, iv. 18: 'Ordinem . . . ritumque canendi et legendi,' &c. See Lingard, A.-S. Ch. ii. 197, on the Roman course of services as observed at Wearmouth and Jarrow. Cp. Duchesne, Origines, p. 437.

[5] John the Deacon says (Vit. Greg. ii. 7, 8) that the Germans or Gauls,

mitted the copyist of the monastery of Wearmouth to transcribe the Lateran Council's decrees, before he was called away, in the autumn, to attend the second provincial synod of the English Church[1].

This assembly was called by Theodore in order to certify the Pope as to the orthodoxy of the Church under his rule[2], and so to add to the testimony of the Western Churches, now to be brought to bear on the East. It was hardly likely that the modification of Monophysitism which had so long disturbed the East should have found supporters in distant Britain[3]: but Agatho wished to make assurance doubly sure. The place of the Council was Heathfield or Hatfield[4], which may perhaps be identified with Cliff-at-Hoe, the 'Cloveshoch' selected in 673. The day was the 17th of September, in a year described by the record of the Council as the tenth of Egfrid, the sixth of Ethelred, the seventeenth of Aldwulf of East-Anglia, the seventh of Lothere of Kent, and the eighth indiction[5]. There is a slight error in these regnal reckonings, for the September of 680 was in Lothere's eighth year and Egfrid's eleventh[6]. The other dates point to Sept. 17, 680. Precise as the record is on other points, it omits the names of the bishops who attended; but beside them, as at Hertford, other 'teachers' appear to have been present, although not as

partly from 'levity of mind,' partly from natural roughness of voice, could not retain 'the sweetness of the Gregorian melody,' and that to remedy this defect, John the Roman chanter was sent by Vitalian through Gaul into Britain, 'qui circumquaque positarum ecclesiarum filios ad pristinam cantilenae dulcedinem revocans, tam per se quam per suos discipulos multis annis Romanae doctrinae regulam conservavit.'

[1] Bede, iv. 18: 'Nam et synodum . . . in praefato . . . monasterio transcribendam commodavit.'

[2] Bede, l. c.: 'Unde volens Agatho,' &c.

[3] It had, indeed, been brought into Gaul, and promptly condemned, forty years before; Hefele, Councils, v. 69, E. T.; Mansi, x. 759.

[4] For this council, see Bede, iv. 17; Mansi, xi. 175; Wilkins, i. 51; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 141. Collier calls it 'the council at Hatfield or Clyff near Rochester,' i. 249. Above, p. 280.

[5] See L'Art de Vérifier, i. 142; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 144; above, p. 48.

[6] The latter came to the throne in February, 670; the former in July, 673.

CHAP. XI. constituent members of the synod[1]. According to the symbolic precedent of other and grander Councils[2], the book of the Gospels was displayed, apparently on a raised seat or desk, in the centre of the assembly. John the Precentor attended as commissary from the Pope, and produced the Lateran dogmatic decrees, which were read. They began by a statement of the Incarnation, adopted from the Chalcedonian exposition of faith, but enlarged by an assertion of 'two natural wills' and 'two natural energies' or activities[3], Divine and human, existing harmoniously in the one Christ, who, being both God and Man, must have spheres of will and action corresponding to His two Natures, without prejudice to the indivisible unity of His Person[4]. Then followed sixteen anathematisms whereby Pope Martin had endeavoured to guard this faith in detail[5]: and four others explicitly enforcing the theology of the Five Oecumenical Councils which had then been

[1] Toled. IV. c. 4. See Smith's Bede, p. 744: 'Non ideo . . . ut sua auctoritate decreta vel facerent vel firmarent,' &c.

[2] As the council of Ephesus (Cyril, Apolog.), and that of Chalcedon (Mansi, vi. 580). Also Martin I's Lateran council; Mansi, x. 866.

[3] The controversy arose out of an attempt by Sergius, patriarch of Constantinople, to reconcile the Monophysites to the Church by the formula of 'one ἐνέργεια' or kind of action, in the God-Man (Hefele, v. 5 ff., E. T.). This began somewhat before A. D. 619. See above, p. 253.

[4] It was urged that will is the property of a person. It is rather the property of a nature, but exercised by a person on that nature. Herein consists the original mystery of the Incarnation, that the one Divine Son of God could, as incarnate, live in two spheres of being—that what we call manhood could exist in the Christ without the basis of a human personality. Cp. Liddon, Bamp. Lect. p. 262.

[5] E. g. Nestorianism was excluded by a repeated description of the Blessed Virgin as 'Dei genitrix,' and by the assertion that God the Word, one of the Holy Trinity, had come down from heaven and been incarnate. The Cyrilline phrase, 'One φύσις incarnate of God the Word,' though it might seem *prima facie* to favour Monophysitism, was adopted with an explanation which did not, however, bring out its true 'Cyrilline' sense, as equivalent, in effect, to 'One Person,' &c. The two wills were affirmed, because Christ willed in both His natures to save us; and similarly the two 'activities.' Martin meant to say, 'If He did not, in His human sphere of being, really desire to work out our salvation, and really give Himself up for that purpose,—if such willing and acting took place *merely* in the sphere of His Godhead,—then He is not our Saviour as God *and Man*.' He also guards the sense of 'theandric activity': it must be acknowledged to be 'twofold,' not single: see Robertson, H. Ch. ii. 423.

holden, and condemning by name twenty-six 'heretics,' among whom Origen was included [1], but the authors of the Monothelite theory, Theodore of Pharan, Cyrus of Alexandria, Sergius [2] and Pyrrhus and Paul of Constantinople, together with the 'impious' Ecthesis of Heraclius and the 'wicked' Type of Constans [3], were branded with specially emphatic condemnation. The record of the Council of Hatfield tells us that its members, firmly adhering to the teaching delivered by Christ to His original disciples, to 'the Creed of the holy (Nicene) fathers,' to 'all the holy and universal synods,' and to 'the whole choir of approved doctors of the Catholic Church,' confessed the Holy Trinity, that is, 'the One God in three consubstantial Subsistences [4] or Persons, of equal glory and honour' (words taken from the Lateran document [5]); and after some similar affirmations omitted by Bede, the statement of faith went on to acknowledge the Five Councils, and the Lateran Council held 'in the time of the blessed Pope Martin [6].' 'And we CHAP. XI.

[1] He had been anathematized in a council at Constantinople (in 543 ?). See Robertson, ii. 298 ; Hefele, b. 13. s. 257.

[2] Pope Honorius' letters to him were passed over.

[3] The 'Ecthesis' was promulgated, at the urgency of Sergius, who himself composed it, in the latter part of 638: it acknowledges the two natures in the one Person of Christ ; but it condemns the phrase 'two activities,' as if inconsistent with the truth that the Energizer was One, and as appearing to many to imply two wills *acting against each other :* and on this account it affirms 'one will.' It also prohibits the phrase 'one activity,' as appearing to some to deny 'the two natures personally united in Christ our God.' The 'Type' was promulgated ten years later, in 648, by the advice of the Monothelite patriarch Paul. It endeavoured to quench the whole controversy, without reflecting on the orthodoxy of either side: it proscribed, for peace' sake, the phrases 'two wills,' 'one will,' 'two activities,' 'one activity,' and all explanations of received language in the sense of any of these formulas. 'This supposed impartiality,' says Hefele, v. 97, 'is the principal difference between the Typus and the Ecthesis.' See them in Mansi, x. 992, 1029. Next year, Martin held his synod. His sufferings, and those of Maximus, which, like his, amounted to martyrdom, followed in 653–662.

[4] 'Subsistentiis,' for the Greek ὑποστάσεσι, 'vel personis.' The Roman council of 680 also used subsistentia for hypostasis or person; Mansi, xi. 290.

[5] See it in Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 146: 'Omnes sanctae . . . synodi, et omnis probabilium catholicae ecclesiae doctorum chorus.' 'Tribus subsistentiis,' &c.

[6] It is added, 'imperante Constantino piissimo.' So in the Lateran

CHAP. XI. glorify our Lord Jesus even as they glorified Him, neither adding nor taking away anything. And we anathematize, with heart and mouth, those whom they anathematized, and receive those whom they received; glorifying God the Father without an origin [1], and His only-begotten Son, begotten of the Father before the ages, and the Holy Spirit proceeding ineffably from the Father *and the Son* [2]; even as the above-mentioned holy apostles, prophets, and doctors have proclaimed. And we all subscribe, who with Theodore the archbishop have expounded the Catholic faith.'

These words suggest an important question. Theodore and his brethren here include in their 'exposition' a plain assertion of the Double Procession of the Holy Spirit. To refer the words, 'and the Son,' to the mission of the Holy Spirit as Paraclete, would be to ignore the phrase 'ineffably [3],' which clearly points to an eternal relation within the life of the Godhead. Now, the Council of a hundred and twenty-five bishops, held by Agatho in the spring of this same year, had omitted all reference to the Double Procession in its solemn exposition of the 'limits' of the Catholic Faith [4]. How came the English Council to act differently? It has been suggested that the adoption of 'et Filio,' by a 'philosophical' archbishop of Eastern birth and Eastern Church training, tends to show that the Eastern Church of his time was not averse to this addition to that 'Constantinopolitan' recension of the Creed, which had been solemnly accepted, together with its original

synod, Constans is called Constantine. Bury 'suspects' that this was really his name; ii. 285.

[1] 'Sine initio:' alluding to the distinction of the Father as the Unbegotten, as 'a nullo.' In the formulas of the third, sixth, and eleventh councils of Toledo, the phrase is applied to the Son, meaning 'without beginning,' 'existing from eternity,' as in Rufinus in Symb. 6. See Treatises of St. Athanasius, Lib. Fath., ii. 513, on ἀρχή.

[2] 'Procedentem ex Patre *et Filio* inenarrabiliter.'

[3] On this confessed inadequacy of human language to the full expression of Divine truth, compare S. Aug. de Trin. v. s. 10; vii. s. 7, 9, 11; and eleventh council of Toled., praef.: 'Pater . . . qui de ineffabili substantia Filium ineffabiliter genuit;' Mansi, xi. 133. Compare 'the ineffable union,' in seventh anath. of the fifth general council, Mansi, ix. 381.

[4] Mansi, xi. 290.

Nicene form, by the Council of Chalcedon. But a much more probable explanation lies ready at hand[1]. Abbot Hadrian was, as we have seen, sent to Britain with Theodore in the capacity of his theological adviser; and he, as an African, would have a natural predilection for the theological language of St. Augustine, which contains explicit assertions to the same effect[2]; and would desire the English Council to follow the precedent of Spanish Councils, as the great Council called the third of Toledo in 589[3], the fourth in 633[4], the sixth in 638[5], the eighth in 653[6], the eleventh in 675[7]—a precedent largely due to the ignorance of Spanish prelates as to the true text of the Creed, and to the 'firm footing[8]' already obtained in that Church for what was originally a gloss intended to strike at Visigothic Arianism by emphasizing the doctrine of a coequal and consubstantial Son. CHAP. XI.

So ended the Council of Hatfield, without any reference to the case of the great prelate who a few months before had answered at Rome for the orthodoxy of the English bishops, and who in this very autumn was experiencing in Northumbria the full bitterness of an aggravated wrong.

[1] Swete, Doctrine of the Procession, p. 190. As he observes, it does not follow that the council received the 'interpolation' as part of the creed.

[2] S. Aug. de Trin. xv. s. 29: 'Ideo enim addidi' (as to the Spirit's proceeding from the Father) '*principaliter*, quia et de Filio Spiritus Sanctus procedere reperitur . . . Sic ergo eum genuit, ut etiam de illo Donum commune procederet, et Spiritus Sanctus Spiritus esset amborum.' Compare ib. xv. s. 47; and ib. iv. s. 29, 'Nec possumus dicere quod Spiritus Sanctus et a Filio non procedat, neque enim frustra idem Spiritus et Patris et Filii Spiritus dicitur.' This is in a passage in which the Father is owned to be the 'principium' of the Godhead. So ib. v. s. 15: 'Patrem et Filium principium esse Spiritus Sancti.' So, a century later, Ferrandus of Carthage, Ep. 4 (Galland. Bibl. xi. 355), 'Catholici . . . de Patre et Filio Spiritum Sanctum procedere sentiunt;' and Ep. 7, 'Proprium Spiritus Sancti de utroque procedere.' Cp. Greg. Tur. H. E. Fr. prol.

[3] Mansi, ix. 978, 'et a Filio,' in the 'tome'; ib. 982, in the text of the creed; ib. 985, 'et Filio,' in the 3rd canon.

[4] Ib. x. 615, 'et Filio;' in a dogmatic statement.

[5] Ib. x. 662, 'Filioque;' in a dogmatic statement.

[6] Ib. x. 1210, 'et Filio;' in the text of the creed.

[7] Ib. xi. 133, 'ab utrisque,' in a dogmatic statement; but a later sentence appears to explain 'processisse' by 'missus.'

[8] Swete, p. 170.

CHAP. XI. At Hatfield, every one seems to have ignored his name, though no one can have forgotten it[1]. The Roman Precentor must have heard of the story; one would think that he must have been at Rome when judgement was given on the appeal. But it did not lie in his commission to enter on such matters: and if any suffragan bishop had been minded to pronounce the name of Wilfrid, he would have been summarily put down by the autocratic president. Shortly after the Council, John set forth on his return, duly provided with an authenticated copy of the proceedings[2]. But he never again saw his abbey of St. Martin; he never again 'ruled the choir' above the grave of the chief Apostle. He fell sick in Gaul, and died; and his promise to the good monks of Tours that he would stay with them on his homeward journey was fulfilled in strangely mournful fashion by their solemn reception and interment of his corpse[3]. The document in his charge was forwarded to Rome, and gave much content to the Pope and 'to all who heard it read,' as a proof of 'the Catholic belief of the English people[4].' Agatho was at this time engaged in watching, by correspondence, the proceedings of the great Council, reckoned as the Sixth Oecumenical[5], which had assembled under the personal presidency of the Emperor on the 7th of November, and continued its sessions until the September of 681.

Death of Hilda. During those November days a life was ebbing out, which had for years represented in Northumbria the unity of the Church of Egfrid and Wilfrid with the Church of Edwin and Paulinus. A long and weary illness had broken down the strength of the great abbess of Whitby; yet she

[1] The Peterborough forger, whose account of the proceedings occurs in the Chronicle for 675, makes the Witan assemble at Hatfield to receive from Wilfrid a 'privilege' sent by Agatho in favour of the abbey of Medeshamstede, whereupon king Ethelred ratifies and enlarges all former grants, and the act is attested by Theodore, and by Wilfrid, 'archbishop of York.'

[2] Bede, iv. 18: 'Datumque illi exemplar.'

[3] Bede, l. c.: 'Verum ille patriam revertens,' &c.

[4] Bede, l. c.: 'Exemplum catholicae fidei Anglorum . . . gratantissime exceptum.'

[5] See Mansi, xi. 207.

persisted in doing what work she could[1] until, in the seventh year of her infirmity, in the night of the 17th of November, 680, 'when her pain had struck inward,' as Bede expresses it, she felt that her hour was at last come. It was 'about the cock-crowing' when she sent for 'the viaticum of the most Holy Communion,' received it with the 'handmaids of Christ' belonging to the monastery, uttered her last admonitions to 'live in evangelical peace with each other, and indeed with all, and while uttering them looked cheerfully on death, or rather, if I may use the Lord's words, passed from death unto life[2].' Bede then describes a 'beautiful harmony of events, whereby, while some were beholding her departure from this life[3], others were being made cognizant of her entrance into the perpetual life of souls.' Thirteen miles from Whitby, and three miles to the west of Scarborough, lies Hackness, where in that very year Hilda had founded a dependent house, under the government of Frigyd. Among its inmates was Begu[4], a nun of more than thirty years' standing, who in her dream that night saw Hilda's soul 'guided by angels to the threshold of eternal light,' and thereupon aroused the prioress, who assembled the other nuns in the church, and bade them 'say prayers and psalms[5] for the soul of the Mother.' In the morning arrived some monks from Whitby to announce the great bereavement. 'We know it already,' said the inmates of Hackness: and they then, on inquiry, ascertained that the hour of Begu's dream had been the hour of Hilda's death[6]. CHAP. XI.

[1] Bede, iv. 23: 'In quo toto tempore nunquam . . . gregem . . . docere praetermittebat,' &c. He quotes 2 Cor. xii. 9.

[2] Ib. 'Septimo ergo,' &c. See John v. 24. Cp. Bede, iv. 28, Hist. Abb. 11.

[3] Ib. 'Pulchraque rerum concordia,' &c.

[4] There is no ground for identifying this Yorkshire nun with the Bega who came from Ireland, and founded a religious house on the coast of Cumberland, and whose name clings to the noble church, the little adjacent town, and the 'towering headlands' of St. Bees. It is yet more futile to see in Begu the Heiu who preceded Hilda at Hartlepool.

[5] Compare Bede, iii. 2, on the psalms said at Heavenfield for the soul of St. Oswald; cp. v. 14. Above, p. 301. It appears from Bede's story that the passing-bell was usually tolled immediately *after* a death: cp. Lingard, A.-S. Ch. ii. 48.

[6] Bede adds that at Whitby one of the younger sisters, who loved the

CHAP. XI. Hilda was succeeded in the abbacy by the princess-nun Elfled, who had been given into her charge as a mere infant before the foundation of Whitby, and just after the victory of Winwidfield[1].

We do not find in the account of the synod of Hatfield any mention of the subject which was adjourned from that of Hertford, but had been to a considerable extent presented during the interval in the form of an accomplished fact. In the year after the Council, however, a fresh opportunity for diocesan subdivision presented itself to Theodore. Eata gave up Hexham to Tunbert,—whom we have met with as the kinsman, and for a time the monastic superior, of Ceolfrid,—and retained for himself his own Lindisfarne[2]. And a new see was established on the northern frontier of the realm, in a monastery at Abercorn on the Firth of Forth, west of the present Queensferry. The place is described by Bede, in his first book, as 'about two miles' to the east of 'a spot called in the Pictish language Peanfahel,' whence the last wall built by the Britons 'took its course westwards[3]'; in the fourth book, as within the territory of the English, but near the arm of the sea which divides their lands from those of the Picts[4]. Egfrid's previous successes over the Picts had seemed to

Bishopric of Abercorn.

Mother 'with intense affection,' being in a distant part of the convent reserved for novices, had a similar dream at the same hour, and told it to her companions before the rest of the community knew of the death. But this seems inconsistent with Bede's account of Hilda's last Communion and farewell address.

[1] Bede, iii. 24. See a letter of hers, Bonifac. Ep. 112. Her mother Eanfled, Oswy's widow, was in some way associated with her in the abbacy.

[2] Bede, iv. 12: 'Qui etiam post tres abscessionis Vilfridi annos,' &c.

[3] Bede, i. 12: 'Incipit autem duorum ferme millium spatio a monasterio Aebbercurnig,' &c. On 'Peanfahel' see Robertson, Scotl. under Early Kings, ii. 380, and Skene, Celtic Scotl. i. 218; also Rhys, Celt. Brit. p. 153, that the name is 'Brythonic,' its 'Goidelic' (Gaelic) form being Kennail. The two former writers consider the Picts to have been Gaelic Celts, akin to the Irish Picts or Cruithnigh, otherwise Cruithne, on whom see Skene, i. 131. The third considers that the name Picts 'probably most strictly applied to the non-Celtic natives,' but was 'never perhaps distinctive of race,' p. 159.

[4] Bede, iv. 26: cp. 12. In the App. to Florence, Trumwine is named as bishop of Candida Casa. This is a strange error. That see (cp. p. 15) was not revived until shortly before 731; Bede, v. 23.

confirm the Northumbrian supremacy; and it was natural to employ a religious house within a short distance of their own territory[1] as a base of missionary operations among them, and perhaps as a centre of episcopal supervision for part of Lothian[2]; and Trumwine was consecrated for this outpost of the English Church. CHAP. XI.

And while that Church was thus 'lengthening her cords' northwards, the great monastic work of Benedict Biscop was developing itself into a new foundation on the south bank of the Tyne. There lay a domain of forty hydes, situate on the 'Gyrwy,' literally a marsh (as we see in the name of the Gyrvians of Cambridgeshire[3]), but here denoting the 'Slake' or smooth[4] bay, where the king's ships were wont to ride at anchor. The old word lives in that name of Jarrow which is for ever illustrious from its association with Bede. This estate was given to Benedict by Egfrid shortly after his return home with John the Precentor, that is, apparently, in the autumn of 680[5]. The king 'saw that his former grants had been well and profitably bestowed[6]': he could reasonably hope Foundation of Jarrow.

[1] The proper 'Pictland' included at least the whole of Eastern Scotland from the Firth of Forth northwards, and by far the larger portion of the Highlands; it bordered westward on the territory of the Dalriads or Scots from Ireland; Burton, i. 183: cp. Robertson, ii. 371, Skene, i. 228 ff. But the name 'Picts' was applied to tribes settled south of the Forth; Skene, i. 131, 238. The great Northumbrian kings deprived them of independence: they regained it in 685. Robertson explains the 'terram Pictorum qui Niduari vocantur' in Bede's Vit. Cuthb. 11, as the neighbourhood of Abernethy, ii. 383, where a Pictish king Nechtan, probably the Nechtan of Bede, v. 21, dedicated a church; but Skene understands it of the district of the river Nith, i. 133; with reference to the Picts of Galloway: so Rhys, Celt. Brit. p. 220.

[2] It seems probable that advantage would be taken of this new foundation to relieve Lindisfarne of part of its charge in Lothian. The 'Historia de S. Cuthberto,' after narrating the appointment of Cuthbert to the see of Lindisfarne, marks the northern boundary of the diocese as a line from Lammermoor to Eskmouth; Sim. Op. i. 199.

[3] See above, p. 286.

[4] I. e. the 'sleek' bay. 'Wira . . . qui . . . naves serena invectas aura placidi ostii excipit gremio;' Malmesb. G. Reg. i. 3.

[5] 'Eight years,' says the Anon. Hist. (Bed. Op. vi. 419), 'after they had begun to found' Wearmouth this reckoning begins from Benedict's return home in 672. Above, p. 306.

[6] Bede Hist. Abb. 6: 'Quia bene se ac fructuose donasse conspexit.'

CHAP. XI. that the new endowment would be equally satisfactory, but could never have foreseen the glory which was to rest upon it. Visit the place as it is, and on your way to the ancient church[1] (now excellently cared for), you see only a crowd of mean cottages occupied by pitmen, and enveloped in a murky atmosphere: a strange contrast to the appearance which it must have presented when, 'a year after[2]' the land had been obtained, that is, in the autumn of 681, the buildings actually necessary for conventual life[3] were so far completed that twenty-two inmates of Wearmouth, 'ten of them being already tonsured, and twelve still awaiting the privilege of the tonsure[4],' were conducted by Ceolfrid as their abbot to take possession of their new home at Jarrow. This house 'of St. Paul' was to be united with St. Peter's at Wearmouth in 'the brotherly fellowship of the first Apostles,' so that the two should be virtually 'one monastery[5] of SS. Peter and Paul situated in two places,' the inmates of both being bound together by 'a common and perpetual affection and intimacy,' and rendered as inseparable as the body and the head of a living man. The building of the abbey church was not taken in hand immediately[6], as in the case of Wearmouth, but in the third year from the foundation of the monastery; yet, in spite of the small number of workmen employed, it

[1] Its chancel contains some portions of the original structure; but on this point J. H. Parker (Introd. Goth. Archit. p. 36) speaks less unreservedly than Freeman (N. Conq. v. 899). 'Bede's chair,' in the sanctuary, is not authentic.

[2] So Bede, l. c. In Anon. Hist. Abb., 'locum primis autumni abscessum' may be corrected to 'locum priore autumno concessum.'

[3] Anon. Hist. Abb.

[4] 'Tonsurae adhuc gratiam exspectantibus;' Anon. Hist. Abb. Bede is less exact: 'Monks in number about seventeen.' 'By no means all of them were able to chant, still less to read in church, or to recite antiphons or responsories; but they made rapid progress, through their monastic zeal, and the example of their ruler's assiduity;' Anon. Hist.

[5] Bede, Hist. Abb. 12: 'Sicut rectius dicere possumus, in duobus locis posito uni monasterio beatorum . . . Petri et Pauli.' See ib. 6, 'ut sicut corpus a capite,' &c.; and v. 24, 'monasterii . . . Petri et Pauli quod est ad Viuraemuda et Ingyruum.' Alcuin, in 793, writes 'fratribus Wirensis ecclesiae et Gyrvensis,' as forming one 'congregatio'; Ep. 13.

[6] See Anon. Hist. Abb. The work began at the spot 'where Egfrid himself had fixed on the site for the altar.'

was finished in the second year from the commencement; so that, according to an ancient inscription once visible on the wall of Jarrow church, on the 9th of the Calends of May, i. e. the 23rd, in the fifteenth year of Egfrid's reign, and the fourth of Ceolfrid's abbacy,—that is, on April 23, 684 [1],—the 'dedication of the basilica of St. Paul was solemnized.' Among the twelve untonsured monastic colonists was a little boy of about eight, who had been born, in 673 [2], on the lands which very shortly afterwards were granted to Benedict Biscop for the foundation of Wearmouth abbey. The child Bæda (a namesake of an ancient prince of Lindsey [3], and also of a priest accustomed to attend upon Cuthbert [4], was 'given [5] by the care of his kinsfolk to abbot Benedict,' when he was 'seven years old, to be educated.' From that day forward he lived under monastic rule as a member of the community, being taken by Ceolfrid to Jarrow about a year after he had been received at Wearmouth. There lay before him, at that date, some fifty-four years [6], which were to be almost eventless in regard to his personal history, and unmarked

[1] Egfrid's fourteenth year ended in the February of 684. A copy of the inscription is in the north porch of the church. See it in Bp. Browne's Conversion of the Heptarchy, p. 209.

[2] Bede was in his fifty-ninth year (so he tells us) when he wrote the precious little autobiography which follows the epitome of events in v. 24. Now that epitome, like the History proper (see v. 23, end), ends in A. D. 731. And there is no reason to think that the autobiography was written a year later. If, then, he had completed fifty-eight years in 731, he was born in 673. So Mabillon in his 'Elogium,' in Smith's Bede, p. 799. So Lingard, A.-S. Ch. ii. 189. Plummer says 672 or 673. The 'anonymous presbyter's' Life of Bede wrongly assigns the year 677. So Simeon, Dun. Eccl. i. 8.

[3] Florence, App. See Moberly, p. xii, on this 'Beda,' father of 'Biscop,' and on Benedict Biscop as called 'Baducing' by Eddi. It has been suggested that Bede was not an Angle, but a Celt, perhaps a 'Pict of Galloway.' But no writer not of English blood could exhibit so thoroughly English a tone. His sympathy with the Picts (iv. 26), like his sympathy with the insurgent Mercians (iii. 24), shows merely that his love of justice was stronger than his Northumbrian patriotism.

[4] 'Major Beda;' Bede, Vit. Cuthb. 37.

[5] 'Datus sum;' Bede, v. 24. See above, p. 201. For the routine of a boy's life in a monastery, see Turner, iii. 18.

[6] He died on the afternoon of Wednesday, the eve of the Ascension, May 25, 735, and after the feast had ritually begun.

CHAP. XI. by anything which could associate him with what may be called the political history of his Church. We seem to be looking, not on a landscape of grand and varied outline, but on some rich level land watered by soft streams and reposing in broad sunlight. There is monotony, but it is the monotony of tranquil, regular, and nobly fruitful work. Ever since the lad began his Scriptural studies under the care of Trumbert, a monk who had been trained by Chad[1], and other such instructors, he showed the true spirit of a Christian scholar. He studied with unremitting industry, and with the dutiful single-heartedness of one who knew that he had to form himself into a teacher,—that this was the path in which he was appointed to walk, the sphere in which he was to work for the glory of God and the good of his fellow-men. He has no literary ambition, although he enjoys his work as keenly as a poet or an original thinker might rejoice in the outpouring of verse or the construction of theory: 'I ever found it sweet,' he says, looking back upon those years of happy labour, 'to learn, or to teach, or to write[2].' In one sense, it is true, he 'is original in nothing[3]'; but looking at him as a literary phenomenon rising up all at once in a remote corner of the England of his time, he is one of the most original personages in history. And he is more,—he is one of the most admirable and lovable. Our first truly national scholar and author, the father of our history, the man in whom our 'literature strikes its roots, in whom,' although he never saw foreign countries, 'the whole learning of his age seemed to be summed up[4],' the 'adapter of the sacred

[1] Bede, iv. 3: 'Sicut mihi frater quidam de eis qui me in Scripturis erudiebant,' &c. During these boyish studies, he fell in with the work of a 'chronographus haeresiarches' of the fourth century; Ep. 3, to Plegwin, Op. i. 151.

[2] Bede, v. 24: 'Amid' monastic duties, 'semper aut discere, aut docere, aut scribere, dulce habui.' See Alcuin, Ep. 13: 'Recogitate nobilissimum nostri temporis magistrum Bedam . . . quale habuit in juventute discendi studium.'

[3] Chr. Remembrancer, No. 52, p. 344 (April, 1846).

[4] See Turner, iii. 408, and the worthy estimate in Green's Making of Engl. pp. 399–404. Aldhelm, of course, preceded him as a scholar, but he has no permanent connexion with English literature. See the minute

lore of the' ancient 'Church to the peculiar wants of his nation[1],' conspicuous, as a narrator, for honest carefulness[2], and by the vivid sympathy which makes incident or story so luminous under his touch[3], Bede is throughout the man of patriotic feeling, who loves old English songs[4], and hates whatever enfeebles his country or degrades the national life[5];—the man of warm heart, whose affections go out to friends and pupils, who is spoken of as a 'dear father' and a 'most beloved master[6],'—and the man of thoroughly pious soul, 'who shudders' when ignorantly charged with heresy[7], calls sin by its right name in monks or prelates[8], and lives in the thought of Divine judgement and Divine mercy[9]; CHAP. XI.

references to classical writers in Bede's 'De Orthographia,' where also it appears that he had studied Greek: compare the 'De Retract. Act.,' and the 'De Arte Metrica,' and the 'De Tropis,' &c. Chronological points had a great attraction for him, especially as bearing on the question of Easter. His erudition did not, indeed, preserve him from some errors then current. His style is remarkably free from the pedantic affectations which disfigure that of Aldhelm. On his learning, cf. Hodgkin, vi. 422.

[1] Chr. Remembr. l. c.

[2] 'An extremely honest narrator, with a strong sagacity for finding historical truth;' Burton, Hist. Scotl. i. 68. Cp. Dict. Chr. Biogr., i. 301; Green, p. 402; Skene, ii. 44. Goldwin Smith, in his collected 'Lectures and Essays,' calls Bede's work 'the highest product of that memorable burst of Saxon intellect which followed the conversion,—a work not untainted by miracle and legend, but most remarkable for its historical qualities, as well as for its mild and liberal Christianity.' For his honesty as to Biblical difficulties, e. g. that of the 'second Cainan,' see his comment on Luke iii. 36, Prolog. in Exp. Act., Praef. de Retract. Act., and Ep. to Plegwin. On his regard for 'textual criticism' cp. Plummer, i. p. liv.

[3] It cannot indeed be denied that he is not infrequently wrong in his dates (e. g. i. 6; ii. 5; iii. 4, &c.) and involved in his way of telling a story (e. g. as to SS. Aidan, Oswald, Fursey, Cuthbert). His credulity as to wonders connected with saints, &c., belongs to the ecclesiastical mind of his age; but he is careful to specify his evidence, as in iii. 9, 12, 16, 27; iv. 7, 14, 22, 25, 32; v. 1, 2, 6, 12; V. C. 30, 31, 36. The 'Excerpta' which cite a prediction about the 'Colysaeus' (Colosseum) are *not* his.

[4] 'Erat doctus in nostris carminibus;' Cuthbert's account of his death, Bed. Op. i. p. clxiv. He knew the hymns of Ambrose, Sedulius, &c.; De Art. Metr. 11, &c. But his own hymns are rather poor; one is in iv. 20.

[5] Ep. to Egbert, 6, 7.

[6] See Cuthbert, as above. Cp. De Arte Metrica, fin.; Ep. 13. 13.

[7] Ep. 3, to Plegwin (A. D. 707). This charge meant that he had denied the Incarnation to have taken place in the sixth age of the world. Cp. Ep. 14. He is vehement against Julian the Pelagian; in Cant. i.

[8] Bede, iv. 25; v. 14. Ep. to Egb. 2, 3, &c., and De Temp. Ratione, c. 68.

[9] See above, p. 356. Afflictions, in Bede's eyes, were often 'grace-tokens.'

CHAP. XI. who describes himself through life as 'rejoicing to serve the Supreme Loving-kindness[1],' and, student as he is, comes regularly to the daily offices[2], and is supposed to have said in his sweet way that the angels must not find him absent[3]; who closes his History with a thanksgiving to the 'good Jesus' for the 'sweet draught' of Divine knowledge, and a prayer to be brought safe to the Divine 'Fountain of all wisdom[4]'; who in his last hours combines a loving trust in God and a 'desire to be with Christ' with a sense of the awfulness of the 'need-fare' and the Doom[5]; who spends his last minutes of working power in dictating an English version of St. John's Gospel[6], calls his tasks 'finished' when the last sentence has been written, and

See Hist. Abb. 9, 'Divina utrumque pietas temporali aegritudine prostravit in lectum;' cp. iv. 9, 23 (quoting 2 Cor. xii. 9), 29, 31; and Ep. 6, that 'adversa' are to be 'endured quasi a justo judice et pio patre irrogata flagella,' &c. In one striking passage he speaks of 'godly fear' as passing on into 'godly love,' iv. 25.

[1] 'Supernae pietati deservire gaudeo,' v. 24. Among his last words were, 'Bene mihi pius Judex vitam meam praevidit.' 'I never saw or heard of any one who was so diligent in rendering thanks to the living God;' Cuthbert. See his 'Psalter,' and Plummer, i. p. lxv ff.

[2] 'Quotidianam cantandi in ecclesia curam;' Bede, v. 24. See above, p. 288. Cp. Bede, iv. 19; Hist. Abb. 13; Hom. 8 fin., and 40 fin.

[3] See Alcuin, Ep. 219 (Op. ed. Froben. i. 282): 'Fertur dixisse Bedam, "Scio angelos visitare canonicas horas . . . quid si ibi me non inveniunt inter fratres? Nonne dicere habent, Ubi est Beda?"' Quoted in Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 471. See above, p. 315.

[4] 'Teque deprecor, bone Jesu,' &c.; Bede, v. 24. Cp. the verses in De Loc. Sanct. 19, and Vit Cuthb. 42; Hom. 34 and 42, fin. Even when treating of the changes of the moon, he cannot help alluding to 'illam vitam . . . beatissimam, quando erit lux lunae sicut lux solis' (Isa. xxx. 26); De Temp. Rat. 43.

[5] Cuthbert, as above. He 'recited verses in our tongue,' which may be thus rendered:—

'Man, that needs from hence must go,
Too much thought can ne'er bestow,
Pondering, ere he pass away,
Whether, after life's last day,
Good or ill, in righteous meed,
For his soul shall be decreed.'

He repeated both Heb. x. 31 and Phil. i. 23. Cp. Bede, iii. 19; iv. 25; v. 13, 14. Plummer thinks 'Bede's Penitential' *not* genuine.

[6] Cp. Ep. to Egb. 3, on his English versions of the creed and the Lord's prayer given to 'many unlearned priests.' On one occasion he says he has been his own 'secretary, scribe, and copyist'; Ep. 9.

passes away with his head resting on a pupil's hands, with his eyes fixed on his wonted place of devotion, with the 'Gloria' to the Trinity as the last utterance of his lips[1]. 'A truly blessed man,' we may well say with the eye-witness to whom we owe this record; a man 'venerable' and dear to all generations of English Christianity, a 'candle,' in the words of the great St. Boniface[2], 'which the Lord lighted up' in Northumbria, and which has burned with a calm lustre through the centuries that have canonized his name[3]. CHAP. XI.

The year of the completion of the minster of Jarrow was marked by trouble and anxiety among Northumbrian Churchmen. Their king, from motives of policy, resolved to make an expedition against Ireland[4], a country, says Bede, which had ever been 'friendly to the English[5],' and had furnished homes of study and devotion to many of all ranks among the Northumbrian people[6]. The most eminent of these English residents was Egbert, whom Bede describes with such admiration as a 'priest beloved of God' and 'to be named with all honour[7],' one who lived in great Invasion of Ireland.

[1] 'Cum Spiritum Sanctum nominasset, spiritum e corpore exhalavit ultimum;' Cuthbert. Cp. Anon. Vit. B. fin.; Plummer, i. lxxviii.

[2] Ep. 38 to archbishop Egbert. He is speaking of Bede's 'treatises.'

[3] Although he is in the calendar (from which Alfred, the noblest example of old English Christianity, is excluded), his title of 'Venerable' has almost superseded that of 'Saint.'

[4] Bede, iv. 26, calling it both 'Hiberniam' and 'Scottiam'; cp. ii. 4, and iii. 19, on Fursey's life 'in Scottia.' So Adamnan, Vit. Col. i. 2, 'Columba . . . de Scotia ad Britanniam . . . enavigavit,' and in many other passages. Until the tenth century 'Scotia' meant simply Ireland.

[5] Bede, l. c.: 'gentem innoxiam et nationi Anglorum semper amicissimam.' Lanigan (iii. 90) thinks that Egfrid might have been jealous of 'the shelter granted by the Irish to his brother Aldfrid'; see below. He probably meant to prevent them from aiding the Picts and the Scots of Dalriada to shake off his supremacy (see Skene, i. 265). Bede, we see, has no feeling against Celts as such—only against Welshmen.

[6] Bede, iii. 27: 'Erant ibidem eo tempore multi,' &c. See above, pp. 184, 212, 294: and Bede, i. 1, on 'codices' from Ireland. Cp. Aldhelm, Ep. 3, that English students flocked to Ireland like swarms of bees gathering honey.

[7] Bede, v. 9, 'Eo tempore venerabilis,' &c., and v. 22. See also iii. 4, 'At tunc veniente,' &c., and iv. 3, 'Convenit autem.' On this 'favourite of Bede,' see Burton, Hist. Sc. i. 275.

CHAP. XI. humility, gentleness, continence, simplicity, righteousness, and did much good both by his persuasive teaching and the consistency of his life[1]. This eminent man earnestly dissuaded Egfrid from his unrighteous design of 'attacking Ireland, which was doing him no hurt': but the king was not to be moved, and sent one of his ealdormen Berct or Bert[2], with a strong force, into Ireland, in June, 684. 'Miserably,' says Bede, was the land wasted; 'not even churches or monasteries' were spared. The scene of these unprovoked and sacrilegious ravages is laid by the Irish chronicles in the rich 'plain of Bregh[3],' the present East Meath. The natives, failing to repel the invasion, had recourse to a weapon which suited the wilder side of Celtic religion: they 'called down vengeance from Heaven' on the invaders 'by long-continued imprecations[4].' 'And although,' continues Bede, 'those who curse cannot possess the kingdom of God, yet it has been believed that those who were thus cursed in requital of their impiety did quickly pay the penalty of their guilt under the avenging hand of the Lord.' We shall presently understand this allusion.

In the early part of the year, Theodore, for some reason unexplained, had thought fit to depose Tunbert from the see of Hexham[5]. Who was to succeed him? The question

[1] Cp. Bede, iii. 27: 'Duxit autem vitam in magna humilitate,' &c., and v. 22, 'Qui quoniam et doctor suavissimus.' &c.

[2] Bede, iv. 26; in v. 24, Berctred (or Brectrid, Ulster Ann.). Cp. Chron. a. 684, 'and Briht his ealdorman.' This 'dux' was slain by the Picts in 699, perhaps in an attempt to reconquer their country.

[3] Chron. Scotorum, p. 107; but the date, 681, is wrong. The Ulster Annals give the right year (Chron. Scots and Picts, p. 351). Tighernach (giving a wrong date, 685) says, 'The Saxons wasted the field of Bregh and many churches, in mense Junii.' The Four Masters say, 'And they took away many captives and much spoil;' (O'Conor, Rer. Hib. Scr. iv. 63). For this 'plain,' see Adamnan, Vit. Col. i. 38, ii. 39, and Reeves, p. xlv.

[4] Imprecation was freely employed against enemies by Irish saints, as by Columba himself; Adamnan, Vit. Col. ii. 22. See Reeves's remarks, App. to Pref. p. lxxvii. It was freely attributed by legend to St. Patrick (in the Tripartite Life, i. 109, 111, &c.), and it appears in the story of St. Ruadan cursing the royal hill of Tara for the crime of the arch-king Dermid; M'Gee, Hist. Irel. i. 30. Cp. Reeves, p. liv, on 'fasting against enemies.'

[5] Bede only mentions this incidentally; iv. 28.

was speedily answered by Egfrid: he thought of Cuthbert, still an anchorite on Farne. After this intention had become notorious, Cuthbert met the royal abbess of Whitby, by appointment, on an island at the mouth of the river Coquet, which was occupied by a large monastic community[1]. During their conversation, he was said to have predicted to Elfled[2] that her brother would have but one more year of life[3], and that his successor would be found amid the isles of the sea: alluding, as it was thought, to 'Aldfrid, who was said to be a son of her father, and was then dwelling far from home, in the isles of the Irish, for the sake of learning.' Cuthbert then returned to Farne; and in the autumn a numerous assembly, or, as Bede calls it, a synod[4]—clearly a mixed body of ecclesiastics and laics—met at 'Twyford,'—perhaps where the Aln is crossed by two fords near Whittingham,—under the presidency of the archbishop[5], as representing the Church, and of Egfrid as the head of the nation. Cuthbert was unanimously chosen bishop: many envoys were sent to Farne to announce the election, but the hermit sat secure and inaccessible in his cell. 'At last the king himself[6],' with Bishop Trumwine of Abercorn, and a number of monks and 'powerful men,' proceeded to Bamborough, crossed the 'Fairway' strait, and landed on Farne, where they were met by many of the Lindisfarne brethren. Cuthbert could no longer keep himself in seclusion. His visitors, we are told, even knelt at his feet, 'adjuring him by the Lord, with tears,' to accept the election. At last, with tears in his own eyes, he yielded, went with them to Twyford, and, although very reluctantly, 'bowed his neck to the yoke

CHAP. XI.

Synod of Twyford.

[1] Bede, Vit. Cuthb. 24. Elfled believed that she had been cured of an infirmity in the limbs by putting on a linen girdle sent by Cuthbert; ib. 23.

[2] Believing in his prophetic powers, she adjured him, says Bede, 'by that awful and adorable name of the Heavenly King and His angels.'

[3] He quoted Eccles. xi. 8, and Ps. xc. 9, in proof of the short duration of even a long life.

[4] See above, p. 223, on the council of Whitby.

[5] Bede, iv. 28; Vit. Cuthb. 24; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 165.

[6] Bede, iv. 28. The Anon. Vit. calls the bishop 'Tumma.'

CHAP. XI.

of the episcopate[1].' The consecration was deferred until the spring; but during the interval Cuthbert spent some time with Eata at Melrose, and on his return visited a thane of Egfrid, and was believed to have cured the deathlike illness of his servant[2].

Cuthbert, bishop of Lindisfarne.

So it was, that on Easter-day, March 26. 685, Theodore, with six other bishops, consecrated Cuthbert in St. Peter's minster at York[3]. He had been elected for Hexham: but out of deference to his love for Lindisfarne, the gentle Eata, his old superior, returned to Hexham, and Cuthbert was now not only, as Boisil had predicted[4], a bishop, but bishop of that revered church in which he had been so active a prior. Before he quitted York, the king, in Theodore's presence, gave to Cuthbert the land 'from the wall of St. Peter's to the great gate westwards[5], and to the city wall southwards,' together with the village of Crayke as a halting-place in his journeys to and from York[6], and the far more valuable possession—one which seemed to herald the future princedom of his successors in lordly Durham—of the old Roman city of 'Lugubalia' or Carlisle[7], which had been conquered from the Britons of Cumbria, together with a territory of fifteen miles

[1] 'Ad suscipiendum . . . officium collum submittere compellitur;' Bede, iv. 28; Vit. Cuthb. 24; De Mirac. Cuthb. c. 21.

[2] Bede, Vit. Cuthb. 25; Anon. Vit. calls the thane 'Sibba.'

[3] Bede, iv. 28: 'In ipsa solemnitate paschali,' &c. Cp. Rich. of Hexh., Hagulst. Eccl. 10; X Script. 295.

[4] Bede, Vit. Cuthb. 8.

[5] This gate was on the site of Bootham Bar.

[6] Sim. Hist. Dun. Eccl. i. 9. Crayke would be a convenient halting-place to one travelling from the north, before entering the forest of Galtres, which lay between it and York, and covered nearly 100,000 acres. Cuthbert is said to have established an abbot and monks at Crayke, which within this century continued to be part of the diocese of Durham. St. Cuthbert's remains, in their 'wanderings,' halted for four months 'in sua quondam villa . . . Creca'; Bed. Op. vi. 392. Cp. De Mirac. et Transl. in Sim. Op. i. 237.

[7] Sim. l. c. A charter as to these grants (Wilkins, i. 55; Smith's Bede, p. 782) is clearly spurious; it exhibits the names of Cedd and Chad. Lugubalia (Bede, iv. 29, the Roman form of Caer Lywelydd), Ligualid, or Lualid (Nennius, 76), was otherwise called 'Caer-luel' or 'Luel,' and in the ninth century 'Lulchester'; Freeman, Engl. Towns and Districts, p. 427; Bishop Creighton's 'Carlisle,' p. 3.

around,—and afterwards the district of Cartmel in Lancashire, with the Britons belonging to it as serfs[1]. And so the shepherd youth of Lammermoor, the scholar of Boisil, the evangelist of Tweedside, the prior of Melrose and Lindisfarne, the hermit of Farne, began his short career as a bishop. CHAP. XI.

The first weeks of his episcopate were clouded by a public anxiety, which was soon to be justified by a national disaster. Egfrid, remembering how, fifteen years before, he had crushed the Picts' revolt, determined to invade their country, still governed by the same king, Bruide[2]. His 'friends,' and Cuthbert with them, urgently remonstrated[3], but in vain. As when the Irish expedition was in question, so in this more perilous venture, in which he was personally to take the chief part, he was deaf to the best counsels. He would go, and he went[4]. Then fell on many a thoughtful Northumbrian the shadow of a great dread. Was the king judicially blinded? Were the curses of the wronged Irish working their effect by leading him to his destruction? It was just then that the bishop of Lindisfarne made a journey to his new domain of Carlisle, whither Ermenburga had repaired to pass the time of suspense in a nunnery governed by her sister[5]. The day after Cuthbert's arrival was Saturday, Cuthbert at Carlisle

[1] The Hist. de S. Cuthb. 6 (Sim. Op. i. 200) says that Cuthbert entrusted this property to abbot Kineferth. Carham near Coldstream was also said to have been given to him, Hist. de S. Cuthb. 7.

[2] This was Bruide, or Bruidi, Mac Bili, who had become king in 672, and died in 693 (Skene, i. 262). Nennius calls him Birdei, the cousin of Egfrid; Mon. H. Br. p. 74. He had established himself as king of 'Fortrenn,' in a stronghold east of Loch Earn. The name was common among Pictish kings; another Bruide had died in 641; the more famous Bruide Mac Malcon, St. Columba's convert (Bede, iii. 4; Adamn. Vit. Col. i. 37, ii. 35, 42), had reigned (one of his strongholds being probably near Inverness) from 554 to 584 (Reeves's Adamnan, p. 151). Egfrid himself was akin to the Pictish royal house: his uncle Eanfrid (the 'apostate,' see p. 147) had married one of its daughters, and their son Talorcan was king of the Picts, 653–657. After his death Oswy subjugated the Picts; they revolted against Egfrid, and were defeated (Skene, i. 257, 263).

[3] Bede, iv. 26: 'Siquidem anno post hunc proximo.'

[4] 'Bellum Ecfridi,' Adamn. Vit. Col. ii. 46.

[5] Bede, Vit. Cuthb. 27; Anon. Vit. Cuthb., Bed. Op. vi. 377. When Bede wrote, there was a monastery near the little river Dacre, near

CHAP. XI. the 20th of May: at 3 p.m. the townsfolk, headed by Paga[1] their reeve, and delighted to receive the saintly bishop as their lord, were showing him their walls, on which, just then, 'the sun shone fair[2],' and conducting him to a fountain within the city, 'the wondrous work of Roman hands[3].' Cuthbert was attended by several of his clergy. Suddenly, while leaning on his staff, he seemed to go through strong mental agitation. His face, usually so bright and sweet, became sad and downcast; after a while he looked up, gazed on the sky, which had rapidly darkened, groaned deeply, and muttered as to himself, 'Perhaps even now the contest is decided[4]!' A presbyter, standing close beside him, asked what he meant[5]. He answered evasively by a general reference to the changing weather, and then to the inscrutable judgements of God. But he straightway returned to the convent, saw the queen in private, and said to her, 'Set off early on Monday for York[6], lest haply the king may have fallen:—it is not lawful to drive on the Lord's day[7]. I have to go to-morrow

Penrith; Bede, iv. 32. Egfrid had established Northumbrian clergy in Cumberland, and his sister Elfled had founded monasteries: Creighton, p. 18.

[1] The anonymous biographer gives this name, and the hour.

[2] Lay of the Last Minstrel, vi. 11.

[3] Comp. Malmesb. G. Pontif. p. 208, on the Roman 'triclinium lapideis fornicibus concameratum,' existing in his time at Carlisle. See Freeman, Engl. Towns and Districts, p. 439.

[4] So Bede. The anonymous Life, less probably, makes him refer explicitly to the war. 'O, o, o! existimo enim perpetratum esse bellum.'

[5] Anon. Vit., 'Quid factum esset;' Bede, 'Unde scis?'

[6] 'The royal city,' Bede.

[7] 'Dominicorum die a labore terreno cessandum est;' Greg. Ep. xiii. 1. Various Frankish canons of the sixth century forbade all Sunday labour: e.g. council of Auxerre, c. 16, 'Non licet die dominico boves jungere,' Mansi, ix. 913: so council of Chalons as to rural work, ib. x. 1193. The council of Narbonne allowed for cases of necessity; c. 4. The third council of Orleans condemned sabbatarian notions as to the unlawfulness of Sunday travelling, but forbade rural work on Sundays, as detaining men from church; Mansi, ix. 19. Gregory of Tours tells us that some men at Limoges were killed by lightning for doing 'public work' on Sunday; H. Fr. x. 30. For a story about St. Patrick warning some heathens not to build a 'rath' or earth-work on the Lord's day, see Stokes, Tripartite Life, ii. 289. Theodore's Penitential says, 'Greeks and Romans do not go

to a neighbouring monastery, in order to dedicate its church; and will follow you after the service is completed.' His Sunday sermon was on the necessity of being prepared for any tribulation, and was understood to refer to a return of the pestilence[1]. On the Monday there arrived a man 'who had escaped from the war,' and brought tidings such as filled Edinburgh with terror and anguish after the day of Flodden. Egfrid and his host had crossed the Firth, had even crossed the Tay, and destroyed two forts, one of which probably stood at the mouth of the Almond[2]: the native forces, by feigned retreats[3], had lured them into a defile at Dunnechtan[4], or Nechtansmere[5], identified as Dunnichen near Forfar. There the king had fallen, with nearly all his men, on the very day, and at the very hour, when Cuthbert was standing by the Carlisle fountain like one who saw what he durst not reveal[6]. Battle of Dunnechtan.

This battle of Dunnechtan may well rank in our

"in curru" on the Lord's day, except to church;' ii. 8. 1; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 196; cp. ib. 226 (Willibrord?), 332 (Bede?). The council of Clovesho forbade Sunday travelling save in necessity, c. 14; ib. 367: and the Laws of Northumbrian Priests, no. 55, forbid it whether in a wain, or on a horse, or with a burden; Thorpe, Anc. Laws, p. 420; Johnson, Engl. Can. i. 380. St. Anskar, preaching on a Sunday, forbade his hearers to do 'opus servile in die festo,' Vit. 37: and compare the story of St. Olaf scorching his hand in penance for having done some wood-cutting on Sunday.

[1] He told the story of the monks visiting him on Christmas day,—of his forebodings,—of the outbreak of the pest. Above, p. 305.

[2] Robertson, Scotl. under Early Kings, i. 12.

[3] Bede, iv. 26: 'simulantibus fugam hostibus in angustias inaccessorum montium.' The Chronicle says the place was near 'the North sea.'

[4] Tighernach. He gives the day of week and month, but a wrong year, 686. The Ulster Annals are again right as to the date.

[5] Reeves's Adamnan, p. 186. Sim. Dunelm. calls it 'Nechtansmere, quod est stagnum Nechtani,' de Dun. Eccl. i. 9: Nennius, Lin-garan, 'the lake of the heron,' Mon. H. Brit. p. 74. 'This lake formerly occupied the place of Dunnichen Moss;' Reeves, p. 187. Dunnichen lies under the Sidlaw hills, somewhat east of Forfar. More than one Pictish king had been called Nechtan: one had died in 621; Reeves, p. 373. For the adoption of the Catholic usages by a later king Nechtan, see below.

[6] Eadmer exhibits monastic bitterness of an extreme type in his story of the vision of Egfrid's perdition seen by Wilfrid while saying mass at this same hour; Vit. S. Wilfr. 43.

CHAP. XI. memories with such decisive conflicts as those of the Idle, of Heavenfield, and of Winwidfield[1]. It marks an epoch, it closes a period,—the period of the great Northumbrian kings. It was long ere the crown of Edwin and Oswald resumed the majesty of their wide over-lordship. From that fatal afternoon in the May of 685, 'the hope and force of the Anglian kingdom'—so Bede says, recurring to his favourite poet—'began to retreat like an ebbing tide[2].' The Picts not only shook off the Northumbrian supremacy, but regained some hold upon Lothian[3]: the Dalriad Scots, and 'some of the Britons, recovered their independence[4],' which they still enjoyed when Bede wrote thus, about 731. The old Northumbrian glory returned for a while after his death, when Eadbert made himself lord of Picts and Scots, and was attended by his Pictish vassal-king, Unmust or Angus, when he received the submission of the capital of Strathclyde[5]. This was seventy-one years after the overthrow of Egfrid's host. Many of his followers were made captives, or had to flee for their lives: and flight was the only course for a small band of nuns whom Cuthbert afterwards settled in an English township[6], and for Bishop Trumwine and his monks, who abandoned Abercorn, and with it their hopes of mission-

[1] See Wilson, Prehistoric Ann. of Scotl. ii. 180; Burton, Hist. Scotl. i. 282; Robertson, Scotl. under Early Kings, i. 12. Nennius says, the English never again took tribute from the Picts.

[2] Bede, iv. 26: 'Ex quo tempore spes coepit et virtus regni Anglorum fluere, ac retro sublapsa referri' (Aen. ii. 169). Cp. Bede, ii. 12 (Aen. iv. 2), ii. 13 (Aen. ii. 502), and de Temp. Rat. 7 (Aen. ii. 250).

[3] We may infer as much from the break-up of the establishment at Abercorn, and the peril and confusion which spread south of the Firth. Bede's sentence, 'Nam et Picti terram,' &c., clearly means that 'the Picts regained their land which the English had held, and the Scots in Britain and some of the British regained freedom, i.e. independence,—the Scots being those of Dalriada, and the 'Britons' being those of Strathclyde. See Haddan and Stubbs, ii. 3, 5, and above, p. 29.

[4] Rhys says, not the Picts of Galloway; Celt. Brit. p. 149.

[5] I.e. of Alcluid or Dunbarton; Sim. Dunelm. de Gest. Reg. 42. See Palgrave, pp. 437, 470; Robertson, i. 18. Before this, the Northumbrians had been strong enough to re-establish, in an English form, St. Ninian's see of Whithern; Bede, v. 23; cp. Haddan and Stubbs, ii. 7, Skene, i. 271, ii. 224.

[6] Bede, Vit. Cuthb. 30.

work in 'Pictland.' 'He commended them to his friends in different monasteries, wherever he best could; and he chose his own abode' in the great house of Whitby, where, 'with a few of his companions, he spent many years in monastic strictness, leading a life useful not to himself only, but to many others[1].' The corpse of the self-willed king received honourable burial in Hy[2] at the hands of Abbot Adamnan, the biographer of St. Columba[3], who would remember how Egfrid's saintly uncle had sent to the island community for a bishop. Egfrid's widow was driven by the shock of her bereavement into monastic life, and Eddi accordingly describes her as having been changed from a 'Jezebel into a perfect abbess, from a she-wolf into a lamb[4].' CHAP. XI.

Aldfrid the Wise, king of Northumbria.

The anticipations of Cuthbert were fulfilled. Egfrid, says Bede, 'had neither sons nor brothers.' His elder brother, Alchfrid, whom their father Oswy had disinherited, was now dead: but Aldfrid, supposed to be a natural son of Oswy[5], was called to the vacant throne. He had been living as a recluse student in the 'islands' or 'regions of the Scots,'—as Bede expresses it[6]; a phrase which would include, with Ireland itself, some of the smaller isles occupied by men of Irish race, and known as seats of learning and piety[7]. Bede calls him a man 'most learned in the

[1] Bede, iv. 26: 'Eosque ubicunque poterat,' &c.

[2] Sim. Dunelm., Dun. Eccl. i. 9. See Reeves's Adamnan, p. 232.

[3] Adamnan was born about 624, became abbot in 679, and died in 704 or 705. See Reeves, pp. xl, xliv, lvii; Haddan and Stubbs, ii. 135, iii. 229.

[4] Eddi, 24.

[5] Bede, iv. 26: 'Qui frater ejus, et filius Osuiu regis, esse dicebatur.' De Mirac. S. Cuthb. 21 :—

'Et nothus in regni frater successit honorem.'

And so, Vit. Cuthb. 24: 'Ferebatur filius fuisse patris illius . . . frater ejus nothus.'

[6] Bede, Vit. Cuthb. 24; De Mirac. S. Cuthb. 21. The Irish said that Aldfrid's mother was Fina, or Fiona, a princess of Meath, and called him Flann Fina; Tighernach, a. 704; Inisfallen Ann. Bede says that a love of sacred learning was the cause of his sojourn among the Irish. Malmesbury, Gest. Reg. i. 3, says confidently that a party of nobles having deemed Aldfrid, though the elder son, unworthy to reign, he retired to Ireland.

[7] So Lanigan, iii. 96. Among these island-sanctuaries were Arranmore

CHAP. XI. Scriptures and in knowledge of all sorts[1]': and tells us that he agreed with Benedict Biscop to give him eight hydes of land for the monastery of Jarrow, in exchange for a splendid manuscript of 'The Cosmographers,' which Benedict had bought in Rome[2]. We know that Adamnan himself calls him his 'friend,' and visited him in 686 in order to regain the sixty Irish captives carried away by Bert,—all of whom were given up by Aldfrid[3]: and that, two years later, he received a second visit from Adamnan, accepted from him the work 'On the Holy Places,' which he had compiled from the accounts of the pilgrim-bishop Arculf, and with royal munificence distributed copies of it to men of lower degree[4]. He repeatedly listened to Drythelm's account of his 'visions' of the unseen world, and procured his admission into the monastery of Melrose[5]. Aldfrid seems also to have had a taste for rich attire; for we find him, 'in conjunction with his counsellors,' buying of Benedict Biscop 'two cloaks, all of silk, and of exquisite workmanship,' for an estate of three hydes on the south

('Isles of Saints'), in Galway Bay, Inisboffin, Iniscattery in the mouth of the Shannon, &c. But the Anon. Vit. Cuthb. says that Aldfrid was then at Hy, b. 3.

[1] Bede, iv. 26; v. 12. He was, in effect, called 'The Wise.' Aldhelm inscribes one of his works to him under the name of Acircius, after a friendship of twenty years (Lib. de Septenario). See Green, Making of Engl. p. 397.

[2] Bede, Hist. Abb. 12. Aldfrid's grant of land was 'near the river Fresh.' Benedict had 'settled the terms' of this purchase, but he died before it could be carried out: it was Ceolfrid who placed the coveted manuscript in the hands of the scholar-king.

[3] See Vit. Col. ii. 46, and Reeves, pp. xlv, 187; Lanigan, iii. 96; Haddan and Stubbs, ii. 109. Tighernach dates this (captivos reduxit) in 687; Ulster Ann. rightly, in 686. See Skene, ii. 171.

[4] On this 'legatio' see Bede, v. 15. One of these copies was used by Bede. His own 'De Locis Sanctis' is an epitome. It was during this second visit that Adamnan became a convert to 'Catholic' usages, Bede, v. 15, 21. Ceolfrid was edified by his behaviour at Wearmouth, but remonstrated with him on his incomplete semicircular 'Simoniacal' tonsure. He excused himself: 'If I follow my country's fashion, I detest the simoniacal faithlessness, and desire to follow the chief of apostles.' 'If so,' rejoined Ceolfrid, 'show it by wearing what *he* wore!' The argument was quite gravely put, and it told.

[5] Bede, v. 12: 'Narrabat autem,' &c. Drythelm was supposed to have actually died and returned to life.

bank of the Wear,—a purchase effected soon after his accession [1]. This prince, the first of our literary kings, was a man of practical vigour, and well able to 'restore, though within narrower limits, the humbled state of the realm [2].' CHAP. XI.

The northern part of that realm, on which the blow fell heaviest, might well seem to have received in its necessity an opportune gift in the ministry of such a bishop as Cuthbert, 'great in his humility, glorious in the reality of his faith and the ardour of his charity [3].' His personal habits of asceticism were unaltered: he 'continued steadfastly,' says his anonymous biographer, 'to be the same man that he had been before [4],' with the same lowliness of heart, the same intensity of devotion. His voice while celebrating was still low, still broken by tears; the grace of 'compunction,' as Bede calls it, 'kept his mind fixed on things heavenly; above all things there glowed within him the fire of Divine love [5].' His tenacious memory 'supplied the place of books [6]'; the canons of the Church, the lives of the Saints, were habitually present to his mind. As a preacher he was 'clear and plain, full of dignity and of gentleness; he used to dwell on the providential office of the law [7],' the doctrines of the Gospel, the obligations of the Christian life; 'addressing to different minds the exhortations which they severally needed [8], as knowing beforehand what to say, and to whom, and when, and how to say it.' He had, says Bede with characteristic emphasis, 'that qualification which is above all others helpful to a teacher, for whenever he bade any Cuthbert as bishop.

[1] Bede, Hist. Abb. 8: 'duo pallia holoserica.'

[2] Bede, iv. 26: 'destructumque regni statum,' &c.

[3] Chr. Remembr., Jan. 1852, p. 78.

[4] 'Idem etiam constantissime perseverat, qui prius fuerat;' Anon. Vit. b. 4. See above, p. 301. He still retained his ordinary plain dress.

[5] Bede, iv. 28. 'The holy corporax cloth, wherewith he covered the chalice when he used to say mass,' was preserved, and long afterwards inserted into the banner which hung over his shrine. This corporal was actually displayed on the top of a spear, at the battle of Neville's-cross, in 1346. Etheldred was said to have given Cuthbert some vestments.

[6] Anon. Vit.

[7] 'Ministerio legis,' ib.

[8] 'Unumquemque diversa admonens exhortatione,' ib. Bede's 'Life' tells us how on one occasion, while prior of Melrose, he urged his hearers to be 'attentive and watchful while the mysteries of the heavenly kingdom were being preached'; c. 13. Cp. Bede, Hom. 33.

CHAP. XI. person to do a thing, he showed the way by doing it himself[1].' Always genial and friendlike to all who came to pour out to him their troubles, as he had been during his hermit-life, he 'deemed'—the words are very memorable—'that to advise and comfort the weak was equivalent to an act of prayer[2],' for he had in full measure 'that most excellent gift of charity, without which,' says the anonymous writer in words which anticipate our Quinquagesima collect, 'all virtue is nothing[3].' But in these private interviews he was strict in 'recalling to godly sorrow all who indulged in any unholy joy[4].' It need not be said that he exhibited all active beneficence, giving food to the hungry and clothes to those who were shivering with cold: welcoming strangers, ransoming captives—doubtless out of the hands of the Picts,—protecting widows and orphans, rescuing the poor from the oppressor[5], and showing how little his habits as a recluse had unfitted him for the work of a bishop in the face of the world. He went about his diocese with the energy of a younger man, reviving, doubtless, many of his old remembrances while he traversed the wild moor or penetrated the outlying glen. In one woodland place the inhabitants of neighbouring hamlets had assembled to receive confirmation at his hands, had spread tents, in default of a church, for the bishop and his clergy, and cut down boughs of trees for their own shelter[6]. For two days they all remained on the spot, until Cuthbert had finished his ministrations[7]. It was told afterwards that on

[1] Bede, Vit. Cuthb. 26; iv. 28, 'Et quod maxime doctores juvare solet,' &c. See above, p. 56. Comp. Vit. S. Sturmi, 14: 'In omni disciplina . . . prius semetipsum exercere curavit.'

[2] Bede, iv. 28: 'Hoc ipsum quoque orationis loco ducens,' &c.

[3] Anon. Vit.: 'Et illam supereminentem caritatem, sine qua omnis virtus nihil est.' Comp. Eddi, 11, copying this, and applying it (somewhat boldly) to Wilfrid.

[4] 'Male gaudentes,' Bede, Vit. Cuthb. 26.

[5] Comp. Bede, Vit. Cuthb. iv. 26; Anon. Vit.

[6] Comp. Willib. Vit. S. Bonifac. s. 36: 'Suorum tantum stipatus clientum numero, erexit tentoria.' The confirmands had been recently baptized.

[7] Bede, Vit. Cuthb. 32. The Anon. Vit. says that this was while he was going from Hexham to 'Vel.' But he had no episcopal relations to Hexham. Perhaps he had been on a visit to Eata.

this very occasion some women carried[1] a youth wasted with illness, on a rude pallet, to the entrance of the wood, and Cuthbert, being asked to bestow his blessing, caused him to be brought near, prayed over him, and blessed him, —whereupon the lad arose, took food, thanked God, and returned to the women who were waiting for him. The pestilence had nearly depopulated some parts of the country; Cuthbert did his best to console the survivors, and in one place on asking whether there were any one else whom he could visit, had his attention directed to a poor woman who was weeping bitterly; she had lost one son, and held in her arms another who seemed to be dying. Cuthbert went up to her, kissed and blessed the boy, and assured the mother that he would recover, and that no one else of her household would die of the plague. He did recover, and long afterwards with his mother bore witness to the fulfilment of the prediction[2]. Cuthbert made another journey to Carlisle, partly to ordain priests, and partly to give the monastic habit to Ermenburga and to other women,—and also, if we may trust a later writer, to establish schools[3]. It was then that his dear friend Herbert, the hermit-priest of Derwentwater, came to meet him, and asked him to pray that they might both die at the same time, which, we are told, came to pass[4]. This visit took place in 686, when Cuthbert was looking forward to his end, which, he felt sure, could not be far off[5]: it is probable that his excessive austerities had prematurely worn out his once robust frame, and entailed a propor- CHAP. XI.

[1] 'In grabato;' Bede, l. c.; Anon. Vit.

[2] Bede, Vit. Cuthb. 33. The author of the Anon. Vit. says that this story was told him by Tidi, the presbyter to whom Cuthbert put the question, and that the place was 'Medilpong.' The plague-struck boy was 'swollen all over.' Cp. Adamn. ii. 46.

[3] Bede, Vit. Cuthb. 28; Hist. S. Cuthb., X Script. 69.

[4] Bede, Vit. Cuthb. 28, iv. 29; see Wordsworth's 'Inscriptions,' No. xv, 'for the spot where the hermitage stood on St. Herbert's island, Derwentwater:'

> '. . . Though here the hermit numbered his last day
> Far from St. Cuthbert his beloved friend,
> Those holy men both died in the same hour.'

[5] 'Divino admonitus oraculo;' Bede, iv. 28; so Vit. Cuthb. 35.

CHAP. XI. Cuthbert retires to Farne.

tionate loss upon his Church. In order to prepare for the last hour by an interval of undisturbed devotion[1], he resolved to return to Farne, to 'devote himself, undisturbed, to prayer and psalmody,' and to 'burn away the thorns of worldly care[2].' He made one farewell circuit of the diocese, visiting the dwellings of the faithful, and giving them needful exhortations. He also went to see Elfled at one of the dependencies of her convent, and, although it was not in his diocese, consecrated a newly-finished church. It is specially said of him, on this occasion, that he was physically wearied by his functions,—but also that he retained his playful humour[3]. We also find him at 'the mouth of the Tyne,' where the abbess Verca entertained him 'magnificently[4].' It was almost immediately after the Christmas of 686 that he returned to his solitary islet; and at the end of February his last illness came on. Herefrid, abbot of Lindisfarne[5],—who was probably appointed to the office when Cuthbert ceased to reside there,—had been visiting the bishop for three days[6]; on

[1] A sample of the morbid pietism fostered by the monastic spirit is in the Anonymous Life, where Cuthbert's retirement from episcopal work is described as a 'forsaking of *secular honour*' (Op. vi. 379; comp. Alcuin, de Pontif. Ebor. 673). Yet Cuthbert's object, apart from the means which he took to attain it, was the same which bishop Zachary Pearce of Rochester had in view, when he vainly sought permission to resign his see in 1763. Some pious bishops before Cuthbert's time, as Dubricius, Magloire of Dol, and Arnulf of Metz, had resigned their sees in advanced life for the sake of religious retirement, and Licinius of Angers had been restrained by his colleagues from doing so: but Cuthbert, to the last, was regarded as bishop of Lindisfarne.

[2] Bede, Vit. Cuthb. 34, 36. The allusion, of course, is to Matt. xiii. 22.

[3] Ib. 34. He is at table, a good deal tired; his face changes colour, his knife drops on the board. Elfled asks him what he has seen. He tries to turn it off: 'Did you think I could go on eating all day? I was bound to leave off some time.' Then comes an instance of a vision coincident with the death of a lay-brother, Hadwald.

[4] Ib. 35. After rising from his noonday repose, he said he was thirsty, and asked for drink. They asked whether he would have wine or beer: he chose water; then comes a story of the water being afterwards found to taste like very good wine. In Raine's St. Cuthbert, p. 16, her monastery is placed at Tiningham, on the Scottish 'Tine,' north of Dunbar. But the 'Tina' of Bede, v. 21, is the 'Tyne.' See p. 187.

[5] See Vit. Cuthb. praef. and c. 8, 23.

[6] Ib. 37. Other monks were with him.

a Thursday morning he gave the usual signal of his presence near the cell, and Cuthbert came to the window, received his greeting in silence with a 'sigh,' and on being asked whether his indisposition—an old familiar ailment—had come upon him in the night, replied quietly, 'Yes, I have been ill [1].' 'Give us your blessing,' said Herefrid; 'it is time to put to sea.' Cuthbert bade him go, but added precise instructions as to his own burial [2]. Herefrid asked whether some of the monks who had accompanied him from Lindisfarne might not stay behind to take care of the bishop [3]. Cuthbert refused to allow it: they departed, and the wild winds of the first week of March prevented them for five days from revisiting Farne [4]. When they could do so, they saw a sad sight. In the hospice, instead of in his cell, they found Cuthbert sitting on a couch, his face ghastly with exhaustion. Herefrid warmed some wine which he had brought, induced him to taste it, applied warm water to his foot, which had a bad ulcer of long standing; and then sat down beside him, and uttered some words of sympathy. 'Lord bishop, I see you have suffered much: why did you forbid any one to attend upon you?' 'It was God's will,' said Cuthbert simply, 'that I should suffer some distress without human help at hand. I became worse as soon as you had departed; and so I left my cell in order that any of you, when coming to see me, might find me here; and here for five days and nights I have continued without moving.' Turning up his couch, he showed five onions, one of them nearly half eaten: he had had CHAP. XI.

[1] 'Etiam, languor me tetigit nocte hac.' Cp. 'Etiam' in Bede, v. 6, 9. The 'ailment' was an internal pain, the result of an attack of the pestilence; Vit. Cuthb. 8.

[2] His body was to be wrapt in linen, which had been sent by abbess Verca: he would not wear it while alive, but had kept it for his shroud. A 'sarcophagus' given by abbot Cudda would be found under the turf, north of the oratory: he was to be buried in it, &c. On the use of the 'sindon' or linen shroud, compare Bede, iv. 9, and the account of Wilfrid's burial, Eddi, 65, and of Columba's, Adamn. iii. 23. St. Boniface gave special directions about the 'linteum' which was to be his shroud; Willib. Vit. Bonif. s. 33. On Etheldred's 'locellus' see p. 289.

[3] Several of the Lindisfarne monks were 'skilful physicians'; Bede, Vit. Cuthb. 45, cp. 37; so Anon. Vit. in Bed. Op. vi. 381. Cp. Bede, iv. 19.

[4] Cp. Bede, v. 1, for a vivid picture of a storm on the sea near Farne.

CHAP. XI. nothing else[1]. He dropped some mysterious allusions to the attack of ghostly enemies[2]. Herefrid durst not say more than 'Will you not *now* have some attendants?' He consented; some of the monks who had had occasion to go over to Bamborough, and had returned, were appointed to nurse him; among them were 'Bede the elder,' who had always attended on his person, and Walstod, who, though himself suffering from ailment, was deemed specially fit to hear his last words. Herefrid came and went; and, after consulting with the community, reported to Cuthbert their earnest wish to bury him in Lindisfarne. He answered, with a strange disparagement of his 'active life,' that he had wished to rest on the islet 'where he had fought his poor fight for the Lord'; and he feared that if he were to be buried in Lindisfarne, the monastery would be troubled by fugitives, or criminals seeking sanctuary beside his grave[3]. At last, however, he yielded, on condition that he might be interred in 'the inmost part of the church.' They 'thanked him on bended knees for this permission and counsel,' and then went home, but paid him other visits. At last, on the morning of Tuesday the 19th of March, Herefrid and others carried him—for he was now too feeble to walk—back to his cell. Walstod went in with him[4]; no one else for years had done so. Six hours passed away: at three in the afternoon Herefrid found him lying down in a corner of the oratory, opposite to the altar; and sitting down beside him, begged for his farewell message as a 'legacy' to the brethren[5]. Very faintly, and 'at intervals,' the voice which had held such sway over its hearers uttered a few sentences inculcating 'Divine

[1] 'As often as my mouth became very dry and parched, haec gustando me refrigerare ac recreare curavi.'

[2] He had never, he said, been so much 'persecuted' as in those five days.

[3] On the privilege of sanctuary, see above, p. 103.

[4] They asked him to let one of them go in to wait on him. He gazed round on all, and fixed his eyes on the invalid brother, saying, 'Let Walstod come in with me;' Bede, Vit. Cuthb. 38. It is added that, from that moment, Walstod (Pallistod, Anon. Vit.) was free of his infirmity.

[5] 'Quem haereditarium sermonem, quod ultimum "Vale," fratribus relinqueret;' V. C. 39.

charity,' unanimity, agreement with 'other servants of Christ,' hospitality to strangers, avoidance of self-righteousness, strictness in abstaining from communion with those who 'swerved from Catholic unity, either by observing Easter out of its time, or by living perversely.' 'Remember that I had rather you took up my bones, and left your home to dwell wherever God may provide, than put a yoke on your own necks by consenting to schismatics in their iniquity[1]!' They were to study and observe the rules of the monastic fathers, and those which they had received through his ministry: 'for I know that although in my lifetime some have despised me[2], after my death it will be seen that my teaching is not to be despised.' So, according to Bede, the abbot reported these last words of Cuthbert: but doubtless he received them with some amplification of the original[3]. Cuthbert passed the evening in 'tranquil expectation of future bliss,' and continued his prayers until past midnight. Then, 'when the usual time of nocturn-prayer was come,' he received from Herefrid 'the communion of the Lord's Body and Blood, to strengthen him for his departure: and with eyes and hands lifted up heavenward[4] he commended his soul to the Lord, in a sitting posture, and passed away, without a groan, into the life of the fathers[5],' in the first hours of Wednesday,

CHAP. XI.

Death of Cuthbert.

[1] Bede, Vit. Cuthb. 39. It would seem from this that there was some remnant of a Scotic party still existing in Northumbria. The words, it is said, were remembered by bishop Eardulf when he resolved on removing the body; Hist. Transl. S. Cuthb. c. 2 (Bed. Op. vi. 36); Sim. Dun. de Dun. Eccl. ii. 6. There was clearly a 'hard' vein in Cuthbert.

[2] Probably an allusion to those in Northumbria whose ideal of ecclesiastical excellence was Wilfrid.

[3] 'Haec et his similia.'

[4] It is certain that he received Communion in both kinds, and clearly not during mass. So Bede, V. C. 39, and de Mirac. S. Cuthb. c. 36:

'Residens antistes ad altar'
Pocula degustat vitae, Christique supinum
Sanguine munit iter.'

So Guthlac 'munivit se communione corporis et sanguinis Christi,' both kinds being kept ready on the altar; Act. SS. Bened. iii. 281. For another usage see p. 347.

[5] Bede, Vit. Cuthb. 39; Anon. Vit. Cp. Bede, iv. 28: 'mortis, vel vitae magis,' &c. He was probably only about fifty-six, for he was just grown up when he came to Melrose in 651. See above, p. 214.

CHAP. XI. the 20th of March, 687. The corpse was carried to Lindisfarne, duly washed [1], and arrayed in priestly vestments and shoes; the head was wrapped in a handkerchief; 'oblates,' or bread, as if prepared for the Eucharist [2], were placed upon the breast, and a linen sheet [3], rubbed with wax, was folded round the body, which was then laid in a stone coffin on the right hand of the altar in St. Peter's church,—there to remain (although in 698 removed into a new oaken coffin) until the terror of the Northmen's invasion impelled the monks of Lindisfarne, in 875, to begin that series of 'the wanderings of St. Cuthbert' which ended, in 999, with his final interment

> 'Where his cathedral, huge and vast,
> Looks down upon the Wear [4].'

So lived, so died, the great popular saint of the North-country [5]. It is next to impossible to abridge the story of his death; and as in the case of St. Chad, it has seemed desirable to preserve unbroken the continuity of his last two

[1] Anon. Vit.: 'Toto corpore lavato, capite sudario circumdato,' &c.

[2] 'Offletes;' see Lingard, A.-S. Ch. i. 292.

[3] When the inner coffin of Cuthbert (that of 698) was opened at Durham in 1104, he was found wrapped in a 'sindon subtilissima,' with face-cloth, 'sudarium,' vestments, 'pallia,' and three sheets (Reginald, Libellus, c. 40). At the destruction of the shrine in 1538, what seemed to be an 'entire body' was reinterred beneath it. At the examination of the grave in 1827 three coffins were found, the inmost being that of 698, which held a skeleton wrapped in five silken robes, with a skull, doubtless St. Oswald's.

[4] 'Marmion,' ii. 14. See Hist. Transl. S. C. c. 2, in Bed. Op. vi. 387.

[5] Bede's Life of Cuthbert was written after very careful investigation and 'accurate examination' of surviving eye-witnesses. When finished, it was submitted to the criticism of Herefrid and others; and, thus amended, was presented to the bishops and monks of Lindisfarne, and read during two days by the elders of the community, who found nothing to correct, but mentioned to Bede 'alia multa, nec minora his quae scripsimus.' These incidents, however, he refrained from inserting in his book; Praef. V. C. The anonymous Life, written earlier, during Aldfrid's reign, has very little about Cuthbert's death. Bede devotes a chapter, v. 1, to his successor in the hermit life, Ethelwald, a priest bred up at Ripon, who dwelt on Farne for twelve years, and died in 699. The third occupant of Farne was Felgeld, who lived there many years; Vit. Cuthb. 46. Tokens of the widespread reverence for Cuthbert's memory are found in dedication of churches, not only throughout his own Northumbria, and at Carlisle, or in Scottish towns like Kirkcudbright ('bright' = 'bert') and Edinburgh, but at Wells, and at Cubert in Cornwall.

years. But we must now again take up the thread of events preceding the year 687. CHAP. XI.

Easterwine at Wearmouth.

Benedict Biscop had made a sixth and last journey to Rome in 684[1]. The kindly and single-hearted Easterwine had been appointed by him coadjutor-abbot of Wearmouth in the ninth year from its foundation—i.e. in 682[2]. 'When thus made a ruler,' according to the advice of 'the Wise Man[3],' he 'did not lift himself up': he still shared the common meals, and slept in the common dormitory: he was as ready as ever to take part in manual work with the monks, to handle plough or hammer or winnowing-fan. If he had to rebuke, he did not shrink from his duty: but 'from his inborn affectionateness he preferred to admonish his brethren not to do wrong,'—an admonition the more telling because it was felt that to break rule was to sadden the bright face of the good abbot[4]. His death, caused by the pestilence, partook of his life's serenity. He was ill for just a week, but did not remove into a private sleeping-room until the third day: on the seventh he came out, sat down in the open air, sent for all the monks, and 'in his loving fashion[5]' gave to each the kiss of peace, while they were weeping and mourning for the loss of 'such a father.' He died in the course of the next night, March 7, 686, aged only thirty-six, and having spent twelve years in the monastery.

Ceolfrid and Bede.

Benedict had not yet returned. When he arrived at Wearmouth, he found[6] that Sigfrid had been elected, according to the right of choice secured to the community[7], to succeed Easterwine. At Jarrow the deadly epidemic swept away 'all who could read, or preach, or chant antiphons and responsories, except the abbot Ceolfrid and one

[1] See above, p. 217.

[2] Bede, Hist. Abb. 6, 7.

[3] Ecclus. xxxii. 1. Bede adds that he was 'mitis, affabilis, benignus omnibus.' After describing him bishop Browne asks, 'How can we help loving those whose ideal this was of a lovable man?' Lessons, &c., p. 64.

[4] 'Ne qui peccare vellet, et limpidissimam vultus ejus lucem nubilo sibi suae inquietudinis abscondere;' Hist. Abb. 7.

[5] 'More naturae misericordis.'

[6] Hist. Abb. 8: 'Verum inter laeta,' &c. Sigfrid seems never to have been ordained priest. Anon. Hist. Abb., 'abbas et diaconus.'

[7] Hist. Abb. 9. See Lingard, A.-S. Ch. i. 208.

CHAP. XI. little boy, who had been bred up and taught by him[1].' In his distress, the abbot told his young companion that they would now go through the psalmody without antiphons[2], at all the hours except vespers and matins. They did so for a week, and then, after Ceolfrid's tears had often interrupted the 'maimed rite,' resumed the use of antiphons; and the services were thenceforward recited in full by the two voices, 'until Ceolfrid could train up or procure competent associates in the Divine work.' The boy here referred to, and described as having grown up to be a priest in the house, and written an account of Ceolfrid's administration, could be no other than Bede himself, then about thirteen years old[3]. He would take a keen interest in Benedict's new store of gifts from Rome, especially a series of paintings for Jarrow, representing types and antitypes, which were ranged on opposite sides of the church[4], so that the scenes of the journey to Moriah and of the Brazen Serpent confronted those of the Way of Sorrows and the Crucifixion, and 'the harmony of the Old and New Testaments' was vividly represented to those who entered the church. Other paintings from the Gospel history were hung round the chapel of the Virgin in 'the greater monastery' at Wearmouth[5].

We cannot but remark that not only Benedict, but Cuthbert also, a typical saint, was content to ignore the claims of Wilfrid. The consecration and the episcopate of Cuthbert were totally inconsistent with the expressed will of Rome: yet Cuthbert never seems to have given a thought

[1] Hist. Anon. Abb., Bed. Op. vi. 421.

[2] See the Benedictine rule, as to prime, terce, &c.: 'Si major congregatio fuerit, cum antiphonis; si vero minor, in directum (i. e. without interruption) psallantur,' c. 57. Bede, in his last illness, 'cantabat antiphonas,' as, 'O Rex gloriae.' 'An antiphon, in the original sense of the word, was the intercalation of some fragment or verse between the verses of the psalms which were being then sung;' cp. Neale, Comm. on Psalms, i. 35 ff. A 'double' feast, as is well known, means one in which the antiphons are said entire both before and after the psalms. Also above, p. 334, and cp. Greg. Tur. viii. 31, and the Breviary of Quiñones, ed. Wickham. Legg, p. xxi, '*omissis* antiphonis,' &c.

[3] See Lingard, A.-S. Ch. ii. 190.

[4] Bede, Hist. Abb. 8: 'Proxima super invicem regione.'

[5] Bede, l. c.

to that part of the question. Perhaps he assumed what Northumbrian authorities had thought fit to assert, that the decree produced by Wilfrid was unfairly obtained[1]. But, anyhow, the Northumbrian Church went on its way, doing its work, as if Wilfrid had never appealed, or as if his appeal was a nullity[2]. Cuthbert was installed at Lindisfarne; Eata resumed his throne in Wilfrid's own Hexham; Eadhed appeared as bishop in his still dearer church of Ripon. And no one said a word for him who had once had all Northumbria at his feet, and who was now completing in Sussex the conversion of the kingdoms. He did not neglect his own cause; he obtained from Pope Benedict II, who held the see for ten months from the June of 684, a recognition of his innocence and his rights[3]; and he procured for himself the friendship of a princely exile who might well seem destined to become a power, and whose story reads like a startling romance. This was Cadwalla, the descendant of a younger branch of the West-Saxon dynasty[4], but apparently connected by blood with the British race[5], and at this period leading a wild outlaw life amid the forests of Sussex, in consequence of the jealousy of the West-Saxon king Kentwin. Wilfrid befriended him by gifts, and gained a certain hold on his

CHAP. XI.

Wilfrid ignored by Church of Northumbria.

Cadwalla in Sussex.

[1] Above, p. 337.

[2] Above, p. 325.

[3] Eddi, 51, 'et electo Benedicto;' ib. 52, 53, 'electus Benedictus.' Probably he wrote while still 'elect,' as in a letter in Mansi, xi. 1085.

[4] He was the son of Kenbert, great-grandson of the warlike West-Saxon king Ceawlin; see Sax. Chron., and Florence, a. 685. Malmesbury says he was 'expelled from Wessex by a faction of the chief men'; G. Pontif. iii. 102.

[5] His name, clearly British, led the Welsh writers to claim him as a British king, and identify him with Cadwalader 'the Blessed,' son of that Cadwallon who was slain at Heavenfield. See Brut y Tywysogion, or Chronicle of Princes of Wales, Mon. Brit. Hist. p. 841. So Geoffrey says (b. 9) that 'Cadwalader,' in consequence of famine and pestilence, went over to Armorica, was miraculously forbidden to return, went to Rome, and there died (the link between this myth and the real history of Cadwalla), having sent his son Ivor and nephew *Ini* to attack the English in Britain, &c. And see Angl. Sac. ii. p. xxxi; and Elmham, p. 254. See Rees, Welsh Saints, p. 300, on this confusion. In fact, Cadwalader, whom the Welsh regarded as a saint, died of the plague of 664. Above, p. 152. 'It is pretty certain that he did *not* die at Rome:' Haddan and Stubbs, i. 202. Cp. Rhys, Celt. Brit. p. 134.

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affections. The connexion thus formed was probably less confidential and intimate than Eddi would represent it[1]; but Wilfrid thought he saw in the young untamed barbarian the rough material of future nobleness,—a force that might be guided, and a heart that might be won. He hoped to train, soften, and Christianize this strong ardent nature[2]; but one would think he must have felt a shock when Cadwalla, 'beginning to contend for the realm' of Wessex[3], not only gathered around him a band of 'broken men' resembling in some sort the garrison of Adullam, but attacked and slew the bishop's own royal patron Ethelwalch, as an ally of Kentwin, and therefore an obstacle in his path. He then wasted Sussex 'with cruel ravages,' until two ealdormen whom Wilfrid had converted, Berchtun and Andhun, combined to drive him out[4]. In 685[5], the death of Kentwin was immediately followed by Cadwalla's accession to the throne: he used his new power to avenge himself on Sussex, which he conquered[6], slaying Berchtun: and one cannot but ask whether the apostle of Sussex was passive in such a crisis, or whether his influence was used in vain. Cadwalla sent his brother, who was called Mul, 'the half-breed,' and who is described as a brave and spirited youth[7], to make a raid on Kent, which was in an

Cadwalla, king of West-Saxons.

[1] He says that they became to each other as father and son; Eddi, 42. See above, p. 269. Malmesbury says that Wilfrid gave him both horses and money; Gest. Pontif. l. c.

[2] To 'the new nations the ministry of Christianity was' mainly 'to lay hold on fresh and impetuous natures . . . to train and educate and apply to high ends the force of powerful wills and masculine characters;' Dean Church, Gifts of Civilization, &c. p. 317.

[3] Chronicle, a. 685.

[4] Bede, iv. 15: 'Saeva caede . . . mox expulsus est a ducibus regis,' &c. For this use of 'dux' see Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 186.

[5] So Florence. It has been said that Kentwin resigned the crown and became a monk (see a poem, not by Alcuin, in Alcuin. Op. ii. 549), and that he named Cadwalla his heir (Malm. G. P. v. 205). The poem referred to, 'On the basilica built by Bugge, daughter of a king of England' (Kentwin), is ascribed to Aldhelm. It was written in Ine's days. It describes the 'sacellum' which Bugge erected, its dedication-day, its rich altar-cloths, &c. The 'Bugge' who was also called 'Heaburg' was perhaps the same person.

[6] Bede, l. c. Hence, in Thorn (X Script. 1770), he is called king of Sussex.

[7] Hen. Hunt. iv. 5, calls him 'fortissimus,' and says that the invasion

unsettled condition, owing to the recent death of King Lothere[1] while under treatment for wounds received in battle with South-Saxon auxiliaries of his revolted nephew Eadric, who then reigned a year and a half, and on dying[2] left the realm in confusion. But the third campaign of Cadwalla had more important results. He resolved to recover the Isle of Wight, which, as we have seen, had been conquered by Wulfhere and given to Ethelwalch[3]. He would again people it with West-Saxons; and, although he was not yet baptized[4], and must therefore have been a cause of anxiety to the West-Saxon clergy who looked back to the days of Kenwalch, he vowed that if he were victorious, he would devote a fourth part of the isle and of the spoils to the God of his friend Wilfrid[5]. The conquest was marked by a pathetic tragedy: two young brothers of the island sub-king Arwald had fled to the mainland, hidden themselves at Stoneham[6] on the Itchen, and had there been betrayed to Cadwalla, who doomed them, as a matter of course, to death. A West-Saxon abbot, Kynibert, living in a monastery at the neighbouring

CHAP. XI.

Conquest of Isle of Wight.

The brothers of Arwald.

was by his own request. Bromton calls him 'Wolf,' X Script. 741. See Lappenberg, i. 260.

[1] Bede, iv. 26: 'Quo videlicet anno,' &c. Lothere died Feb. 6, 685. Among the 'Dooms' ascribed to him and to Eadric is a reference to the practice of giving evidence at the altar; Thorpe, Anc. Laws, p. 15.

[2] Elmham says, he fell in battle with Cadwalla and Mul; Hist. Mon. Aug. p. 252. He had long harassed his uncle by 'civil war,' Malmesb. G. Reg. i. 1. He reigned 'without the love and respect of the Kentishmen'; Bromton, X Script. 741: but in 686 he gave some land to SS. Peter and Paul's in Canterbury, 'adjoining that which king Lotharius of holy memory is known to have given to blessed Peter;' Cod. Dipl. i. 31.

[3] See above, p. 210.

[4] 'Necdum regeneratus, ut ferunt, in Christo;' Bede, iv. 16.

[5] Bede, iv. 16. On this see Malmesb. G. Reg. i. s. 34, 'Etsi approbamus affectum, improbamus exemplum;' and Elmham, p. 253: both quote Ecclus. xxxiv. 24, Vulg. The chronicle says that he gave to Medeshamstede 'Hoge, which is in an island called Heabur-eahg,' in the times of abbot Egbald. But he was not abbot until about 709; Monast. Angl. i. 346. Cadwalla appears to have witnessed a grant of land to Malmesbury, made in 688; Cod. Dipl. i. 32. See above, p. 295.

[6] 'Ad Lapidem,' Bede, l. c. These princes were the last of the line of Wihtgar, Cerdic's nephew.

CHAP. XI. Reedford or Redbridge[1], took courage to 'repair to his king, who was then being cured of wounds inflicted on him while fighting in the island,' and begged that if the youths must die, they might first be instructed in Christianity and baptized[2]. Cadwalla made no objection to this request: and the abbot, 'after teaching them the word of truth, and washing them in the font of salvation, assured them of being received into the heavenly kingdom; so that when the slaughterer came, they gladly underwent temporal death, as a passage to life eternal[3].' These 'martyred brothers of King Arwald, crowned by the special grace of God,' and long commemorated on the 21st of August[4], on which day in 686 they were put to death, should be remembered as 'the first fruits of all people of that isle who were saved through faith.' Christianity made its way into the Isle by means of Cadwalla's promise: Wilfrid received three hundred hydes of its land, and assigned them to Bernwin, his nephew and one of his clergy, giving him also a priest named Hiddila, 'who might administer the word and the laver of life to all who wished to be saved[5].' So passed away the old Teutonic idolatry, so came in the new faith of the world's 'Healer,' as the professed religion of the last English district that had remained in the darkness which had begun to retreat before Augustine, and which was now expelled from its insular haunts by Wilfrid[6].

Theodore reconciled to Wilfrid.

And when this work of his had been done in the far south, his severance from the north came to an end. Theodore was too great and good a man to be untouched by admiration for the mission-work which Wilfrid had

[1] See Lappenberg, i. 260; Freeman, Engl. Towns and Distr. p. 174. Redbridge is a station between Southampton and Lyndhurst-road.

[2] 'Fidei sacramentis imbui,' Bede, l. c. In this phrase (see it also in Bede, ii. 15, iii. 1, iv. 27) 'sacramenta' means sacred truths. For 'imbuo' in this connexion cp. Bede, ii. 14, 15; iii. 3.

[3] Bede, iv. 16: 'Ubi silentio praetereundum,' &c.

[4] Lappenberg, i. 260. The term 'martyr' was thus laxly applied to Ethelred and Ethelbert (above, p. 272), Kenelm of Mercia, Ethelbert of East-Anglia, 'Edward the Martyr,' and earl Magnus of Orkney.

[5] These two, it is said, lived at Trading and St. Helens.

[6] Thus, says Henry of Huntingdon, 'universae regionum partes Christi lumine et gratia fruebantur;' ii. 39.

done in exile; and as he was now a very old man, his rigorous and imperious nature had naturally been softened by years. Nor could he, we may well think, be wholly free from compunction when he recalled the events of 678[1]. He made overtures for a reconciliation; and Wilfrid met him by appointment in London, in the house of Bishop Erkenwald. Eddi puts into the archbishop's mouth[2] words of self-humiliation which cannot be literally accepted; but it is clear that he said what was equivalent to regret for Wilfrid's sufferings, and to a desire to promote his restoration. We are even told that he proposed to recommend him for the succession to his own see[3], which in the course of nature would soon be vacant; and that Wilfrid, naturally enough, preferred to return, if possible, to Northumbria. Theodore then wrote to King Aldfrid, referring, says Eddi, to the decision of Pope Agatho, and the later declaration of Pope Benedict in Wilfrid's behalf, and exhorting him, 'for the redemption of his brother Egfrid's soul,' to come to terms with Wilfrid. He wrote similarly to the abbess Elfled, who probably inherited Hilda's feelings against Wilfrid[4]: and Eddi preserves for us a letter in which the aged archbishop, in a tone of pathetic pleading, entreated Ethelred of Mercia to be the 'patron' of an oppressed CHAP. XI.

[1] See Smith's Bede, p. 754: also Raine, i. 71; and by him correct Hook's characteristic dogmatism, to the effect that Theodore 'had nothing to regret,' and therefore *did* regret nothing, but thought that Wilfrid had been punished enough, &c.; i. 175.

[2] Eddi, 43. 'O holy bishop, I have sinned against thee, by consenting to the act of the kings who, without any sin on thy part, despoiled thee of thine own property . . . I confess to the Lord and to St. Peter the apostle.' It is curious to see how Eddi speaks of the spoliation, when we should expect him rather to speak of the uncanonical encroachment and deprivation. Fridegod puts into Theodore's mouth three lines of regret and sympathy: 'Poenitet, en, fili,' &c., 1005. Malmesbury says, G. Pontif. iii. 103, that Theodore confessed all his sins to the two bishops (!).

[3] As Eddi words it, 'ut in sedem meam . . . superstitem et haeredem vivens te constituam.' Malmesbury, 'Rogo te . . . ut . . . sedem archiepiscopatus mei subeas,' &c. (G. Pontif. p. 233). Eadmer puts into Wilfrid's mouth a grotesquely insincere compliment: 'I think you treated me in that way with the intention that I should be exercised in patience . . . and thus reach perfection;' Vit. Wilf. 44.

[4] This seems to be implied in Eddi's words, 'Nam ad Ælfledam,' &c. Later, we find Elfled taking part with Wilfrid; Eddi, 60.

CHAP. XI.

bishop who, 'deprived for a long time of his own property, had laboured much in the Lord among the heathen[1].' 'Do therefore, my son, my son, in regard to that holy man, as I have besought thee; and if thou wilt obey thy father, who is not long for this world, it will greatly avail for thy salvation.' The letter contained also a request that, although such a journey might seem too long, Ethelred would visit Theodore; 'let mine eyes see thy pleasant face, and my soul bless thee before I die[2].' Ethelred, we are then assured, 'received Wilfrid willingly' into his kingdom, while he was on his way homewards, and restored to him the monasteries and lands which he had possessed in Mercia; and Aldfrid himself 'invited Wilfrid to his court, according to the archbishop's injunction[3].'

Wilfrid returns to Northumbria.

Once more, therefore, Wilfrid returned to his native country, probably in the autumn of 686[4]. But on what terms did he return? Let us remember that, according to the Roman decree, the subdivision of the original diocese of York was to be annulled, and Wilfrid was to be reinstated in that diocese, as it had existed before 678: that done, a new Council was to be held in Northumbria, with the assent of which he was to choose new bishops, who were thereupon to be consecrated by Theodore. What was actually done appears to be this:—Wilfrid, on arriving in the North-country, found the new see of Hexham vacant by the recent death of Eata[5]. He was thereupon put in possession of that church; and after a certain interval, Bosa being compelled or induced to retire from York, and Eadhed to give up Ripon, Wilfrid regained both the cathedral church for which he had been consecrated, and the minster which he had ruled as abbot[6]. Thus, as Bede

[1] Theodore was sure to appreciate Wilfrid's work among Frisians and South Saxons.

[2] Eddi, 43.

[3] Eddi, 44.

[4] Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 172.

[5] Eata died, says Bede, v. 2, in the beginning of the reign of Aldfrid. He had been (1) abbot of Melrose, (2) of Melrose and Lindisfarne, (3) bishop of Hexham and Lindisfarne, (4) of Lindisfarne only when Tunbert became bishop of Hexham in 681, (5) again of Hexham only in 685.

[6] Eddi, 44, says that Aldfrid (1) bestowed on Wilfrid the monastery

says, in his curt reference to these events, 'he recovered his own see[1]:' but was it the centre, as before, of a diocese coextensive with the kingdom? It was not, for the diocese of Lindisfarne retained its distinct existence: Cuthbert was regarded as legitimate bishop of Lindisfarne, in flat disregard of the Roman decree, until his death in the March of 687, some months after the return of Wilfrid, who then took charge, as we should say, of that diocese, and 'kept' it until, a year afterwards, Eadbert was consecrated, as Bede expressly says, 'in place of Cuthbert[2].' This occupancy or administration of the most northern of the bishoprics appears to have had a parallel in Wilfrid's relation to Hexham until the consecration of John for that bishopric; an event which, if the Chronicler's reckoning of the duration of his episcopate be accepted, together with the date of his death[3], must be placed on the 25th of

CHAP. XI. Regains part of his former bishopric.

of Hexham, and (2) 'post intervallum temporis,' according to the decree of pope Agatho and his synod, 'his own see in York, and the monastery at Ripon, expulsis de eo alienis episcopis.' 'Pelluntur *moechi*,' says Fridegod.

[1] Bede, v. 19: 'Et secundo anno Aldfridi (i. e. between May, 686, and May, 687) . . . sedem suam . . . recepit.' The Chronicler and Florence appear to confound Wilfrid's first restoration in 686 with his second in 705: that is, they ignore the latter, and thus are led to say that he received the see of Hexham in 686. There is inconsistency in their statements as to the length of John's episcopate, which they make to begin in 685 (see below). Florence says that Bosa died in 686, and John succeeded him at York. This ante-dating of Bosa's death arose from a misapprehension of Bede's words in v. 3, which refer in fact to A. D. 705. Bosa was alive in 704; Eddi, 54; Smith's Bede, p. 759; Stubbs, Registr. Sacr. Angl. p. 4.

[2] Bede, iv. 29: 'Episcopatum . . . uno anno servabat . . . Vilfrid, donec eligeretur qui *pro Cudbercto* antistes ordinari deberet.' This one phrase shows clearly that the Roman decree was *not* really obeyed.

[3] Bede himself says, v. 6, that he 'continued in episcopatu' thirty-three years, and that he died in 721. This might be understood to mean that he retired to his monastery after thirty-three years of active episcopal work. But the Chronicle is more precise: 'In 721 the holy bishop John died; he was bishop thirty-three years, eight months, thirteen days.' Florence says that he died on May 7, 721. Therefore he was consecrated on August 25, 687 (see Stubbs, Registr. p. 4; Raine, i. 86), and not in 685. In other words, John was *not* bishop of Hexham when Wilfrid returned, and did not retire to make room for him, as Richard of Hexham (X Script. 296) and Elmham (Hist. Mon. Aug. p. 280) say, and as Smith supposed, p. 754, and Lingard, A.-S. Ch. i. 140. Smith

CHAP. XI. August, 687, about five months after the death of Cuthbert. Certainly, during that interval, Wilfrid must be regarded as the one chief pastor of Northumbria; but while he was undoubtedly bishop of York, and, as such, 'ordinary' of the Church in Deira, it appears that he was only the 'administrator' of Hexham and Lindisfarne, probably with the understanding that he should approve of the selection of prelates for those two churches, but without any prospect of a provincial Council to be held for their appointment. Lindsey was treated as out of the question, being no longer within the Northumbrian realm[1]. Thus, on the whole, we see that Wilfrid was content to accept an arrangement which fell short of the strict requirements of Rome.

Those months during which he discharged episcopal functions in the diocese of Aidan and of Cuthbert were marked by some distress or peril to the Lindisfarne community, which, in Bede's prose Life of Cuthbert, is described mysteriously as a 'breeze of trial' under which many of the brethren were minded to 'leave their home rather than dwell there at such risk of expulsion[2]':—in his metrical work on the Miracles of St. Cuthbert he gives a little more information, or at least helps us to infer that what he there refers to as a 'north wind shaking the roofs of Lindisfarne[3]' may have been some threatened descent of the Picts, now free to harry the Border.

John, bishop of Hexham.

Wilfrid, as we have seen, parted with the charge of Hexham in the late summer of the year after his return. On Sunday the 25th of August, 687, a bishop was con-

adds the suggestion that Cuthbert retired to make room for Wilfrid; Bede's account of the matter disposes of this entirely, iv. 28. See Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 171.

[1] On the principle here involved, that the ecclesiastical divisions should be conformed to the political, see the writer's 'Notes on Canons of First Four Councils,' p. 176.

[2] Bede, Vit. Cuthb. 40: 'Tentationis aura,' &c., and 'repellendi ac destruendi essent.' It was, he says, foreshown by the circumstance, that at the moment of Cuthbert's death the monks then in Farne, and also the Lindisfarne community, were singing in their nocturns the psalm, 'Deus, repulisti nos.'

[3] De Mirac. Cuthb. s. 37: 'aquilo niveis confisus in armis.'

secrated for that 'goodliest of Transalpine churches,' who was to become the object of greater reverence than any northern saint except Cuthbert[1], and to be invoked as a patron by 'the glorious Athelstane' on his way to the field of Brunanburgh[2]. This was John, famous as 'St. John of Beverley' from 'the monastery which he founded in Deira-wood[3],' and to which he at last retired to die. He was sent, while a youth, to the ecclesiastical school of Canterbury, where he received from Theodore himself instructions in theology[4], and also some maxims in medicine, which, when a bishop, he remembered and applied[5]. He afterwards entered the monastery of Whitby[6]: and Bede reckons him among the five monks of that house whose merits raised them to the episcopate. Some traits of character which Bede mentions give us a very pleasing impression of his genial kindness towards young men under his authority[7]; while, as bishop of Hexham, he showed his love for devotional retirement after the fashion of Aidan and Cuthbert, by providing himself with a house, surrounded by a belt of wood and an earthwork, and adjoining a cemetery of St. Michael, a mile

CHAP. XI.

[1] See Raine, i. 90, and Scott's 'Gray Brother.'

[2] Ailred, in X Script. 357: 'Audiens . . . haec . . . rex, "Magnus est," inquit, "iste Johannes."' He prayed at the shrine, and gave the privilege of sanctuary to the minster of Beverley. See above, p. 103.

[3] Bede, v. 2: 'Monasterii quod vocatur Inderauuda, id est, In Silva Derorum.' The present name is derived from 'a colony of beavers in the Hull river.'

[4] Bromton, in X Scriptores, 794.

[5] Bede, v. 3: 'I remember that archbishop Theodore used to say that it was very dangerous to bleed a person when both the moon is waxing and the tide is rising.' Cp. Bede, 'de Minutione Sanguinis.'

[6] Bede, iv. 23.

[7] See the beautiful story of Herebald in Bede, v. 6. The young cleric is riding with some young laymen in attendance on the bishop, but persists, against the latter's wish, to join them in a gallop; he overhears the bishop say, 'What pain you are giving me!'; he is thrown, and fractures his skull: the bishop spends the night alone in prayer for him, visits him in the morning, and asks, 'Do you know who is speaking to you?' 'Yes, you are my beloved bishop.' Herebald quickly recovered, was re-baptized (his former baptizer having been 'too dull to learn the rite'), and lived to become abbot of Tynemouth. Two other stories represent John as dedicating 'churches' on private estates (v. 4, 5).

CHAP. XI. and a half from Hexham, and on the north bank of the Tyne[1]. Here he used to spend such time, especially in Lent, as he could secure for prayer and study, and would 'keep with him, for charity, some poor man afflicted by special sickness or need.' The fervent affection which Bede shows for his memory is explained by the fact that he received deacon's and priest's orders from his hands, in the years 691–2 and 702–3[2].

Eadbert of Lindisfarne.

And the successor of Cuthbert was a man of the same pious simplicity. Eadbert, says Bede, was consecrated a year after Cuthbert's death, i. e. about Easter in 688[3], 'a man remarkable for his knowledge of Scripture and his observance of Divine precepts, and particularly for almsgiving; insomuch that, according to the law (i. e. of Moses), he gave to the poor a tenth part not only of animals, but of all fruits of the earth, and even of his clothes[4].' He restored tranquillity to the agitated community of his island[5]; and improved the cathedral church of thatched oak which Finan had reared, and Theodore had dedicated to St. Peter, by removing the reeds from the roof, and covering both it and the walls with lead[6]. He too, like John and like Aidan, was wont to retire for devotion to a secluded projection of land 'enclosed by the waves

[1] Bede, v. 2: 'Est mansio quaedam secretior,' &c. Richard of Hexham calls the place Erneshow (Eagles' hill), and believes the 'oratory' of St. Michael to have been begun by Wilfrid; X Script. 291. Bede got his information from Berctun, abbot of Inderawood. For Aidan's habit, see above, p. 162.

[2] Bede, v. 24. He was ordained deacon at the early age of nineteen.

[3] Bede, iv. 29: 'Ordinatus est autem.'

[4] The 'tithe' thus set apart was not 'tithe in its modern sense,' in that it went to the poor; Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 261. In Theodore's Penitential we find, 'Presbitero (for this, rather than 'presbiter,' must surely be the reading) decimas dare non cogitur,' b. ii. c. 2. s. 8; and 'Decimas non est legitimum dare, nisi pauperibus et peregrinis, sive laici suas ad ecclesias,' b. ii. c. 14. s. 10. See Lord Selborne, Anc. Facts and Fictions, p. 107, on the purport of this, as placing the payment of tithes on 'the footing of customs,' &c. Cp. Dict. Chr. Ant. ii. 1965. Later, Bede speaks of a 'tribute' to the bishop as generally enforced; Ep. to Egb. 4. See Lingard, A.-S. Ch. i. 183.

[5] Bede, Vit. Cuthb. 40. To this relief from perils, Herefrid (quoted by Bede) applies the words of Ps. cxlvii. 2, 3.

[6] Bede, iii. 25: 'Sed episcopus loci ipsius Eadberct,' &c. Cp. p. 191.

of the sea[1],' and there pass Lent, and the forty days before Christmas. We seem to get a glimpse of his inward life when we read that he used to pray against a sudden death, and desired to pass away after a long illness;—and such an end, says Bede, was granted to him[2]. CHAP. XI.

End of Benedict Biscop.

Such an end too was appointed, in the first year of his episcopate, first to the acting abbot of Wearmouth, and then to its venerable founder. Sigfrid was a chronic invalid; and Benedict, the indefatigable traveller, was for three years affected by what we call a creeping palsy[3]. Yet while his lower limbs were motionless, he ceased not to 'praise God and exhort the brethren.' He bade them observe the rule which he had compiled with such care and after such varied experience; urged them to keep entire the library which he had brought from Rome; but above all things insisted on the duty of choosing an abbot not for the sake of high birth, but purely for personal merits. 'I tell you of a truth,' he said, 'that of two evils I should much prefer that this monastery should become a wilderness for ever, than that my brother by blood, who, we know, does not walk in the way of truth[4], should succeed me here as abbot.' He exhorted them always to choose out the fittest man from their own community, according to the rule of 'the great abbot Benedict,' and according to the provisions of the letter of privilege belonging to their house; and to 'present the person so chosen to the bishop for benediction[5].' Very touching is Bede's account of this long decline of Benedict Biscop.

[1] Bede, Vit. Cuthb. 42. It had been so used by Cuthbert.

[2] Bede, V. C. 43: 'Ut non repentina morte, sed longa excoctus aegritudine, transiret e corpore.' Cp. Bede, Hist. Abb. 11.

[3] Bede, Hist. Abb. 9, and Hom. 25, 'infirmitatis *martyrio*.'

[4] 'Fratrem . . . inopia cordis a se longissime distantem;' Anon. Hist. Abb. Benedict was thus strongly opposed to the notion of treating abbacies as 'family benefices'; see Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 257. In the old Scotic monasteries 'the abbatial succession came to be confined to members of the clan of the founder'; Stuart, Pref. to 'Book of Deer,' p. cviii; Reeves, Adamn. p. 335; Skene, ii. 68, 338.

[5] Comp. Faricius, Vita S. Aldhelmi, c. 2, speaking of Aldhelm's care to secure free and worthy elections: 'Jam tunc enim ambitio monachorum inoleverat: jam non ut pastor per ostium, sed ut fur aliunde, volebat mercenarius intrare,' &c. Cp. Theodore's Penit., b. 2. c. 6. s. 1-5.

CHAP. XI. His nights were often wearisome from sleeplessness; he would then 'call to him a reader, and desire to hear the account of Job's patience, or some other passage of Scripture, which might alleviate his depression'; and at each canonical hour he summoned some monks, and joined his voice to theirs in the antiphonal psalmody. He and Sigfrid had a farewell meeting, the latter being carried on a couch into Benedict's cell: the old friends were assisted to take a tender embrace of each other[1]; Sigfrid was laid down beside Benedict with his head on the same pillow, and their attendants had to bring their faces together for the last kiss. 'After taking counsel with Sigfrid and the whole brotherhood,' Benedict sent for Ceolfrid the abbot of Jarrow, and, with the approval of all, made him head of both houses, on the 12th of May, 688[2]. Sigfrid died on the 22nd of August: Benedict lived on into the next year, and passed away early in the morning of the 12th of January, 689, while the monks assembled in church were singing 'Deus, quis similis[3]?' and those who kept watch in his chamber, after hearing the Gospels read by a priest throughout the long wintry night, looked at his face for the last time in life, shortly after his last Communion. He was not more than sixty years old.

Cadwalla goes to Rome.

That year of Ceolfrid's accession to the abbacy of both houses, or of the one twofold house, was marked in Wessex by the strange end of a brief reign, which had blazed 'like a meteor in the troubled air' of the south. Cadwalla's brother Mul, in the course of a fierce raid in Kent, had fallen with twelve adherents into the hands of foes whom he despised as womanish[4]. They suddenly beset

[1] 'Nec tantum habuere virium ut propius posita ora ad osculandum se alterutrum conjungere possent, sed et hoc fraterno compleverunt officio.' Bede calls it 'a lamentable sight'; Hist. Abb. 10.

[2] The Anon. Hist. gives this date, 'the third year of king Aldfrid, the eighth from the foundation of St. Paul's monastery.' The third year of Aldfrid began May 20, 687,—reckoning from Egfrid's death.

[3] In our reckoning, the 83rd. See Bede's 25th homily for a sketch of the life of Benedict. He urges his brother-monks to be 'worthy of so good a father,' to 'follow his example and precepts.'

[4] 'Nam cum hostes effoeminatos duceret,' &c.; Hen. Hunt. iv. 5.

the house wherein he was, and burned it with all whom it contained[1]. Cadwalla avenged him by another irruption into Kent[2]; but this was the last of his wars. He had now, at last, resolved to be baptized; and the intensity of his nature, combined with that extreme form of local religiousness which he may well have imbibed from Wilfrid, made him resolve on going a long way for the cleansing 'laver,' even to the shrine of the chief Apostle. According to Bede's conjecture, he had a hope that he should die soon after his baptism, and so secure his salvation[3]. So it was that Pope Sergius I, who had come to the see on December 15, 687, saw in the following year this remarkable catechumen at his feet[4]. He who, for all his admiration of a missionary bishop, had in his own person, and beyond all other English princes of his time, represented the wild Teutonic thirst for slaughter and conquest, who had borne the banner of Wessex through so many battles against the defenders of their own soil, who had dipped his hands in the blood of a Christian king and earl, of crowds of Christians in Kent and Sussex, and of the two royal boys whom he allowed to be christened before he slew them,—who, himself as yet unpledged

CHAP. XI.

[1] Chronicle, a. 687; Florence, a. 687; Bromton, X Script. 741. Elmham says that Mul has been erroneously ranked by 'some persons' in the list of Kentish kings, and that his ashes were buried in St. Augustine's, 'juxta reges Cantiae praecedentes.' According to Henry of Huntingdon he had 'deserved and brought down on himself the curses' of Kentish monks.

[2] Chronicle, l. c.

[3] Bede, v. 7: 'Simul etiam sperans,' &c. Elmham imagined that both 'Cadwalader king of the Britons' and Cadwalla king of the West-Saxons went to Rome, and died there, on the same day! p. 270. The Abingdon Chronicler (i. 4) puts into Cadwalla's mouth a penitential confession, 'Creator creaturarum Deus, miserere mei super omnes homines miseri,' &c., and adds that he resolved to be baptized 'cum majori solemnitate, although the sacrament has not the less efficacy in itself propter personas baptizantium.'

[4] The Chronicle dates Cadwalla's journey in 688: compare Bede's date, 'the third year of Aldfrid.' Cadwalla, then, stayed at Rome some months, for he died there in the spring of 689. He doubtless went through a course of instruction before baptism. Sergius, says Hodgkin, was 'a strong man' (vi. 354). The chief event of his pontificate was his successful resistance to Justinian II's demand that he should accept the canons of the council 'in Trullo.' He died in 701. Above, p. 356.

CHAP. XI. to Christ, had thought to secure His favour for invasion by promising to give part of its spoils to Wilfrid,—this prince got the benefit of a corrupt tone of thought among contemporary Christians, and bought, far too cheaply, even at such hands as Bede's[1], the honours of Christian piety by receiving baptism under the name of Peter, and from the hands and under the sponsorship of 'Peter's successor[2],'

His death. on Easter Eve, April 10, 689. His own anticipation was fulfilled: he was taken ill during Easter-week, while he still wore his white baptismal garment[3], and died on the 20th of April. A convert of such rank and renown,—the first of six English kings[4] who worshipped as pilgrims at the tomb of St. Peter, on the spot now occupied by the shrine of the lamp-lit 'Confession,'—was naturally honoured with a burial in his church[5]: and Bede preserves the tumid verses in which the writer of Cadwalla's epitaph celebrated his abandonment of his kingdom, his 'wondrous faith,' his reverence 'for Peter and for Peter's see,' and his speedy removal to a heavenly kingdom, and to the fellowship of 'the sheep of Christ,' after the 'cleansing grace' had renewed his soul, and he had partaken of light at the source of its world-wide diffusion. According to the few words in prose which the visitor to St. Peter's would read immediately below this intensely Roman panegyric, Cadwalla was about thirty years of age.

[1] Bede, v. 7: 'Devotionis ipsius . . . studium religionis.' It never occurred to Bede (and that it did not, is a fact of painful significance) that Cadwalla's manifest duty was to receive baptism from his own West-Saxon bishop, and then to remain at home and govern his people like a just man and a Christian.

[2] The epitaph calls Sergius 'ipse pater Fonte renascentis.' We may assume that the Chronicle is right in saying, 'He received baptism from the pope.' So St. Birinus was both the baptizer and the godfather of Cuthred; see above, p. 172.

[3] 'In albis adhuc positus.' Although the metrical epitaph says, 'quem . . . gratia . . . Protinus albatum vexit in arce poli,' and again, 'candidus,' he cannot have strictly retained the 'whites' until the day of his death, which was outside the Paschal octave. The poem, 'de Templo Buggae,' says he was taken ill '*post* albas.' See above, p. 136.

[4] One of these, Ethelwolf, brought his boy Alfred with him.

[5] His tomb (in the atrium, near the original grave of St. Gregory) was discovered while the new church was being built, but disappeared afterwards: Lanciani, Pagan and Chr. Rome, p. 232.

He was succeeded on his abdication—for his journey to Rome, as Bede says, was equivalent to an abdication—by Ine, or Ini, often called Ina, descended from a younger son of Cadwalla's ancestor Ceawlin[1]: whose accession suggests to Bede the mention, not of his 'laws' or of his ecclesiastical benefactions, but of his abdication and departure to 'the Apostles' threshold,' in the hope, as a dominant superstition taught even Bede to say, 'that the saints might give him all the friendlier welcome in heaven.' But, in 688, according to Bede's reckoning[2], thirty-seven years lay between the accession of Ine and that journey which he undertook when his wife, by a strange symbolic lesson, had taught him that this world's glory would pass away[3].

His first act, it seems[4], was to renew the war against Kent; it lasted until the people, weakened by previous invasions and intestine divisions, were glad to make terms with him by a 'wer-gild' for the death of Mul. There is a difference of reckoning as to the accession of their next king Wihtred, the legitimate representative of the 'Æscingas' or descendants of Æsc son of Hengist[5]. He was the brother of the slain Eadric; but he did not for some few years succeed in making good his claim to the whole realm of Kent[6]. And while the secular affairs of

[1] See the Genealogies in App. to Florence. Ine there appears as son of Kenred the 'sub-regulus,' and great-grandson of Cutha, who was son of Cuthwine, the younger brother of Cadwalla's great-grandfather Cutha. He had a brother Ingels, and two sisters reputed as saints, Cuthburga, the foundress of the abbey of Wimborne, and Cwenburga. The fiction that he was Cadwalla's nephew is connected with the Welsh tale about 'Cadwalader' and his nephew 'Ini.' See above, p. 391.

[2] Bede, v. 7, dates Ine's abdication in 725: the Chronicle dates it in 728.

[3] Malm. G. Reg. i. 35.

[4] According to some MSS. of Malm. l. c.: see Elmham, p. 264. Bromton dates this later, X Script. 758; as the Chronicle dates the peace in 694. The wer-gild in this case is variously described; see Palgrave, p. 408.

[5] He was son of Egbert, and great-grandson of Eadbald.

[6] According to the Chronicle, a. 694, he succeeded in 694, and reigned thirty-three winters, having been joint king with Webheard (Swebhard) in 692. But his death is dated in 725, as if he had only reigned thirty-one years. Bede says, iv. 26, that after Lothere's death, Eadric reigned for a year and a half, i. e. until August, 686: 'quo defuncto, reges *dubii* vel externi' ravaged Kent for some time, 'donec legitimus rex Victred, id

CHAP. XI. Death of Theodore.

the ancient realm were in this confusion, it was bereft of its great ecclesiastical head. Theodore was eighty-eight years old in the year after Cadwalla's baptism. He had already, it seems, approved of the publication, by some South-English cleric, of certain answers given by himself, mostly to a presbyter called Eoda, to questions on points of penitential discipline[1]. Hence the collection of these answers is called Theodore's Penitential. But it contains some statements of opinion which cannot well have come from Theodore[2]. On the whole, and with some exceptions, it is characterized by austerity, and a disposition to provide by express and detailed rule for all varieties of cases. It exhibits that knowledge of Greek customs as differing more or less from Roman, which we should expect from a native of Tarsus[3]. It also shows, here and there, a certain loftiness and insight which well become the character of the great primate[4]. And it points to something like a settled

est filius Ecgberti, being established in the kingdom, delivered his people, by his piety and his activity, from external invasion.' Bede says that Wihtred and Swebhard were reigning in Kent in 692 (v. 8): and that in 725 Wihtred died after a reign of thirty-four and a half years (v. 23)—reckoned, of course, so as to begin before his sole kingship. Hen. Hunt. says, 'he held the kingdom of Kent thirty-two years, nobiliter et pacifice. He went to meet Ine with pacific entreaty, and persuaded him to accept a "fine" for Mul's death.' Later, he assigns to Wihtred nearly thirty-four years; Hist. Angl. iv. 619. Malmesbury celebrates the king's piety and prosperity, Gest. Reg. i. 35.

[1] Above, p. 282. Cp. Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 173 ff. The compiler describes himself as a 'discipulus Umbrensium,' and says that Eoda is 'reported' to have obtained the greater number of these rules, or statements of opinion, from Theodore himself, in answer to his inquiries. From the 'Dialogue of Egbert' we learn that Theodore established the observance of a fast during the twelve days before Christmas; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 413. The Greeks now fast Nov. 15–Dec. 24.

[2] E. g. b. 1. c. 5. s. 6,—the opinion that a person baptized by a heretic who did not believe rightly in the Trinity ought to be baptized again. The compiler says, 'Hoc Theodorum dixisse non credimus contra Nicenae' (*sic*) 'concilium,' a mistake for the council of Arles. See too b. 1. c. 9. s. 12 as to one ordained while unbaptized. In b. 2. c. 12. s. 5 a husband who has put away his faithless 'first wife' is allowed to marry another. See above, p. 282.

[3] See b. 1. c. 11. s. 1; c. 12. s. 1, 3; b. 2. c. 2. s. 14; c. 3. s. 2, 7, 8; c. 4. s. 4; c. 8; c. 12. s. 6, 8.

[4] E. g. 'True conversion can take place at the last hour, quia Dominus non solum temporis, sed et cordis inspector est;' b. 1. c. 8. s. 5. 'Con-

system of district church life [1], as if Theodore had endeavoured to establish such a system in the Kentish church, and had largely succeeded. CHAP. XI.

Theodore died on the 19th of September, 690 [2]. It was said that he had long before foretold the age—eighty-eight—at which he would die, as having had it impressed on him in a dream. He was buried in the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul, and within the church itself, because the northern 'porch,' the burial-place of his predecessors, was now full [3]. On his tomb was engraven an epitaph of thirty-four verses [4], of which Bede gives us, as sufficient specimens, the first four and the last four, and surpasses all that they may have said by the simple testimony, 'In his episcopate the English Churches received more spiritual benefit than they could ever gain before his time [5].'

fessio autem soli Deo agatur licebit, si necesse est: (Et hoc *necessarium* in quibusdam codicibus non est'); b. 1. c. 12. s. 7. 'Foolish and impracticable vows are to be broken;' b. 1. c. 14. s. 6. 'De mortuo autem Dei solius est notitia;' b. 2. c. 14. s. 2. 'The sick may take food and drink at any hour;' b. 2. c. 14. s. 13.

[1] E. g. b. 1. c. 9. s. 7, 'presbiter in propria provincia;' b. 2. c. 1. s. 1, 'ecclesiam licet ponere in alium locum;' c. 2. s. 7, 'presbitero licet . . . populum benedicere in Parasceue;' and on laics paying tithe 'suas ad ecclesias,' c. 14. s. 10. Cp. Bede, v. 4, 12. Willibrord planted this system in Frisia; Alcuin, Vit. Willibr. i. 11. See above, pp. 196, 269, and Lord Selborne, Anc. Facts and Fictions, &c., p. 118.

[2] Bede, v. 8.

[3] Bede, ii. 3. Elmham, p. 286.

[4] For 'pausare' as used in the first line see above, p. 293.

[5] For a summary of Theodore's archiepiscopal work see Wakeman, Hist. Ch. Engl. p. 47. But it is beyond question that he had a despotic temper.

CHAPTER XII.

Burial of Theodore.

THE burial-day of such a prelate as Theodore must always be an epoch in the history of a Church. It is not hard to enter into the thoughts of the high ecclesiastics who preceded the corpse, as it was borne, for the first time at the interment of any archbishop, through the northern porch, now full of sacred remains, into the actual church of St. Peter;—who looked down, at the close of the rite, into that open grave, dug where the inner wall of the nave just ran between it and the sepulchre of Augustine. There stood the venerable Hadrian, in his place as abbot of the minster which thus asserted its high privilege; he who had escaped the burden of the archbishopric by recommending the stronger man who had just laid it down; he who, as companion, adviser, and fellow-teacher, had not a little aided him to bear it. And near the grave there would be a few prelates who had been suffragans to the first effective metropolitan: Gebmund of Rochester, we may be sure, attended, and probably Erkenwald of London, infirm as he was, and Heddi of the great West-Saxon diocese, unless the war between Kent and Wessex had prevented his coming. Since Wilfrid had returned to York, there had been no bishop in Sussex. By one account, Tyrhtel was now bishop of Hereford[1]; Cuthwin of Leicester was apparently dead: Saxulf was probably failing: Bosel of Worcester was doubtless detained at home by infirmities which disabled him for his work. Acci and Badwin would hardly travel

[1] Mon. H. Brit. p. 538.

from Dunwich and Elmham, nor Ethelwin from Sidnacester, nor Wilfrid, John, and Eadbert from the North. The bishops actually present at these memorable obsequies would feel that 'a prince and a great man' was indeed gone from them: they might occasionally have fretted under his absolutism, but they could not fail to appreciate the blank caused by his departure. All would have a sense of a void which could not be filled; the Church was inevitably the weaker and poorer for the loss of that majestic character, with its dominating will and its rare faculties for government. Whenever any difficulty or emergency might arise, it would be the harder to confront without Archbishop Theodore. CHAP. XII.

For the present, the bark of the Church appeared to be in smooth waters. The kings were friendly, on the whole, to the episcopate: if uncertainty still hung over the future of the throne of Ethelbert, Sebbi of Essex was a man of exceptional piety, of whom it was even said that he would have been fitter for a bishopric than for a kingdom[1]: Aldwulf of East-Anglia was he who had aided in the foundation of Ely: Ethelred of Mercia possessed a large measure of that personal religiousness which distinguished so remarkably the offspring of the 'strenuous' Pagan Penda: and Wessex and Sussex had exchanged Cadwalla, with his fierce passions and inconsistent impulses, for a king who deserves the name of great[2], and who in one of the early years of his reign[3]

[1] Bede, iv. 11. For his influence in keeping his people from apostasy, see above, p. 238.

[2] Freeman, Old-Engl. Hist. p. 69. 'As a warrior Ina was equal, as a legislator he was superior, to the most celebrated of his predecessors;' Lingard, H. E. i. 135. 'Whether he came to the throne by Cadwalla's adoption or by election of the great men, . . . is unknown to us;' Schmid, Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen, p. xxxvi. 'From the time when he first appears on the stage of history until in the fullness of his prosperity he put on the pilgrim's dress, and died in obscurity and poverty at Rome, his conduct is everywhere pure, noble, disinterested;' Stevenson, Pref. to Abingd. Chron. ii. p. xi.

[3] See Johnson, Engl. Canons, i. 129. He would date these laws in 693: see too his editor's note. Lingard, H. E. i. 135, adopts this date. Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 214, say, 'probably A. D. 690.' Erkenwald seems to have died in 693 (ib. 218): and it is hardly probable that he would be able,

CHAP. XII. Ine's Laws.

convened a West-Saxon Witenagemot which enacted what are called the 'Dooms' or Laws 'of Ine[1].' At this assembly not only Heddi of Winchester, but Erkenwald of London was present; both are spoken of similarly as Ine's bishops, and this would suggest that Ine had succeeded, for the time, in establishing his supremacy over London, which was generally connected by some such ties with Mercia rather than with Wessex[2]. 'A great number of' monastic 'servants of God' were present at this gathering: among them, we may be tolerably sure, Aldhelm of Malmesbury had his place. The 'right laws' there enacted had reference to 'the health of souls' as well as to the stability of the realm, and thus illustrate the peculiarly close union of 'Church and State' in the Old-English Christian kingdoms[3], in which it was natural to describe the Witenagemot as a 'Synod,' and its secular decrees were sometimes blended with ordinances of a directly religious character[4]. This interpenetration of the spiritual and temporal societies was exhibited on an inferior stage when bishop and ealdorman appeared, sitting side by side, at the shire-mote, 'to expound God's law and the world's law[5].' Of the

from his infirmities, to come into Wessex for a laborious session of the Witan, in the last year or two of his life. On the other hand, a year or two at least must have elapsed between Ine's accession and this assembly.

[1] Johnson, i. 131; Thorpe, Anc. Laws, p. 45; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 214. One remarkable point in these laws is that Ine legislates in the lifetime and 'with the counsel and teaching of his father Kenred,' who never reigned.

[2] Lingard, H. E. i. 136; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 218.

[3] Freeman, i. 369, 'The nation was deeply religious; the Church was deeply national;' and in Hist. Essays, iv. 240, 'Nowhere was the Church so truly the nation in one of its aspects;' but see also Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 268, 'The relation of the Church to the State was thus close, although there was *not the least confusion* as to the organization of functions, or uncertainty as to the limits of the powers of each.'

[4] See the Laws of Cnut, made in a Gemot at Winchester. They begin by ordaining 'that men above all other things should ever love and worship one God.' Alfred's 'Dooms' begin with the Decalogue, and include the decree of the council of Jerusalem. For a lax use of 'synodus' see above, p. 223.

[5] Lingard, A.-S. Ch. i. 101; Kemble, ii. 385; Robertson, Hist. Ch. iii. 187. The Roman legates who held a synod in 787 forbade bishops 'in conciliis suis saecularia judicare'; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 452.

seventy-nine laws of Ine, those which relate to the Church deal with various points of Church-life and Church-rights. Thus, they enforce, under penalty of 'bôt[1]' or pecuniary satisfaction, the baptism of infants within thirty nights from birth[2],—the abstinence from work on Sunday[3],—the observance of 'right rule' by all God's 'theowes' or bond-servants, i. e. the monastic bodies[4],—the due payment of 'Church-scot[5]' every Martinmas for the roof and hearth owned at the preceding mid-winter. They recognize the position of a communicant, or one who 'goes to housel[6],' as making his oath of higher value. They refer to the institution of sponsorship, and define the 'bôt' for the slaughter of a 'bishopson,' or godson in confirmation[7], as half that for a godson properly so called. They presuppose the special solemnity of an oath taken before a bishop. They guard the privilege of sanctuary[8], as sheltering even capital offenders. They order that he who buys a slave or freeman of his own race, and sends him over sea, shall pay his wer-gild, and 'make deep satisfaction to God,' i. e. submit to severe penance inflicted by the bishop[9].

It would have been difficult under any circumstances to find a successor to Theodore; and the election was apparently yet further delayed by the troubles of the kingdom of Kent. And during this interval, the question

[1] See Thorpe, Anc. Laws, p. 393, for a list of ecclesiastical 'bôts.'

[2] See canons under king Edgar, no. 15, Thorpe, p. 396, that every child is to be baptized within thirty-seven nights. Laws of North. Priests, no. 10, ib. 417, say, within nine nights.

[3] See above, p. 376.

[4] 'Servus,' 'famulus,' 'famula,' or 'ancilla Dei,' being used in a specific sense: e. g. Bede, Praef., i. 23; iii. 8, 22; iv. 8, 23.

[5] On Church-scot, a church-due consisting principally of corn, see Lingard, A.-S. Ch. i. 190; Kemble, ii. 559; Stevenson's Chron. of Abingdon, ii. 437; Thorpe's Glossary to Ancient Laws.

[6] 'Husl-gengea,' Laws, 15, 19. Bede lamented the infrequency of Communion among Northumbrian churchmen, Ep. to Egb. 2. See council of Clovesho, 747, c. 23, urging more frequent Communion. See Ælfric in Johnson's E. Engl. Canons, i. 404, where to 'go to housel' is to receive the Host; and ib. 487, 'to go to housel thrice a year at least.' Compare Hamlet, i. 5, 'unhousel'd' (without communion).

[7] 'To be bishopped' was an old phrase for being confirmed; see Donne's Poems, p. 173. On a 'bishopson' see above, p. 269.

[8] See above, p. 103.

[9] Johnson, i. 134.

CHAP. XII. between Wilfrid and his adversaries was again stirred in Northumbria. For some time after his return in 686, we learn from his biographer that 'peace and quietness abounded between him and the most wise king, with the enjoyment of nearly every form of good.' But, by degrees, disagreement began to alternate with concord: and Eddi tells us, with a rapid variation of metaphors, that those who had caused the former enmity succeeded in rekindling the torch of dissension, and stirring the sea until they wrecked the bark[1]. Three grounds of difference, we are told, came definitely to the front 'after five years' had elapsed from Wilfrid's restoration—that is, in the latter part of 691.

The first was a grievance of long standing: certain property belonging to the church of York was unjustly detained in other hands[2].

The second matter was of broader significance: it seems that ever since Eadhed had returned from Lindsey and established himself as bishop at Ripon, there had been a desire on the part of the Northumbrian government to make that church a permanent see. The prospect was specially galling to Wilfrid. To take from him Ripon, the home of his presbyterate and of his first years in the episcopate, was to touch him in the tenderest point: this minster was dearer to him than Hexham, dearer in one sense than York itself[3]. There was doubtless no day in his past life to which he looked back with greater pleasure than to the day on which, in the presence of all the magnates of Northumbria, he had solemnly dedicated the basilica, and, standing before its altar, with his face to the assembly, had recited a list of all the lands secured to him by royal grant, and of all the sacred places which the British clergy had held and forsaken[4]. When he resumed the see of York, he had also recovered Ripon, Eadhed having made way for him. But now it seemed that he was himself to make way for the return of

[1] Eddi, 45.
[2] Eddi, 'territoriis et possessionibus suis injuste privatur.'
[3] See Lingard, A.-S. Ch. i. 139.
[4] Above, p. 268.

Eadhed, and the minster of St. Peter was to be changed for good into a cathedral church. Never again, if this plan were carried out, would he be able to call Ripon his own: the church with its stately columns and cloisters, the special treasure which it boasted in a superbly jewelled and richly coloured Gospel-book, the very ground associated with early plans and hopes, and with not a little of self-restraining patience, would pass into other keeping[1]. CHAP. XII.

But, thirdly, this requirement, to him personally so grievous, was but part of a wider demand. He must accept, it was said, 'the decrees of Archbishop Theodore[2].' What decrees? Not the canons of the Council of Hertford, to which he had by his deputies assented at the time. Nor, again, those arrangements which Theodore had made 'in his last days, when he invited all the Churches to canonical peace and unanimity': that is, apparently, the arragements by virtue of which Wilfrid had returned to York in 686. The decrees now pressed upon his acceptance were 'those which Theodore ordained in the middle part of his time, when discord had arisen' in Northumbria[3]: in other words, the partition of the old Northumbrian diocese, without Wilfrid's consent, into several dioceses, according to the original plan of Egfrid and Theodore, which would not have ousted Wilfrid from the church of York, but would have made him one of four bishops of the Northumbrian kingdom, then including Lindsey; against

[1] About forty-three years later, Bede complained that owing to the 'very foolish grants of preceding kings' to monastic communities, 'it was not easy to find a place where a new episcopal see might be erected;' i. e. the most desirable places were monopolized by monasteries. He advised that some monastic church should, by proper authority, be turned into a cathedral, and the community be permitted to choose the bishop,—one of themselves, if possible,—at any rate from within the diocese; Ep. to Egb. 5.

[2] See Eddi, 45.

[3] Malmesbury calls them 'decrees which, when pronounced in the middle period, are known to have stirred up discord'; G. P. iii. 104. Eadmer, ever loyal to Canterbury, says that whereas no English bishop could safely gainsay, 'vel leviter,' the decrees of the primate, those decrees which Wilfrid resisted were 'ea quae . . . ut fertur, pro libitu, non pro ratione statuerat'; c. 46. See Smith's Bede, p. 754, 'of which decrees, however, they were not ignorant that Theodore had repented.'

CHAP. XII. which partition he had signified his intention to appeal, and had been thereupon deprived of York itself. He was now, in effect, called upon to acknowledge that this mode of increasing the episcopate in Northumbria had not been matter for protest, still less for appeal; and to give up, once for all, those safeguards under which, according to the Pope's synodical judgement, such an increase might be canonically secured. After his return in 686, he had accepted what he could get, the full possession of the diminished diocese of York, including his minster at Ripon, and also the temporary government of Hexham and of Lindisfarne, considered as existing dioceses. He had not been recognized, in the first instance, as the one legitimate bishop of all Northumbria, nor enabled to meet his brethren in provincial synod in order to choose bishops for new dioceses, to be then formed out of his own. And now, most probably in consequence of something that he had done or said, the king required him to surrender definitely his claims asserted in 678, and affirmed and guarded by Rome in 679, to a control over the diocesan subdivision of Northumbria. The question was immediately connected with the proposed severance of Ripon from York: but it really brought out the entire difference between the Northumbrian authorities and the Roman Council. Wilfrid held himself free, when Aldfrid proffered a reconciliation, to waive for the time a part of his full rights; but not to abandon them wholly and in perpetuity. Reverence for Rome, as he would say, of itself forbade such a surrender: and he said so in plain words, which became an occasion for depriving him once more of York. Bosa, no doubt, returned to York as bishop; and Eadhed, perhaps, resumed possession of Ripon. It is not to be supposed that Wilfrid on this occasion, any more than when he stood before the Roman Council [1], denied the expediency of a plurality of bishops for the North: he had, on the contrary, admitted that it might be desirable to appoint more bishops, and the dispute was as to the terms of their appointment, and the questions of order and justice involved in Theodore's decrees.

[1] Above, p. 333.

If we had only Bede's narrative, we should indeed know little of many events in Wilfrid's story. He says nothing of the exiled bishop's attempts, after his release from imprisonment at Dunbar, to find a home in Mercia or in Wessex. He says nothing of that imprisonment itself[1]. So on this occasion, it is but incidentally, in the course of chapters on the monastery of Whitby and on missions[2], that he alludes to the sojourn of Wilfrid in Mercia after his second 'expulsion' from York. That sojourn is briefly described by Eddi as following immediately on his refusal to accept the terms proposed by Aldfrid. 'He went to his faithful friend, Ethelred king of the Mercians, who, out of reverence for the Apostolic see, received him with all honour:' it was not now as in 681, when Ethelred compelled Berthwald, for political reasons, to send Wilfrid out of his district. Every piece of property—and there were many such—which Wilfrid held in the Midlands, had, as we have seen, been restored to him at Theodore's request: and now, when he entered the Mercian realm, episcopal work was at once found for him. While Saxulf of Lichfield[3] was succeeded by Hedda, the see of Leicester[4], formerly held by Cuthwin, was placed in Wilfrid's keeping; and he ranks, accordingly, in Florence's catalogue, as the second of twenty-three bishops of 'Mid-Anglia[5].' One of his first episcopal acts must have been specially interesting to him as a Northumbrian. Bosel, bishop of Worcester, was no longer able to discharge his duties[6]: age or illness had broken him down. It was arranged, therefore, that he should resign, and that another bishop should take his place. By an unanimous resolution, a priest named Oftfor was elected: he had been a monk of Whitby under Hilda,

Wilfrid in Mercia.

[1] Bede, iv. 13; v. 19. See above, p. 338.

[2] See Bede, iv. 23, 'per Vilfridum beatae memoriae antistitem,' &c.; and v. 11, 'Vilfrid qui tunc . . . in Merciorum regionibus exulabat.'

[3] Eddi makes Saxulf's death precede Wilfrid's Mercian episcopate. The Chronicle is wrong in dating it A. D. 705. The true date is 691.

[4] Not that he was regularly settled there as bishop of the place; see Smith's Bede, p. 755, who, however, thinks that it was Lichfield which was entrusted to him, between Saxulf's death and Hedda's consecration.

[5] Saxulf had for a time held both sees.

[6] See Bede, iv. 23.

CHAP. XII. and, in his desire of some 'more perfect' system of discipline, as Bede expresses it, had gone to study at Canterbury under Theodore. After some time thus spent, he had visited Rome, and on his return had settled among the Hwiccians in Gloucestershire and Worcestershire, still governed by the sub-king Osric. In that district Oftfor preached, and, as Bede is careful to add, lived in consistency with his preaching: and after he had for some time commended himself to the estimation of the Hwiccian Church, he was, at Ethelred's bidding, consecrated by Wilfrid in 692, 'because no one as yet was ordained bishop in place of Theodore[1].'

Consecration of Oftfor.

Missions to Frisia.

Wilfrid's troubles again bring us into the circle of missionary activities. We must go back a little, and observe that the priest Egbert, whom we last heard of as remonstrating against Egfrid's invasion of Ireland, had soon afterwards conceived the idea of going as a missionary[2] to some of the German tribes 'from which the Angles and Saxons of Britain were known to be sprung[3].' Mysterious intimations, however, were said to have warned him that he was not to go to the Continent, but to 'the monasteries of Columba, because their ploughs did not go straight, and it was his duty to recall them to the straight path[4]': he at first neglected the alleged

[1] See Ethelred's grant of lands 'to my venerable bishop Oftfor' for the church of St. Peter in Worcester, Kemble, Cod. Dipl. i. 35.

[2] 'Well-descended men' among the English of this period 'cannot rest till they have wandered forth to carry the tidings of redemption into distant and barbarous lands; a life of abstinence and hardship, to be crowned by a martyr's death, seems to have been hungered and thirsted after by the wealthy and noble;' Kemble, ii. 363. See above, p. 328.

[3] Bede, v. 9: 'a quibus Angli,' &c.

[4] 'Aratra eorum non recte incedunt.' The story is remarkable. A brother who had formerly attended on Boisil of Melrose told Egbert that Boisil, 'once his most loving teacher and nourisher,' had appeared to him in a dream, and given him this message. Egbert bade the monk say nothing about it, 'ne forte illusoria esset visio;' an indication that stories of this kind were scrutinized. 'But while silently pondering the matter, he feared it was true: yet still he would not abandon his purpose of going to teach the heathen.' The 'brother' again came, and said that Boisil had rebuked him for having given the message negligently. Again Egbert replied as before; and 'though thus assured of the vision, he nevertheless attempted to begin his journey.'

oracle, and had actually prepared to embark, when a storm destroyed no small part of the ship's cargo. Egbert then abandoned his hopes: a friend of his named Wictbert, who had been a hermit for many years in Ireland, attempted to make some impression on the Frisians to whom Wilfrid had preached with such success about ten years before. In this good work he laboured, but in vain. The Frisian chief [1] Radbod was not like Adalgis: he did not, indeed, prohibit the preaching of Christianity, and in after-days he yielded so far to the exhortations of bishop Wulframn of Sens as to come to the very edge of the baptismal font, and only drew back when, in reply to his sudden question, the bishop told him that his ancestors were undoubtedly among the lost [2]:—but still he did not hearken to Wictbert, who had to accept disappointment, return to Ireland, and confine himself to the work of 'edifying his neighbours by his example, since he had failed to win strangers to the faith [3].' Two years having been spent in the effort thus abandoned, Egbert looked about for other instruments, and found a mighty one in Willibrord, a pupil of his own, and like him of Northumbrian birth [4], who had spent some time as a boy

Wictbert.

Willibrord.

[1] Bede calls him a king; v. 9. So Alcuin, Vit. Willibr. i. 6. Alcuin says that he received Willibrord kindly, but was hardened against his preaching, until, after a bold warning from the bishop, he said frankly, 'I see that you do not fear my threats, and you speak as you act;' Vit. Will. i. 9, 10 (Op. ii. 188). Boniface in 753 told pope Stephen III that the bishop of Cologne had not fulfilled his duty of preaching to the Frisians, and that 'pagana mansit gens Frisonum' until Willibrord came; Ep. 90.

[2] Vit. S. Wulfr.: 'Certum est damnationis accepisse sententiam.' Whereupon Radbod 'pedem a fonte retraxit,' saying, 'he could not go without the company of his predecessors, and sit down with a few poor folk in *that* heavenly kingdom;' see Maclear, Apostles of Med. Eur. p. 106.

[3] Bede, v. 9: 'Tunc reversus,' &c. See above, p. 328. For other cases of missionary failure, see p. 343, and Hardwick, Ch. Hist. M. Ages, p. 118, Friedrich in Iceland; p. 129, Gottschalk king of the Wends, who after twenty years of labour was murdered by his subjects; p. 229, Meinhard in Livonia. Olga failed with her son, but succeeded with her grandson; p. 130.

[4] His father Wilgis became a hermit on a promontory in the Humber. While yet an infant, Willibrord was given over by his pious mother to the brethren at Ripon. See Alcuin, Vit. Willibr. i. 1, 3. See above, p. 201.

CHAP. XII. in Wilfrid's abbey at Ripon, and had gone to Ireland at the age of twenty, partly from desire of 'a still stricter life,' and partly in order to profit by Irish learning. He now, in his thirty-third year[1], accepted the call to go to Frisia, and set forth with twelve companions in 690[2]. One seems to see him, tall and dignified in person, with signal attractions in the grave beauty of his face, and the cheerful kindness of his speech and manner[3]. The party landed at the mouth of the Rhine, in the harbour of Catwic[4], visited the old Roman town of Trajectum, 'the Passage,' Trecht or Utrecht, where six years later Willibrord was to fix his archbishopric, and then finding Radbod and his Frisians, as Wictbert had left them, in the 'foulness of Pagan customs[5],' 'turned aside to Pippin duke of the Franks,' called Pippin of Heristal, the great Austrasian who, four years previously, had virtually put an end to the Merovingian period of 'chaos,' and was 'ruling unquestioned over the whole Frankish race[6].' He, the true founder of the new sovereignty which became imperial in the person of his great-grandson, anticipated Charles himself in his readiness to promote Christian and ecclesiastical activity. Even as Boniface, many years later, found 'the patronage'

[1] Alcuin, Vit. Will. i. 5. See Frobenius on Vit. i. 23; Bede, v. 10.

[2] Frobenius (Alcuin, ii. 185) and Lingard (A.-S. Ch. ii. 330) give this date. On the fondness shown by saints for the apostolic number of twelve, see Reeves's Adamnan, p. 299, and above, p. 161.

[3] Alcuin, Vit. Will. i. 23: 'statura decens,' &c. His courage was of the heroic type; see the story of the Fositeland well, and that of his assault on the idol; ib. i. 10, 13. See Maclear, p. 101. But he gently restrained his attendants from punishing an insult offered to him (ib. i. 14), and 'ut erat mitissimus,' gave wine from his flask to poor men asking alms (16).

[4] Alb. Butler, Nov. 7.

[5] Alcuin, Vit. Will. i. 6, 9. Cp. Bede, iii. 21, 'sorde idololatriae.' Radbod's 'heart' proved 'stony.' He died in 720.

[6] Kitchin, Hist. Fr. i. 95, 99. 'He had two weapons, the sword and then the monkish missionaries.' The victory of Pippin over the Neustrians, at Testry, was in 687. Distinguish (1) Pippin the elder, Austrasian 'mayor of the palace': (2) his grandson Pippin of Heristal, who held the same office, rose to be 'duke of the Franks,' and became father of Charles Martel: (3) this Pippin's grandson, Pippin the Short or the Little, brother of Carloman, father of Charles the Great, and *king* (consecrated as such by St. Boniface) in 752.

of another 'prince of the Franks' indispensable for his episcopal success[1], Willibrord received a glad welcome from Pippin, who 'sent him to preach to the heathen people of Hither Frisia[2],' the land of the Meuse, and supported his work 'with sovereign authority, conferring great favours on those who were willing to receive the faith, insomuch that by aid of Divine grace, the missionaries in a short space converted many from idolatry[3].' Willibrord lost no time in repairing to Rome, to obtain the 'licence and blessing' of Pope Sergius for his missionary enterprise; and during his absence 'the brethren who were in Frisia chose one of their own number to be ordained for them as bishop[4].' His name was Swidbert[5], 'a man of virtuous life and humble in heart;' and at the request of the missionaries, there being still no archbishop at Canterbury, Wilfrid performed the consecration in 693. The new bishop returned to the Continent, and laboured with much success among the Boructuarians or Bructerians in Rhenish Prussia: but after that people had been expelled by the Saxons, he took refuge with Pippin, who, at his wife's request, gave Swidbert land for a monastery on the isle of Kaiserwerth, then called 'On-the-shore[6],' where he led a very ascetic life, and died in 713. Bede also dwells on the touching story[7] of two Anglian priests, called respectively the Black and the Fair Hewald. They had spent years of study and devotion in Ireland[8], when the examples of Willibrord and his companions led them, with some others[9], into Saxony. They were admitted into the

CHAP. XII.

Swidbert.

Martyrdom of the two Hewalds.

[1] Bonif. Ep. 12. Cp. Ep. 11, Charles Martel's letter of protection for Boniface.

[2] He had recently won this land from Radbod; Bede, v. 10.

[3] Bede, v. 10. [4] Bede, v. 11: 'Quo tempore fratres,' &c.

[5] Ann. SS. Bened. iii. 239; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 225; Lingard, A.-S. Ch. ii. 334. Alcuin (de Pontif. Ebor. 1073) associates a priest called Vira with Swidbert.

[6] Bede, v. 11. His 'heirs' owned the monastery in 731.

[7] Bede, v. 10: 'Horum secuti exempla.' Neither Bede nor Alcuin (Pont. Ebor. 1043) hints that they were brothers, as Alban Butler and Lingard infer. Of the two, he of the black hair was the more scholarly.

[8] 'In Hibernia multo tempore pro aeterna patria exulaverant,' like Egbert.

[9] One of their 'socii' was Tilmon, a man of noble English birth, who had been a thane ('miles'), and had become a monk; Bede, v. 10.

CHAP. XII. house of a village headman[1], who promised to send them on to the ealdorman[2] of the district;—in the meantime they 'devoted themselves to prayer and psalmody, and daily offered to God the sacrifice of the salutary Victim, having with them sacred vessels, and a hallowed table to serve as an altar[3].' These mystic rites aroused suspicion[4]: if the Angles were allowed to have speech with the ealdorman, 'they might draw him away from the gods to their newfangled Christian religion, and so the whole province might ere long, perforce, be turned from the old ways to the new.' So they suddenly 'fell upon' the two priests, 'and slew Fair Hewald with a rapid sword-stroke, but Black Hewald with long tortures and horrible dismemberment;' then cast the martyrs' corpses into the Rhine. Their blood was promptly avenged by the ealdorman, who put to death all the inhabitants of the township, and burned their houses to the ground. The bodies were recovered, and buried by Pippin's orders at Cologne. The day of their martyrdom was the 3rd of October; the year, probably, 695[5]. It may be added here that Willibrord was consecrated archbishop of the Frisians by the hands of Pope Sergius, in St. Caecilia's[6] at Rome, on the festival of that saint, November 22, 696: his name being changed by the

[1] Villicus, the 'town-reeve,' or governor, of a 'vicus.' See Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 47, 93. See above, p. 313.

[2] Bede says that these 'Old Saxons' had no king, but a number of 'satraps' (or governors of districts) who, in war time, cast lots which should lead the army. These were 'dukes or ealdormen'; Freeman, Growth of Engl. Constit. p. 34. See Stubbs, l. c. The biographer of St. Lebuin says (Pertz, Mon. Germ. Hist. ii. 361) that every Saxon 'pagus' (or 'hundred,' Stubbs, i. 96 had its 'princeps' (see ib. 29). We find 'satraps' mentioned after 'dukes' in Wihtred's Privilege; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 242.

[3] Bede, v. 10: 'Victimae salutaris.' See above, pp. 116, 167.

[4] Probably the celebration of the Eucharist seemed to them a 'magicalis scena': see Vit. S. Lebuini, where the Saxons are made to ask, 'Quidnam est illud phantasma vagabundum, quod suis praestigiis alienat mentes?' &c.; and forthwith burn Lebuin's 'little oratory.'

[5] Lingard, A.-S. Ch. ii. 334. So Alb. Butler, 'most probably.' He adds, 'They are honoured through all Westphalia;' Lives of Saints, Oct. 3.

[6] So Bede, v. 11: 'Ordinatus est autem,' &c. Alcuin says, at St. Peter's (Vit. i. 7); a not unnatural mistake. St. Caecilia's in the Trastevere was founded by Urban I in the third century.

Pope to Clement[1]. He stayed only a fortnight in Rome, and then returned to his mission-field, where he received from Pippin 'a place for his episcopal chair' at Utrecht, which Bede, here referring to it, calls Wiltaburg[2]. Near this royal fortress he built a cathedral church and monastery, called that of Our Saviour[3], in imitation of the Lateran basilica. His episcopate, which included among its energetic onslaughts on heathenism a desecration of the fountain and cattle belonging to the idol Fosite in Heligoland[4], had lasted thirty-five years when Bede wrote[5], and was closed by his death in his eighty-second year[6], A. D. 739. It was a grand career of 'manifold contests in the heavenly warfare[7],' during the whole of which, says his illustrious biographer, 'so long as he lived with us, he ceased not to labour in the love of Christ[8].' CHAP. XII.

Such was the missionary spirit in these typical English

[1] For other such cases, see p. 199.

[2] Cp. Vit. S. Lebuini, Pertz, Mon. Germ. Hist. ii. 361: 'Castrum Wiltenburg antiquitus dictum, modo vero Trajectum.' Afterwards the monastery at Utrecht, under its abbot Gregory, included a flourishing 'school,' whence missionaries went forth. See Vit. S. Liudgeri, i. 9; Pertz, ii. 407.

[3] Boniface, Ep. 90: 'In honore Sancti Salvatoris.' Above, p. 61.

[4] Alcuin, Vit. Will. i. 10. No one might touch the cattle, nor, save in silence, drink of the well. Willibrord bade his companions kill some of the cattle for food, and baptized three men in the well 'cum invocatione Sanctae Trinitatis.' He thus drew down on his party the fury of the heathen islanders: one of his band was marked by lot for slaughter, and killed. Cp. Vit. S. Liudg. 19. See above, p. 78.

[5] Bede, v. 11, says, 'he is still sighing after his heavenly reward.' In Vit. Cuthb. 44, he speaks of a 'clericus Wilbrordi' who paid a visit to Lindisfarne.

[6] Alcuin, Vit. Will. ii. 24. St. Boniface says that he preached fifty years (a round number) in Frisia; Ep. 90.

[7] Bede, v. 11.

[8] Alcuin, Vit. Will. i. 23. See the Judicium Clementis, a series of twenty rules, in Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 226. It has some remarkable points: it forbids any one to fast and take another man's sins on him, for hire. Offerings 'de praeda' cannot be received. He who, by negligence, works or shaves himself, &c. on Sunday, and he who communicates after eating, must do penance for a week. He who 'denies God without compulsion' must do penance ten years. Prayer may be made for the soul of a demoniac suicide. But a man who cannot recover his wife from the enemy may, after a year, marry another; and the wife, if afterwards set free, may do the like.

CHAP. XII. Bertwald, archbishop of Canterbury.

Christians towards the close of the first century of the English Church. It is now time to see how the chief seat in that Church was filled, after the vacancy which had caused the application to Wilfrid on behalf of Swidbert. As we have seen, Wihtred, 'the legitimate king of Kent[1],' was obliged for a while to share the kingdom with Swebhard[2]: and these two princes are mentioned by Bede[3] as concurring in the election, on the 1st of July, 692, of Bertwald, otherwise Brihtwald, abbot of the monastery in that old Roman town of Reculver whither Ethelbert had retired from Canterbury in 597, and where Egbert had enabled 'Bass the mass-priest' to build a minster in 669[4]. Bertwald was 'learned in the Scriptures, and thoroughly conversant with ecclesiastical and monastic rules, although,' as Bede adds, 'he could not be compared to his predecessor.' What we first hear of as to his conduct is not much in his favour. It seems that he declined to be consecrated by any of his future suffragans[5]: and this led to a year's further delay. It was not until St. Peter's festival in the following year, 693, that he received consecration from Godwin, archbishop of Lyons, whom Bede calls 'metropolitan bishop of Gaul'; and in fact, although it was not until the eleventh century that the church of Lyons 'obtained the primacy' over three other metropolitan churches[6], we find its bishop signing before those of Vienne, Rouen, and Sens, at the

[1] So Hen. Hunt. calls him; Hist. iv. 6. See above, p. 405.

[2] Elmham says that Swebhard was the son of 'Sebba' king of East-Saxons (p. 235), made himself king of Kent by violence (p. 231), and gave a charter to Minster (ib.). But the charter is dubious.

[3] Bede, v. 8.

[4] Chron. a. 669. See Kemble, Cod. Dipl. i. 21: king Lothere grants land in Thanet, called 'Westaney,' 'to thee, Bercuald, and to thy monastery,' with consent of Theodore and Edric, at Reculver, in May, 679. Bertwald was sometimes confounded with Beorwald abbot of Glastonbury, as by Malmesbury in his De Antiq. Glaston. Eccl. (Gale, Script. i. 308): 'Iste Beorwald, transactis decem annis in regimine Glastoniae, Cantuariensis archiepiscopus fuit.' But Beorwald was abbot while Bertwald was archbishop; Bonif. Ep. 104.

[5] On this, see Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 229.

[6] Neale, Essays on Liturgiology, p. 296. Gregory of Tours calls Nicetius of Lyons a patriarch; H. Fr. v. 21. For Godwin, cp. Gall. Christ. iv. 50.

council of Chalon, about 650 [1]. It is interesting to observe that our episcopal succession, inaugurated at Arles, and renewed at Rome, was now reinforced from the illustrious see of St. Irenaeus [2]. On Sunday the 31st of August, the throne which had been nearly three years vacant in the basilica of Canterbury received its new occupant [3]. Work for him was not wanting, and we find him joining with King Ethelred and several bishops, including those of Worcester, Lichfield, Hereford, Elmham, Rochester, and—which is observable—Wilfrid, now of Leicester, together with Alric, probably of Dunwich, and another whose name is lost, in witnessing a grant of land for a nunnery by Oshere, the new Hwiccian under-king, the date of which is 693 [4]. This proves that Oftfor's short episcopate extended at least to the latter part of this year: and Gebmund, whose death is referred to the same year by the Chronicle, appears from better evidence to have survived until 696 [5]. CHAP. XII.

Death of St. Erkenwald.

It is not quite certain, but it is probable, that the year of Bertwald's arrival was the year of the death of the saintly bishop Erkenwald. He had held the see of London from 675: he is commonly supposed to have died on the 30th of

[1] Mansi, x. 1193. Hefele, iv. 463, E. T.

[2] When Bertwald arrived, he found at least three bishops in office who had been consecrated by Theodore,—Heddi, Bosa, and John: and Heddi, as bishop of Winchester, must surely have taken part in the consecration of Tobias of Rochester, who would naturally be associated with the archbishop in the consecration of Daniel, from which the line descends to archbishop Jaenbert in 766. Cp. Bp. Stubbs, Registr. Angl. pp. 4–11. Elsewhere he suggests that John may have assisted in Daniel's consecration: Apost. Succ. in Ch. Engl. p. 21. See above, pp. 245, 254.

[3] The 'letters of Sergius' to kings Ethelred, Aldfrid, and Aldwulf, and to 'the bishops throughout Britain,' exhorting them to receive Bertwald, are, like others given by Malmesbury, very questionable. The tone of this series of letters suggests that they were written at Canterbury in order to magnify the archbishopric in connexion with Rome. The letter to the king is suspicious even in its address: it omits the West-Saxon king and names the East-Anglian.

[4] Cod. Dipl. i. 41; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 232. Oshere's son Ethelward, 'subregulus,' with king Kenred's consent, granted land at Ombersley to bishop Egwin for Evesham in 706. See Cod. Dipl. i. 64; above, p. 349.

[5] See Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 241. Gebmund appears at the Witenagemot of Berghamstede in 696.

CHAP. XII. April, 693[1]. 'He was regarded in London as an eminent saint,'—so says Malmesbury, who adds that his successors for several generations 'lie under the cloud of obscurity, so that even their tombs are not known': it is thought a great thing, he adds, among the inhabitants to know even their names[2]. The first of these undistinguished prelates was Waldhere, who received in 694 no less a postulant for the monastic habit than his own East-Saxon king, Sebbi. This prince, the son of Seward[3], one of the Pagan sons of King Sabert, must have been far advanced in life when, after thirty years of kingship, he was attacked by an illness which seemed the signal of approaching death. He had been through all those years a devout Christian: at the beginning of his reign, he and those East-Saxons who were under him, in contrast with his nephew and colleague Sighere, had held fast the faith under the trial of pestilence[4]: ever since, he had been a man of prayer and almsdeeds, and would even have followed the perilous example of Sigebert the Learned, and given up his crown in order to become a monk, had not his wife steadily

Death of King Sebbi.

[1] Stubbs, Registr. p. 3. Another account would give him only eleven years; Alb. Butler, April 30. Another prolongs his life to 697; see Dugdale, Hist. St. Paul's, p. 215. It was said that the clergy of St. Paul's and the monks of Chertsey contended as to the place of his burial. The mediaeval account (Dugdale, Hist. St. Paul's, p. 290) which commits the blunder of calling London a 'metropolitan' church, gives a lively picture of the quarrel: the Londoners forcibly carry off the corpse from Barking, despite the cry of the Chertsey monks, 'He was our abbot!' The rain having swollen the river which they must pass, the monks interpret it as a Divine warning. The Londoners doggedly answer, 'We will go through an armed host, we will besiege strong cities, ere we lose our patron!' A disciple of Erkenwald preaches charity, and suggests prayer for a sign: the waters divide, the weather clears up, the corpse is borne in triumph to St. Paul's. He was buried at first in the nave of his church; in the later cathedral his shrine was in the Lady-chapel. See Dugdale, p. 74; Milman, Annals of St. Paul's, p. 11; and Dr. Sparrow Simpson's Chapters in the History of Old St. Paul's, pp. 20, 89.

[2] Malmesb. G. Pontif. ii. 73.

[3] Florence, app. He was therefore the brother of Sigebert the Little, and a kinsman of Sigebert the Good. See a grant, by 'Hodilredus parens Sebbi,' to the abbess of 'Beddanhaam,' witnessed by Sebbi, Erkenwald, and Wilfrid, in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. i. 39.

[4] See above, pp. 238, 247.

refused her consent to such a separation[1]. But now, at last, when he said to her, 'Let us even at this close of our wedded life devote ourselves to God's service[2], when we can no longer enjoy, or rather serve, the world,' she yielded reluctantly to his desire. He 'took the habit' accordingly before the bishop, and brought with him a large sum to be spent on the poor, reserving nothing for himself. His sickness increased, and brought with it that dread of the last enemy which has often been permitted to burden the spirit of a faithful servant of God. But, as it was with Johnson, with the Mère Angélique, with Maria Theresa, with Charles Wesley, so it was with Sebbi when the supreme moment really drew near. He had begged Waldhere to visit him at his palace in London. 'What if he were to say, or even by gesture express, in the agony of death, something unworthy of his character[3]? Would the bishop promise to come, when the hour had arrived, and assist him in his last struggle, allowing no one else, save two of his attendant thanes, to be present?' Waldhere willingly undertook to do so: soon afterwards, the old man had a dream which persuaded him that he should have a quiet departure[4]; and he died at 3 p.m. on the third day afterwards, 'as if gently falling asleep.' He was buried in the church of St. Paul[5], and succeeded by his two sons Sighard and Swefred[6]. CHAP. XII.

[1] Bede, iv. 11: 'Erat enim religiosis actibus,' &c. In Ireland, Aodh king of Leinster had died as abbot and bishop of Kildare in 638: and Finnachta the Festive, arch-king, 'became a cleric' for a year in 688 (Four Mast., Tighernach).

[2] Again we observe the unhealthy restriction of this phrase, see p. 197.

[3] 'Personae,' meaning, of his character as a king.

[4] He seemed to see three men in bright clothing approach him. One sat down before his bed, and said to the others who were still standing, and who asked as to Sebbi's condition, that his soul 'would depart on the third day, without any pain, and amid a great splendour of light.'

[5] He had learned from St. Paul, says Bede, 'caelestia sperare.'

[6] Swefred, or, properly, Swebred, united with 'Pæogthath cum licentia Ædelredi regis comis (comes)' in giving lands at Twickenham to bishop Waldhere, June 13, 704; Cod. Dipl. i. 59. The charter begins 'Quamvis solus sermo sufficeret ad testimonium, attamen pro cautella' (*sic*) 'futurorum temporum,' &c. It is witnessed by Kenred, who had just succeeded Ethelred as 'king of Merciaus.'

CHAP. XII.

Egwin, bishop of Worcester.

A few months, perhaps, before the death of the 'bishoplike king,' Oftfor of Worcester died about the end of 693 [1], and was succeeded by a prelate whom Bede, to the surprise of William of Malmesbury [2], passes by in silence, but who was afterwards venerated as St. Egwin. He was of princely birth [3], and, like Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop, had at an early age renounced all secular prospects, and in due time entered the priesthood. His biographer tells us that he had much work to do in reclaiming the people of his diocese from heathenish observances and heathenish license. They would retain some practices which were essentially idolatrous [4]; and they would not conform to Christian rules of purity. He 'spoke to them repeatedly,' and usually in tones of stern rebuke [5]. The obstinate natures which his admonitions could not bend were the more embittered against him: we are told that he was accused [6] before King Ethelred, and deprived of his bishopric, and also denounced to the Pope, and that he thereupon repaired to Rome [7], was received with

[1] Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 232.

[2] Malmesb. G. Pontif. iv. 160. He could not account for it.

[3] See his 'Life' in Ann. SS. Bened. iii. 331, and in Chron. Abbatiae de Evesham (Rolls Series), p. 3 ff. Cp. Alb. Butler, Jan. 11.

[4] See above, pp. 80, 238. Cf. Elton, Origins of Engl. Hist. p. 390. 'Many Old-English popular ceremonies were evidently survivals from heathen times, altered in some cases to adapt them to the seasons of the Church' (e. g. the boar's head at the Yule feast) 'and in others bearing more openly the marks of their original paganism' (e. g. dances with invocation of Woden and Friege, 'the Aphrodite of the North, the female form of Fréa;' Kemble, Saxons, i. 362).

[5] Usually, we infer from his 'Life,' c. 13, he was 'pleasant in speech.'

[6] The common people, 'eum paullatim conjecturis et adinventionibus et rumoribus malis diffamans . . . ab episcopatu eum expulit. Permisit potestas primatis, et admisit hoc excitatus contra eum livor regius;' Chron. Evesh. p. 5.

[7] Here comes in the wild legend of his having loaded his feet as in penitence ('because he did not deny that he was a sinner in God's sight') with chains, the key of which he flung into the Avon: when he reached Rome, his servants bought a large fish for food, and within it the key appeared. The pope heard of this, and, when he saw Egwin, asked absolution and blessing from him, instead of imparting them to him, &c. The pope is called Constantine; but Constantine was not pope until 708, when Egwin went to Rome with king Kenred. Of the story of the chains Malmesbury asks, 'Credendumne putatur quod tradit antiquitas?' G. Pontif. l. c.

special honour, acquitted of all blame, and sent home with the apostolic benediction; after which he was restored to his see, and became godfather to the king's children. This story seems to have grown out of his journey to Rome at a later period. CHAP. XII.

The war between Wessex and Kent was concluded, as we have seen, by an agreement on the part of the Kentish-men to make pecuniary satisfaction for the death of Mul [1]. This is dated in the year after Bertwald's arrival; and two years later, on the 6th of August[2], in 'the fifth year of King Wihtred, and the ninth indiction,' that is, in 696,—Wihtred's regnal year being reckoned from an earlier date than the death or fall of Swebhard,—a Kentish Witenagemot was held at a 'place called Berghamstyde,'— not the Berkhampstead in Hertfordshire, which would be Mercian, but Bearsted near Maidstone [3]. Bertwald, 'high bishop of Britain,' as he is loftily styled, was present, with Gebmund of Rochester, 'and every degree of the province spoke in accord with the obedient people.' Among the 'Dooms' then enacted were several affecting the Church. It was to be 'free of impost [4]': but it is probable that already its lands were not excused from contributing to the repairs of roads and fortifications, and to the military service of the realm [5]. The Laws of Wihtred.

[1] See above, p. 405.

[2] So 'Rugern' in the record is explained, Johnson, Engl. Can. i. 141.

[3] Johnson, l. c.; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 238. The vicar of Bearsted informs me that sessions were formerly held on a moated mound, which has tiers of seats above it, near this village.

[4] 'Impost' would here mean the land-tax, estimated in produce or stock; Churton, E. E. Ch. p. 122. Another reading, however, would mean 'freedom in jurisdiction and revenue'; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 233.

[5] The 'trinoda necessitas,' or 'onus inevitabile,' consisted of the 'brygbot,' the 'burh-bot,' and the 'fyrd' (fyrd or fird = army, and is here used for service in the army); Lingard, A.-S. Ch. i. 241 ff.; Kemble, i. 301; Freeman, i. 93; Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 86. It was imposed, apparently, on all church lands in Kent; and Offa of Mercia says of it expressly 'ab eo opere nullum excusatum esse'; cp. Cod. Dipl. i. 92, 204. At first, in Northumbria (and generally, Lingard thinks), lands devoted 'to pious purposes were most likely relieved from all burdens whatsoever'; Kemble, i. 302. Whitby was thus exempt from 'militia terrestris'; so some *church* lands in ancient Scotland were to be free for ever from tribute or custom, or military service, &c.; Stuart, Book of Deer, p. lxxxvii; Skene, Celt. Sc. iii. 228. It was immunity of this sort which led to the scandal of

CHAP. XII. clergy were to pray for the king, and to 'revere him without command, of their free will,' i.e. pray for him, as a matter of course, in the ordinary Church service[1]. The 'mundbyrd[2],' or penalty for violating the Church's protection, was to be the same as that for violating the king's. Unchastity was to be ecclesiastically punished. A priest who allowed of it, or 'neglected to baptize a sick person, or was so drunk that he could not do it'—a significant provision[3]—was to desist from his ministry until the bishop should judge his case. A tonsured man seeking for hospitality here or there was to have it once; not oftener, unless his rovings were licensed[4]. Emancipation of slaves[5] at the altar was recognized. Servile labour between sunset on Saturday and sunset on Sunday[6] was prohibited. 'Offerings to devils' were to be punished by forfeiture of goods, and such a fine as would have been required to save a man from the pillory[7], had it been in use, or, on another theory, to loosen the grasp of the avenger of blood[8]. To eat flesh on a fast-day, or to give it to depen-

pseudo-monasteries held by laymen pretending to be abbots; Bede, Ep. to Egb. 7. His indignant censure of this abuse was written at a time when a reaction was setting in against over-indulgence to monasteries; not only was care taken not to free them from the 'necessitas,' but St. Boniface found reason to complain of the 'forced service in royal building works,' required from English monks in his time; Ep. to Cuthb. c. 11. Such services or burdens, together with 'vectigalia,' were remitted by charters of the eighth century (Cod. Dipl. i. 119, 144, 151). See Lingard, A.-S. Ch. i. 241. The legates in 787 were content to provide against unjust or excessive exactions from 'God's churches'; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 455.

[1] Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 203 (or 175).

[2] Properly, the 'holding out of the hand,' as of a patron in defence of a client; see Robertson, Scotl. under Early Kings, ii. 452. Cp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 210. Here it is used for the penalty of violating this protection. On the privilege of sanctuary, cp. Ine's Laws, 5, and see above, p. 103.

[3] Cp. Theodore's Penitential, i. 1; Boniface, Ep. to Cuthb. 10. Drunkenness was already a national vice. Cp. C. of Clovesho, c. 21.

[4] See fifth canon of Hertford, above, p. 279.

[5] See above, p. 346.

[6] Literally, Sunday eve and Monday eve. So Ine's Laws, 3. Comp. Malmesbury, G. Pontif. v. 276, for a story of a woman blamed by her neighbours for spinning after sunset on Saturday. See above, p. 376.

[7] Heals-fang: Johnson, i. 147; Thorpe, Glossary to Ancient Laws.

[8] Robertson, Scotl. under Early Kings, ii. 288.

dents, was penal. A bishop, like the king, was excused from oath in giving evidence [1]. A priest, if accused, was to clear himself by saying, in his sacred vestments, before the altar, 'I say the truth in Christ, I lie not'; a deacon might do the same. Inferior clerics, and laymen, were to clear themselves by oath at the altar. The privileges of a 'housel-ganger [2]' or communicant were recognized, as in the laws of Ine. CHAP. XII.

It would seem that soon after this assembly bishop Gebmund of Rochester died [3], and was succeeded by Tobias, one of the many prelates [4] whom Bertwald consecrated, and one of the scholarly ecclesiastics who had been trained in the great school of Canterbury; 'a man,' says Bede, 'of multifarious learning, in the Latin, Greek, and Saxon tongues.' He held the see of Rochester until 726. He was present at another Kentish Witenagemot held at Baccanceld [5] or Bapchild, near Sittingbourne, when Wihtred forbade 'any layman to usurp or appropriate what had been given to the Lord and confirmed with the cross of Christ, and dedicated': sacrilege of this sort was described as a 'stripping of the Living God, or rending of His coat and His heritage.' In the name of God Almighty, and all Saints, the king commanded all his successors and all laics of his realm not to take possession of any monastery which he or his predecessors had given over to Christ, the Holy Apostles, and the Virgin Mother. Whenever an abbacy [6] Tobias, bishop of Rochester. Privilege of Wihtred.

[1] 'His word, or testimony, like that of the king, was conclusive in itself, and did not require to be supported by the oaths of compurgators;' Palgrave, p. 164. To be excused from oaths was a privilege, which was claimed for bishops at the inquiry as to the minutes of the council held at Constantinople in 448; Mansi, vi. 764.

[2] See above, p. 411.

[3] See above, p. 423.

[4] Bede, v. 8. For Tobias, see also Bede, v. 23.

[5] Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 238.

[6] In this genuine form of the charter (see Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 241) nothing is here said about the vacancy of a bishopric, as if that was also to be filled up by free election. But this is found in the version given by Wilkins, i. 57, 'Ut quando . . . defungitur, *episcopus*,' &c. Cp. Chron. 694. Lingard says, 'Under Theodore and his immediate successors the appointment of bishops was generally made in the national synods;' Angl.-Sax. Ch. i. 91.

CHAP. XII. should become vacant, it was for the bishop of the diocese [1] to give 'counsel and consent' for a good election, and to bless the person elected. In the archiepiscopal diocese, the archbishop's sanction was to be necessary for any abbatial appointment. All these matters were to be exempt from secular authority, and subjected to the metropolitan's control. For greater security, a list of the monasteries was appended: St. Peter's or Upminster, i. e. SS. Peter and Paul in Canterbury, Reculver, Southminster, Dover, Folkestone, Lyminge [2], Sheppey, and Hoe. By Southminster was meant Minster in Thanet, where the royal abbess Mildred was still presiding [3]: she signed the document first among five abbesses. 'A further liberty, so the king was made to say, was added [4],' by a grant of entire immunity from all burdens greater and lesser [5], and all exactions on the part of kings or earls, to Christ Church in Canterbury, and to the church of Rochester, and to 'the other above-named churches of God'; but with a salvo that such exemption should not be turned into a bad precedent. Any violator of this grant, whether king or bishop, or abbot, or thane, or any human power, was to be excommunicated, and to forfeit pardon in this world and the next, unless he should have made full satisfaction to the bishop [6]: and the charter itself was to be carefully preserved in the 'Church of the Saviour,' the metropolitan church of Canterbury, as a record and a safeguard for all churches 'in this Kent.' The date of this Privilege of Wihtred seems to fall within the last years of the seventh century.

[1] 'Parochiae.' So in Bede, iii. 7; v. 18; Ep. to Egb. 8.

[2] See Wihtred's grants to the basilica of St. Mary at Lyminge, Cod. Dipl. i. 50, 54. On Dover and Folkestone see above, p. 126.

[3] See above, p. 273. She 'died towards the close of the seventh century'; Alban Butler, Feb. 20.

[4] 'Adhuc addimus majorem libertatem.'

[5] 'Ab omnibus difficultatibus saecularium servitutum . . . ab operibus, majoribus minoribusve gravitatibus,' &c. See above, p. 427.

[6] Menaces of spiritual punishment were often—not always—added as sanctions to charters. Sometimes what is denounced is 'separation from communion of the Body and Blood of Christ,' e. g. Cod. Dipl. i. 30. Another form is, 'Let him know that he will answer for it to Christ,' ib. i. 25; cp. i. 82, 84, 90.

Of these years there is not much more to be said. Wilfrid continued at Leicester; he did not neglect his own cause, for we find that he made application to Pope Sergius, and received from him a letter confirmatory of the previous Roman decrees[1]; but for any practical effect of such a document he could scarcely hope until some change had passed over the mind of King Aldfrid. He was safe and tranquil under the shadow of the throne of Ethelred; but he must have sorrowed deeply with that prince when the fierce Mercian nobles in 697 put to death his Northumbrian queen Osthryd[2]. In that same year there began that strange and intensely mediaeval saintship which made the name of Guthlac of Crowland as fascinating to Mercian piety as Cuthbert's had been to Northumbrian. We hear[3] of the boy as born to a Mercian earl of royal descent, named Penwald, and his wife Tette, baptized after a 'tribe' called Guthlacings,—the original name, as borne by him, signifying Battle-sport[4]: he is described as growing out of childhood without any taint of childish perversity, gentle, sweet-tempered, dutiful, as if 'irradiated by spiritual light': in early youth the warlike temper wakes up in him,—he is fired with emulation at the thought of 'ancient heroes,'—he becomes the captain of a fierce band, carrying fire and sword through the lands of his enemies, but even then restoring to the plundered a third part of the spoil. Nine years of this foraying life suffice him[5]: he begins to see what life and what death means: he thinks of 'the woeful ends' of mighty princes, estimates the vanity of earthly glory, trembles at the thought of 'the inevitable end.' These musings come into his mind by night[6], and in the morning he bids his comrades find another leader. Their

CHAP. XII.

Guthlac of Crowland.

[1] Eddi, 46, 51.

[2] Bede, v. 24; Chron. a. 697.

[3] Act. SS. Bened. iii. 265; Life of St. Guthlac by Felix of Jarrow, written in the middle of the eighth century, and evidently after the model of Aldhelm's grandiloquent periods, and with much of the conventionalism of hagiology.

[4] Kingsley's Hermits, p. 304. 'Laking' is an old North-country word for 'playing.'

[5] He spent some time 'in exile' among the Welsh; Felix, 20.

[6] Felix says, 'He remembered to have heard the words, Ne in hieme vel sabbato fuga vestra fiat;' c. 11 (Matt. xxiv. 20).

CHAP. XII. remonstrances are vain: he enters the monastery of men and women,—ruled, like Whitby, by an abbess, named Elfrida,—which had for some time existed in the royal town of Repton[1]. This took place in 697, when he was only twenty-four years old. He at first offended his brother monks by never tasting any strong drink[2] 'save in time of Communion'; but his frank, modest, and affectionate disposition disarmed all animosity; and he on his part set himself to imitate the several excellences of the other inmates of the house, and, as his biographer touchingly says, 'the gentleness of all.' After two years spent at Repton[3], he resolved to adopt the hermit-life; and for that purpose, 'with the leave of his elders,' took his journey towards the vast fens which, 'beginning from the banks of the Granta[4]' or Cam, spread northwards in a dreary succession of ponds and marshes and 'black wandering streams[5],' amid which, here and there, islets uplifted their dark masses of wood, 'forests of fir and oak, ash and poplar, hazel and yew.' Arriving in this desolate region, Guthlac asked some of the inhabitants whether they knew of any islet which was uninhabited. One of them, Tatwin by name,

[1] 'Ripadum,' Felix,—'Hreopandun, Repandune,' &c. It was the burial-place of Mercian royalty. Elfrida was succeeded by 'Egburga,' daughter of the East-Anglian king Aldwulf, who sent to Guthlac a leaden sarcophagus and a shroud, Ann. Ord. Ben. ii. 39; Angl. Sac. i. 595.

[2] See above, p. 428. He took up this rule of 'total abstinence' from the day on which he received 'the apostolic (i. e. Roman) tonsure.'

[3] 'Psalmis, canticis, hymnis, orationibus, moribusque ecclesiasticis per biennium imbutus;' Felix, 13.

[4] Felix, 14: 'Est in mediterraneorum Anglorum Britanniae partibus immensae magnitudinis acerrima palus,' &c. See this copied by Orderic, iv. 16. Compare Malmesb. G. Pontif. iv. 182, that the fens were more than a hundred miles in length. See Turner, i. 322 ff.; Green, Making of Engl. p. 351.

[5] Kingsley's Hermits, p. 301, a very vivid description: and for another see Clark's 'Cambridge,' p. 3 ff. Compare Felix: 'Nigris fusis vaporibus et laticibus,' 'umbrosa solitudinis nemora,' 'nubilosos . . . eremi lucos,' 'loca spinosa,' 'stagnosa paludis ligustria,' 'densas arundinum compagines.' Henry of Huntingdon describes the fens more pleasantly: 'Palus illa latissima et visu decora, multis fluviis . . . irrigata, multis lacubus . . . depicta, multis etiam silvis et insulis florida et amoena;' Hist. v. 25, followed by Bromton, X Script. 868. This was 'after the industry and wisdom of the monks . . . had been at work to . . . cultivate the wilderness'; Kingsley, p. 302.

said that he knew of one in the remoter parts of the fen, CHAP. XII. which many had endeavoured to occupy, but had been driven away by 'monsters of the wilderness, and awesome shapes of divers kinds.' Guthlac begged Tatwin to show him the spot, and thereupon was conducted in a fishing-boat to an islet in the marshlands crossed by the Welland and the Nen. This was Crowland [1], a name which Guthlac has made famous, for he took it as his abode, on a summer day when probably it wore its least repulsive aspect,—on the feast of St. Bartholomew [2] in 699. He practised all the austerities which belonged, as of course, to the life of an anchorite; and they combined with the wisp-fires, and wild sounds of winter nights among the fens, and probably with intermittent attacks of marsh fever [3], to call up those hideous fancies of fiendish visitation and onslaught which read in Guthlac's life like an exaggeration of the 'trials of St. Antony [4].' Whatever were his illusions, he preserved his faith, courage, and cheerfulness: the hagiologist indicates that he could repel with promptness, perhaps with humour, fantastic temptations to impossible feats of absti-

[1] Croyland is a corruption. It is properly Cruland ('Crudeland, caenosa terra,' Felix, 41), and hence Crowland. See Freeman, iv. 596. It is described in one spurious charter as enclosed within four, in another within five 'waters'; Rer. Angl. Script. i. 3, 9. 'In sanctuary of the four rivers;' Kingsley, p. 306. The stone church built there in 716 had to be supported on oak piles and a mass of hard soil from a distance.

[2] After his first visit to the isle, he returned to Repton to say farewell to his companions, for he had left them 'insalutatos.' He repaired to Crowland after a short sojourn with them, taking two boys with him. Felix is not quite distinct as to the St. Bartholomew's day in question, whether it was the occasion of his first visit, or of his regular occupation of Crowland. His sister Pega took up her abode 'as a recluse in another part of the fens, four leagues off to the west'; Alb. Butler, April 11. Bishop Hedda (of Lichfield) visited Crowland, and ordained Guthlac priest; Felix, 32.

[3] Kingsley, Hermits, p. 303. See Churton, E. E. Ch. p. 140.

[4] 'Erant enim adspectu truces, forma terribiles, . . . dentibus equinis . . . trucibus oculis . . . gutture flammivomo . . . immensis vagitibus,' &c.; Felix, 19; comp. 22. The fiends, we are told, tossed him into the muddy streams, dragged him through thorny thickets, &c. On one occasion, says Felix gravely (c. 20), they came in the form and with the speech of Britons (Welshmen). 'Great numbers of Britons seem to have taken refuge in the "wild fens";' Elton, Origins of Engl. Hist. p. 379. See above, p. 29.

CHAP. XII. nence [1]: like Cuthbert, he was 'in league' with the fowls of the air; the wild birds, and even the fishes of the marsh, would eat from his hand; swallows came to sit on his arms and his bosom, and it was when his friend, an abbot named Wilfrid [2], who often visited him, expressed surprise at this familiarity, that Guthlac uttered the memorably beautiful answer, 'Have you not read that he who is joined to God with a pure spirit finds all things uniting themselves to him in God [3]?' We cannot wonder that, as in Cuthbert's case, the solitude of the devout hermit was broken by crowds of visitors of all kinds [4], 'abbots, brethren, earls, the rich, the sick, the poor, not only from the neighbouring districts of Mercia, but from the remoter parts of Britain,' —who came to tell him of their troubles, and never came without finding relief [5]. So that, like Cuthbert on Farne, the inmate of Crowland was exercising a true ministry of consolation, and doing a work of wide effect, which showed that the superstitious form impressed by circumstances upon his devotion had not dulled his moral insight, nor chilled his discriminating sympathy. But it must be remembered that what we, perhaps, should look upon as the redeeming point in a grave mistake was to Guthlac a mere incident in a life which, in its physical conditions, was far more terrible than that of the old Egyptian solitaries [6], and which in fact could not be protracted beyond fifteen years [7]. But so to live, and so to die,

[1] The suggestion was to fast rigidly for six days. Guthlac rose and sang out, 'Let mine enemies be turned backward!' and then quietly ate his daily meal of barley-bread; Felix, 18.

[2] Felix, 16, 25.

[3] 'Nonne legisti quia qui Deo puro spiritu copulabitur, omnia sibi in Deo conjunguntur?' Felix, 25. Comp. Bede, Vit. Cuthb. 21.

[4] Felix, 31.

[5] E. g. 'Nullum taedium sine exhortatione, nulla maestitia sine consolatione, nulla anximonia sine consilio ab illo reversa est.' Felix had evidently been reading Bede (Vit. Cuthb. 22), whose memory he naturally cherished. He tells us that Guthlac supported all that he said by authority of Scripture; 32: and calls him 'alacer, efficax, in discernendis causis.' 'Nothing stayed in his mind but charity, peace, pity, forgiveness. No one ever saw him angry . . . excited . . . sorrowful,' &c.; 38. Cp. S. Athan. Vit. Ant. 14.

[6] See Kingsley's Hermits, pp. 130–134.

[7] See Kingsley, p. 306; and on 'the vast longevity of many of' the

appeared to the men of his time, under the influence of a false ideal, to be the summit of Christian attainment. CHAP. XII.

And while in that southernmost corner of Lincolnshire a Mercian hermit was thus attracting the homage which in after days expressed itself by the foundation of a great monastery, described by its inmates as 'the holy sanctuary of St. Guthlac' under the protection of St. Mary and St. Bartholomew [1], a Mercian bishop was designing and establishing a religious house which became one of the greatest in the Midlands, at a place which was to be associated with a crisis in English secular history [2]. It was a wild and lonely spot rising abruptly above the Avon, and covered with thorny thickets, but marked by a small church of ancient, probably of British, construction [3]. Here Eoves, one of Bishop Egwin's herdsmen, professed to have seen an appearance of the Virgin [4]; and accordingly at 'Eoves-ham [5]' arose a minster in her honour. Although Foundation of Evesham.

fathers of the desert, p. 134. Paul is said to have lived 113 years, Antony 105, Elias of Antinous 110 (Soz. vi. 28), &c. Guthlac died, aged forty-seven, on April 11, 714, and was succeeded in his solitude by Cissa, a convert from paganism; Florence, a. 714. One of the strangest things in the story is that a cleric named Beccelin, having come to live as Guthlac's servant, and being about to shave him as usual, was sorely tempted to cut his throat, 'ut . . . locum ipsius postea cum magna regum principumque venerantia habiturus foret.' Guthlac bade him 'spit out the venom' of his wicked thought; he fell on his knees and confessed all; Felix, 21.

[1] See the alleged charter of Bertulf, in the false Ingulf, Rer. Angl. Script. i. 14; Cod. Dipl. ii. 41. See Kingsley, Hermits, p. 307.

[2] The battle of Evesham was fought on August 4, 1265.

[3] Malmesbury, G. Pontif. iv. 160.

[4] Ann. SS. Bened. iii. 335; Chron. Evesh. p. 9; Monast. Angl. ii. 1. She was said to have appeared to Eoves as brighter than the sun, holding a book and singing heavenly songs with two other virgins; he told his master what he had seen; and Egwin on a subsequent morning, attended by three companions, went barefoot to the place and saw a similar vision. Egwin was said to have first obtained an old monastery at Fladbury, and to have exchanged it for Stratford. But the documents are marked as spurious; Cod. Dipl. i. 36.

[5] Originally 'Eoves-holm,' *holm* being any ground surrounded or washed by a river. The British name was Hethbo. See Tindal's History of Evesham, p. 2. The Mercians had called it Hethomme (Athamne, Mabillon) and Cronuchomme: Egwin, according to the legend, had there flung the key of his chains into the river, and afterwards obtained the place from the king, as pasture-ground for monks. Florence dates the

CHAP. XII. its early history is marred by fiction and forged documents, one interesting detail may probably be received as authentic. Some eight miles from Evesham, at Alcester, was a royal estate[1], inhabited by persons who disliked Egwin and his preaching, and devised an ingenious expedient for ridding themselves of both[2]. In the neighbouring wood many 'blacksmiths' carried on their trade. One day, while Egwin was pleading with his untoward audience, there rose up such a din of hammers[3] and anvils that he was 'fain to depart with tingling ears.' Passing over a story of the miraculous removal of this hindrance, we may see a not improbable intimation of the resistance which still, in outlying parts, was offered to Christianity by the adherents of the defeated Paganism.

And now we must resume consideration of the case of Wilfrid, the last stage of which commences with the second year of the eighth century.

foundation a few years after Egwin's consecration; Tanner dates it 701. See Cod. Dipl. i. 64.

[1] 'Regale mansum . . . nemoribus consitum, fluminibus . . . et rivulis circumdatum, necnon muris et turribus vallatum.' A council had been held there, 'non multo prius,' which had confirmed the immunities of Evesham; Chron. Evesh. p. 25. But the story of this council of 709 is very doubtful. See Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 279–283: cp. Lingard, A.-S. Ch. i. 209.

[2] Ann. SS. Bened. iii. 336; Chron. Evesh. p. 25.

[3] 'Prae concussione, immo confusione, malleorum et incudum adhuc tinniebant ambae aures ejus,' &c.; Chron. Evesh. p. 26. See Green, Making of Engl. p. 351.

CHAPTER XIII.

Ever since the second expulsion of Wilfrid, a monotonous tranquillity had reigned in the Church of Northumbria. Ecclesiastical interests were sedulously cared for by King Aldfrid: ecclesiastical life was surrounded with all that could give it security and honour. Bishop Eadbert of Lindisfarne had died, after some weeks' illness, on the 6th of May, 698 [1], having caused the tomb of Cuthbert to be opened on the 20th of March, when the saint's body was found 'entire as if he were still living, and his joints still flexible as if he were but asleep [2].' Part of the grave-clothes were brought to Eadbert, who 'kissed them as if they still covered the father's body,' and ordered others to be put in their place. He himself was ere long laid in the same grave, but under the saint's coffin [3]. He was succeeded by Eadfrid, the prelate to whom, along with his monks, Bede, many years later, inscribed his Life of St. Cuthbert [4]. The community to which Bede himself belonged flourished under the pre-

Death of bishop Eadbert.

[1] Bede, Vit. Cuthb. 42, 43.

[2] Bede, Vit. Cuthb. 42; Vit. Anon., Bed. Op. vi. 380.

[3] 'Relics' of Eadbert and others, with the head of Oswald (see above, p. 176), were found beside Cuthbert's body in 1104.

[4] In the dedication preface Bede reminds Eadfrid that he had promised to enrol his name, after his death, among those of persons to be prayed for at Lindisfarne; and in pledge of such future enrolment had ordered Guthfrid, the 'mansionarius' or sacristan, to place his name, during his life, in the 'white book' of the community. This prelate had written out with his own hand, 'for the sake of St. Cuthbert' (i. e. for Cuthbert's use), a copy of the Gospels, which was afterwards, by his successor Ethelwald's order, adorned with gold and jewels, and ultimately preserved at Durham; Simeon, Dunelm. Eccl. ii. 12. Cp. Anderson, Scotl. in Early Chr. Times, p. 149; Bp. Browne, E. Engl. Ch. Hist. pp. 72, 110. He also, early in his episcopate, repaired the time-worn oratory of Cuthbert in Farne; Bede, Vit. Cuthb. 46.

CHAP. XIII. sidency of Ceolfrid, who, as we have seen, had united the abbacy of Wearmouth to that of Jarrow: and we find him sending some monks to Rome in the year 700[1], with a gift or 'blessing' for Pope Sergius, intended, no doubt, to recommend the petition which they were to make for a new letter of privilege, like that which had been received from Pope Agatho. Sergius complied with the request of Ceolfrid: and also entrusted to one of the messengers a letter[2], in which he informed the abbot that certain questions of an ecclesiastical kind[3] had arisen, which could not be settled without a long inquiry; that therefore he must needs confer with men of literary acquirements; and that he desired Ceolfrid to send to Rome, at once, 'the religious servant of God,'—here, in a manuscript exhibiting the letter, 'N.' occurs instead of a name,—'belonging to his monastery,' in full confidence that, after the matters in hand should have been settled, he would return home in safety, by the Lord's favour and Ceolfrid's prayers. Malmesbury's version of this letter contains the name of Bede, and adds the designation of 'presbyterum.' But Bede the historian never did visit Rome,—never, indeed, went beyond Northumbria[4]: nor was he ordained priest until 701–2[5].

Pope Sergius and Ceolfrid.

[1] See Lingard, A.-S. Ch. ii. 412, referring to Bede, De Temp. Ratione, c. 47, which shows that the monks, on Christmas day of 700, reckoned then as the first day of 701, were in St. Mary Major's, and there saw a waxen tablet recording. 'From the Passion of our Lord there are 668 years.'

[2] Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 248.

[3] 'Ecclesiasticarum causarum capitulis.'

[4] Comp. Bede, v. 24: 'Qui natus . . . suscepi.' 'His Epitome seems to show that he never left England;' see Smith's Bede, p. 799. He adds that it might be rejoined that a very short stay in Rome would not necessarily be inconsistent with the Epitome.

[5] The MS. Cotton in the British Museum, referred to the tenth century, gives the passage thus: 'Religiosum famulum Dei N. venerabilis monasterii tui . . . dirigere.' Bede's name 'is inserted in the margin' (Giles's Bede, i. p. lxix). 'N.,' for 'nomen,' shows that the copyist had before him an accidental blank where the name should have been. Malmesbury, G. Regum, i. 58, quotes the letter thus: 'Religiosum Dei famulum Bedam, venerabilis monasterii tui presbyterum.' Giles suggests that this last word might have been 'innocently' inserted by Malmesbury, since Bede afterwards became a priest; or it might be 'a mistake on the part of the pope,' Dict. Chr. Biogr. i. 301. Lingard's suggestion that 'the elder Bede,' not the historian, was meant, seems very improbable; A.-S. Ch. ii. 413.

Yet he may, nevertheless, have been recommended to Sergius by the Wearmouth monks, as an eminently promising scholar: the title of 'presbyter' may have been a mistake or a gloss: the invitation was not improbably sent for him, and his non-compliance may have been simply caused by the Pope's speedy death. The privilege was duly exhibited before the Northumbrian Witan, and confirmed by the signatures of the king and the bishops. Whatever the questions were to which the Pope's letter alludes, it is evident that about the beginning of the eighth century an uneasy feeling was stirring in the minds of Northumbrian Churchmen, and of others in other districts, as to the position of Wilfrid; accordingly, Aldfrid resolved to assemble a general 'synod' at which the whole English Church should be represented. It was held, in 702, at a place which Eddi calls by the two names of 'Ouestraefelda' or Estrefeld, and 'Ætswinapathe[1].' This 'Easterfield' must have been somewhere in Yorkshire, perhaps at Austerfield near Bawtry[2], which would be a convenient place for persons arriving from the south. Among the latter was Archbishop Bertwald; and nearly all his suffragans are said to have attended him. Wilfrid was 'respectfully' invited to appear, in order that 'according to the canonical statutes' whatever had been wrong might be set right. He came accordingly, attended by several abbots of his monasteries. On his arrival, Eddi tells us, there was 'much altercation,' mainly caused by prelates, and by abbots who from 'avaricious motives' were opposed to any scheme of agreement. The king himself, we are assured, was practically on that side. Accusations were brought up against Wilfrid, which Eddi declares to be false. At last the point at issue was clearly raised. Would Wilfrid comply with the regulations of Theodore? According to such light as we have on the matter, this demand meant, Would he submit to such a partition of the old diocese of York as

CHAP. XIII.

Council of Easterfield.

[1] Eddi, 46, 60. Compare 'Edwinscliff' in Chronicle, a. 761; Raine, Hist. of Ch. of York, i. 65. He suggests, however, that the second name may mean only '*At the swine's path.*' Near Austerfield is 'Swine-car' (car or carr in southern Yorkshire, e. g. near Doncaster, = marsh).

[2] Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 254.

CHAP. XIII. had been devised by Theodore in despite of his remonstrances? To yield to this demand, absolutely, would have been to give up the position in which he had been placed by the Roman Council,—a position of manifest advantage from his point of view. He therefore answered with a qualification: 'Yes, I am willing to comply with those regulations—according to the rule of the canons;' meaning, virtually, so far as they could be brought into harmony with the decree of the Council[1]. This saving clause, like Thomas of Canterbury's 'Saving my order[2],' was clearly calculated to exasperate his opponents: they would regard it as nullifying any verbal concession. And Wilfrid further damaged his case by indulging in what his panegyrist acknowledges to have been an outburst of sharp reproaches: 'Here you have been for two and twenty years contentiously standing out against the Apostolic authority. With what front can you still prefer any ordinances of Archbishop Theodore, framed in time of discord between prelates, to the salutary decrees of Pope Agatho, Pope Benedict, and Pope Sergius[3]?' The Council, apparently, adjourned at this point; and Wilfrid retired to take counsel with his friends. He then received two visitors in succession. One of the king's thanes, who when a boy had, like other 'earl-born' lads, been bred up in the house of the great bishop of York, and was warmly attached to him[4], emerged in disguise from the king's tent, and 'mingling like an unknown person with the soldiers who surrounded it,' found his way to his old patron, and said, 'They want to induce you to promise in writing that you will submit to whatever they

[1] Eadmer makes him say, 'You accuse me because I do not receive those decrees of Theodore, quas ipse non auctoritate canonica, sed discordia dictante composuit;' c. 46.

[2] See Milman, Lat. Chr. v. 47.

[3] 'Wilfridus igitur non ideo sibi injuriam illatam existimabat, quod episcopatus suus in plures divideretur,' but that bishops had been exercising jurisdiction in it in virtue of Theodore's arbitrary decree. 'Pontifices enim Romani decernebant dioecesim illam tam longe lateque extensam in plures esse partiendam, non tamen mera apostolica auctoritate, sed concilio rite congregato, depositis iis qui in Vilfridi absentia in episcopos contra canones ordinarentur;' Smith's Bede, p. 755.

[4] 'Unus ex ministris,' Eddi; 'juvenis quidam curialis,' Eadmer.

shall determine. And what they determine will be this; CHAP. XIII. that you shall resign into the archbishop's hands whatever you have held,—bishopric or monastery, in Northumbria or in Mercia,—to be disposed of at his will.' Having given this information, the friendly thane departed as secretly as he had come[1]. Presently afterwards a bishop entered, commissioned by Aldfrid and Bertwald to urge Wilfrid to promise, beforehand, that he would adhere to any decision of the archbishop. Wilfrid answered as any one in his position would have answered: '*I* must first know what that decision will be like.' 'I do not know, for my part,' said the envoy: 'nor will the archbishop give any information until he is assured under your hand that you will abide by what he says.' 'I never before heard,' said Wilfrid, 'of any attempt to bind a man to obey a judgement not yet given, before he knew what it would be. He might find that it ordered what was impossible.' But he came to the Council when it again assembled, and promised that he would heartily accept the archbishop's decision, *if* it were found to be agreeable to the canons and statutes of the Fathers, and not inconsistent with the judgements of the three Popes who had pronounced their decisions in the cause[2]. Again the qualification seems to have stirred up fresh bitterness: it was proposed by the king and the archbishop,—so, at least, Eddi informs us[3],—that Wilfrid should give up all his houses, so that he would not, in that case, have had 'even a little bit of a single dwelling' in Northumbria or in Mercia. But others, hearing this, were disgusted at such relentless severity; it would be 'impious' to strip a person of such well-known eminence, 'famous through all the nations around,' of all his property, 'without convicting him of any capital crime.' At last his adversaries modified their proposal, but in terms which showed not only the jealousy, but the alarm which Wilfrid's manifold ability and energy had inspired:—Let him have his

[1] This we learn from Eddi, 47.

[2] See Wilfrid's speech at Rome, Eddi, 53. Eadmer says that they caught up his words and said, 'One canonical rule of Theodore's is, that disobedient persons should be put down.'

[3] Eddi, 47.

CHAP. XIII. monastery of St. Peter at Ripon, with all that pertained to it,—but on this condition, to which his written assent was required, that he should not without the king's leave go beyond the precincts of the monastery, nor perform any episcopal[1] act,—a condition which, as Eddi expresses it, would amount to a self-deprivation. The spirit of Wilfrid took fire at such a suggestion. He broke forth into an indignant recital of his services to religion in Northumbria[2]. 'Was it not I who laboured, before any one else took the work in hand, to root out the evil plant of Scotic usages? Was it not I who converted all Northumbria to the true Easter and the crown-shaped tonsure, who established antiphonal chanting, who organized the monastic life according to the rule of the holy father Benedict, which no one before me had brought in[3]? And now, after nearly forty years spent in the episcopate[4], you ask me, in effect, to condemn myself, when I know of no crime that can be charged against me; I am to resign my office, on account of this question that has but lately come up. No, indeed! I appeal to the Apostolic see: whosoever would wish to depose me, let him meet me, as I this day challenge him to meet me, at *that* tribunal.' One seems to hear the raised tone[5], to see the proud and wrathful look, with which the indomitable man, at sixty-eight, confronted and defied his opponents, secular and hierarchical. They were, however, neither abashed nor overawed. The new appeal was a new offence: 'He is all the more blamable,' said the king and the archbishop, 'in that he has chosen to be judged at Rome

Wilfrid's second appeal.

[1] 'Sacerdotalis officii' must have this sense. Eadmer says that he was advised to accept these terms, and use the opportunity for a contemplative life. But he well knew the source whence this counsel emanated, and answered that the 'gift of counsel' had in it nothing of duplicity. All this is Eadmer's invention; it is what he thought likely to have been said.

[2] Lingard, A.-S. Ch. i. 141; Milman, ii. 269; Raine, i. 73.

[3] 'Of his noble apostolic labours, his conversion of the heathen, his cultivation of arts and letters, his stately buildings, his monasteries, he said nothing;' Milman, ii. 269. On his relation to the Benedictine rule see above, p. 249.

[4] If he was consecrated early in 665, he had been a bishop, by this time, for thirty-seven years. Eddi, 47; Fridegod, 1096. See above, p. 241.

[5] 'Intrepida voce elevata;' Eddi. 'Fecit ille quod erat constantissimi praesulis;' Smith's Bede, p. 756.

rather than by us.' Aldfrid even added a proposal to have Wilfrid put under arrest[1], that he might be effectually compelled to be content with home-authorities 'for one while.' But this was too much for the other bishops: they agreed to the sentence of deposition from episcopal dignity, but they would not violate the safe-conduct without which, as they said, Wilfrid would not have ventured to come to Easterfield. Let him go without hindrance; 'and let us, too, go quietly to our own homes.' 'After this conversation the fruitless Council[2] was dissolved.' CHAP. XIII.

Wilfrid returned into Mercia, and reported to Ethelred what the bishops had said at Easterfield, 'against Ethelred's own directions,' as Eddi tells us, alluding to some letter which the Mercian king had apparently written on his behalf. 'And what do you mean to do,' asked Wilfrid, 'as to the lands which I hold in your kingdom[3]?' 'I mean,' said Ethelred, 'to add no new trouble to your trouble. I will keep those lands for you until I can send messengers, or a letter, with you to Rome, to ask for instructions as to my conduct.' Far different was the conduct of some who, as Eddi says[4], 'usurped possession of Wilfrid's inheritance.' One is loth to think that Bosa or John would personally go to such extremities as are described; but we are told that the usurpers treated Wilfrid and the members of his monastic communities as excommunicate. If any of them, at the request of a layman, were to bless food with the sign of the cross, it was to be flung away as if it had been an offering to idols: even the vessels used by them at meals[5] were to be washed, before others might handle them without incurring ceremonial pollution. Wilfrid in Mercia.

In this state of public opinion, when a deep and persistent antipathy[6] was making itself felt against the exile

[1] 'Si praecipis, pater, opprimam eum per violentiam;' Malmesb. G. P. iii. 104.

[2] 'Inutile concilium;' Eddi, 48.

[3] He said nothing, Smith observes, about any bishopric as belonging to him in Mercia. He regarded himself as there a *locum tenens*.

[4] Eddi, 49.

[5] 'Vasa de quibus nostri vescebantur.'

[6] The existence of such a feeling is sufficient proof that, in Northumbria

CHAP. XIII. and the appellant, there was some reason to expect that the pressure might be too great for the fidelity of some of his monks or clerics,—that they might be scared into forsaking as hopeless the cause of 'a man forbid.' It was therefore

Aldhelm. an act of opportune generosity when the man who stood highest in ecclesiastical reputation throughout the English Churches, the unrivalled scholar,—the admired writer,—the popular and venerated abbot, Aldhelm of Malmesbury, interposed to inspirit and exhort the adherents of Wilfrid. We have already seen how Aldhelm had succeeded to the abbacy at Malmesbury; his administration was brilliantly successful; the community which had grown out of a little knot of scholars gathering round a foreign teacher beneath the walls of an old fortress had 'broken forth on the right hand and on the left,' for Aldhelm had been enabled to found another monastery at Frome, and another yet at Bradford-on-Avon [1], and the very ancient little church remaining at the latter place has been thought to be actually of his building. King Ine had given several lands for the augmentation of the parent monastery [2]: there had been 'a rush along all roads,' as William of Malmesbury expresses it, 'to Aldhelm [3]:' and among his disciples was Pecthelm, who afterwards held the restored bishopric of St. Ninian at Whithern or Candida Casa [4]. He was a

at any rate, there was a powerful mass of opinion which, in a practical sense, might be called anti-papal. In other districts the feeling was different.

[1] Faricius, Vit. Aldh. c. 2; Malmesb. G. Pontif. v. 198. When he wrote the church of Frome was still standing, and so, he says, was the 'ecclesiola' of St. Laurence at Bradford; but the monasteries had perished. On the church at Bradford see Freeman, Engl. Towns and Distr., p. 140; Parker, Intr. Goth. Arch., p. 15. Aldhelm also (ib. v. 217) built a church near Wareham in Dorset, which in the twelfth century still existed, unroofed, save for a prominence just above the altar: within its precinct, it was said, rain never fell.

[2] Kemble admits this charter, which belongs to 701; Cod. Dipl. i. 55. The Mercian sub-king Berthwald, who had been so friendly to Wilfrid, gave a piece of land on the Teme to Aldhelm's monastery; and Ethelred attested the grant in a 'synod' held at Burford, July 30, 685; Cod. Dipl. i. 30.

[3] 'Currebatur ad Aldelmum totis semitis;' Malmesb. G. Pontiff. v. 200.

[4] Malmesb. iii. 115. Haddan and Stubbs, ii. 7. Bede knew Pecthelm: see v. 13, 18, 23. He lived as 'deacon or monk' under Aldhelm as bishop.

friend and correspondent of the scholarly king of Northumbria; and Artwil, the scholarly son of an Irish king, submitted to Aldhelm all his literary compositions, which were not few in number[1]. The fame of the learned West-Saxon abbot had reached the ears of Pope Sergius, who invited him to Rome[2], allowed him to celebrate in the Lateran basilica[3], and sent him home with a letter of privilege for his monasteries[4], a store of relics, and a massive altar of white marble, which he gave to King Ine, who placed it in the royal 'vicus' of Bruton[5]. Traditions spoke of the rapturous joy with which Aldhelm's return was welcomed, when monks met him with cross and thurible and processional chant, and laymen expressed their delight by dancing or by other 'gestures of the body[6].' He was, we cannot doubt, the most popular of monks or priests: his scholars loved him passionately, as their 'most loving teacher of pure learning[7]'; and he well deserved their affection by the tender thoughtful interest with which he watched over their progress[8], and after they had left him still exhorted them, in extant letters, to avoid youthful follies, such as daily drinking-bouts, protracted feastings, or any excess in amusements[9],—to prefer the study of CHAP. XIII.

[1] Malmesb. G. P. v. 191.

[2] So says Faricius: 'Hunc . . . Sergius asciverat, quia . . . de eo persaepe audierat;' c. 2. Malmesbury says he went in order to get 'privileges' for his monasteries, but before setting out, built a church at Wareham, the roofless walls of which still existed. Among Aldhelm's verses are some in honour of SS. Peter and Paul, composed while he 'was entering their church at Rome' (i. e. St. Peter's). He invokes them both.

[3] Faricius has a tale of wonder about his chasuble being supported on a sunbeam. Then comes another, about his clearing the pope, by miracle, from a calumny. Comp. Malmesb. v. 218, that this red chasuble, preserved in the abbey, showed 'the saint to have been a tall man,' as did his relics.

[4] Faricius and Malm. v. 220.

[5] Malmesb. v. 222. He inclines to think that a camel bore this 'moles' to the foot of the Alps; but there the beast of burden, camel or not, 'stumbled'; the altar was broken, but miraculously put together again, &c. It was extant 'ad hanc diem.'

[6] Malmesb. l. c.

[7] 'Mi amantissime purae institutionis praeceptor;' Epist. 6, Ethelwald to Aldhelm.

[8] 'Ab ipsis tenerrimae cunabulis infantiae fovendo, amando,' &c.; Ep. 6.

[9] Ep. 10, Aldh. to Ethelwald. He mentions 'equitandi vagatione

CHAP. XIII. Scripture to immoral specimens of heathen poetry,—to keep clear of all sensuality, and to be simple in dress and habits,—and in all secular studies to keep in view sacred knowledge as the end to which all other lore should minister[1]. He himself had practised, in this matter, what he taught[2]: his literary activity never chilled or suspended his devotions: when he concludes his book on Metres with a pious aspiration 'that abundance of things perishable may not prove to be poverty in the world to come,' one seems to see into his mind[3], and to understand the moral and spiritual force exercised by one who is enthusiastically described in his capacity as a scholar, and as a teacher and controversialist, in the words of his Malmesbury biographer,—'wonderful in each of his qualities, and peerless in them all[4].'

Such was the man who now wrote 'to the clerks of Bishop Wilfrid[5],' entreating them not to be 'scandalized' by the raging storm that had broken over the Church, even if some of them had to share their prelate's lot in expulsion from home and compulsory wanderings abroad. Let them not be thankless to one who had lovingly trained them up from early childhood to opening manhood; let them cling to him, as bees cling to *their* monarch[6] through all weathers; let them remember the scorn and derision which would be poured out on laymen who forsook a kind lord in his adversity; 'and what, then,' he proceeds, 'will be said of you, if you leave a bishop who nourished and brought you up, alone in his exile?'

The persons addressed appear to have responded to the exhortation[7]. Solemn prayers and fasts, on the part of all

culpabili' (cp. Bede, v. 6), with 'conviviis usu frequentiore ac prolixiore inhoneste superfluis,' the latter a coarse Saxon habit: see above, p. 268. On the 'commessationes' and 'potationes' in the cells at Coldingham, see Bede, iv. 25; above, p. 290.

[1] Ep. 13, to a Wilfrid, going to study in Ireland.

[2] So Malmesbury says generally of him, v. 213. Cp. Lingard, ii. 187.

[3] See too the pious little Epist. 2.

[4] Malmesb. v. 200. He says that Aldhelm was like lightning in confuting adversaries, but soft as nectar in his instructions to pupils.

[5] Epist. 11; Malmesb. v. 192; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 254.

[6] A *king*-bee, according to Aldhelm: 'Rex earum spissis sodalium agminibus vallatus,' &c.

[7] Eddi, 50.

Wilfrid's monastic communities, preceded his departure. CHAP. XIII. Acca.
Among those who accompanied him was a man in several respects like-minded to himself, and who lived to do good service to the Northumbrian Church, and, indirectly at least, to the ecclesiastical literature of England. This was Acca, afterwards for some twenty-three years bishop of Hexham. He had been 'trained up from boyhood among the clergy of Bosa [1],' but attached himself to Wilfrid 'in the hope of a better plan of life [2].' He was thoroughly imbued with Wilfrid's love of ecclesiastical magnificence; and when he had the opportunity, he distinguished himself in the adornment and enrichment of churches, in the collection of theological books, in the organization of a school of Church music,—'for he himself was a very skilful chanter.' His own learning was considerable, his orthodoxy exact, his observance of all ecclesiastical rules punctilious. But our chief reason for gratitude to his memory is his practical encouragement of the labours of Bede, who loved him much. We find that he requested Bede to collect, as from 'a flowering paradise,' the best thoughts of the Fathers on the beginning of Genesis, for the sake of those who had not access to the originals [3]. To him also Bede addressed a tract on the Temple of Solomon, which seems to have been written when Acca had some troubles to endure [4]; and an allegorical exposition of the First Book of Samuel, which Acca had requested him to undertake [5]. Some questions which Acca propounded as to the 'stations' of the Israelites in their wanderings, and as to the mysterious text, 'They shall be

[1] See Bede's account of him, v. 20: 'Strenuissimus, et coram Deo et hominibus magnificus . . . cantator peritissimus . . . in litteris sanctis doctissimus, in catholicae fidei confessione castissimus, in ecclesiasticae quoque institutionis regulis sollertissimus.' 'Utpote qui a pueritia in clero . . . Bosa . . . nutritus atque eruditus erat,' &c. Cp. Eddi, 22. He succeeded Wilfrid as bishop of Hexham, but was expelled in 732; Sim. Dur. Hist. Reg. 31: and Skene conjectures that he may have brought 'St. Andrew's relics' from Hexham to 'Kilrymont,' or St. Andrews; Celtic Scotl. ii. 273.

[2] He *may* have accompanied Wilfrid into Sussex: but this is not proved by the reference to him in iv. 14, and he is not mentioned in iv. 13.

[3] Bed. Op. i. 169 and vii. 1 (Giles). Mr. Plummer points out that the true reading in the latter reference is 'antistiti,' not 'abbati.'

[4] Ib. i. 171; viii. 263.

[5] Ib. i. 195; vii. 369.

CHAP. XIII. shut up in prison, and after many days shall be visited,' diverted Bede for a while from the work on the book of Samuel [1]. And Acca's influence was effectual in regard to Bede's writings on the New Testament; we find that Bede sent him, for transcription, a work on the Apocalypse; and he then wrote to Bede, exhorting him to compile a Patristic commentary on St. Luke. Bede sent him, by way of instalment, a work on the Acts [2]: after reading which, as we learn from a very interesting letter of Acca, prefixed to the 'Exposition of St. Luke's Gospel [3],' Acca, both in conversation and by letters, urged him to comment on that Gospel, and replied, not without playfulness [4], and with several allusions to great Fathers, to his excuses for not attempting such a task. The urgency, so affectionate and so delicate in its tone, was irresistible: and Bede at once set to work, 'dictating,' as he says, 'to himself, and writing from his own dictation [5].' Acca, with many other brethren, pressed him further to write on the Gospel of St. Mark,—a work not accomplished until after a long interval [6]. It is worth while to glance at these occasions on which Bede, as commentator on Scripture, introduces his readers to Acca as to 'the dearest and most loving of prelates that live on the earth,' his 'most beloved and truly blessed lord [7].'

Such a companion as this—so loyal, sympathetic, and intelligent—must have been indeed a solace to Wilfrid, on this his third journey to 'the Apostles' threshold.' Twenty-five [8] years had passed since his former appeal; and now,

[1] Bede, Op. i. 198 ff.

[2] Ib. i. 184; xii. 1.

[3] Ib. x. 265. The bishop begins, 'Reverendissimo in Christo fratri et consacerdoti Bedae presbytero.'

[4] Bede had quoted the proverb, 'Why put fish into the sea?' Acca replies, 'Juxta comicum, Nihil sit dictum quod non sit dictum prius;' and urges the claim of charity. He desires Bede to prefix his letter to the Exposition when completed, in order to show that he had written it 'non ob aliam quam condescensionis fraternae gratiam.'

[5] Bede, Op. i. 179; x. 268: 'Mox lectis tuae dulcissimae sanctitatis paginulis, injuncti me operis labori supposui, in quo . . . ipse mihi dictator simul notarius et librarius existerem.' 'Librarius' = copyist.

[6] Ib. i. 177 (Ep. 8); x. 2.

[7] Bede, vii. 369, Introd. to Samuel; and i. 184, Ep. 10.

[8] He probably set forth late in 703, and wintered in Frisia.

after many disappointments and troubles, and after a period of tranquillity which had seemed likely to be permanent, the work had to be done all over again;—although the precedent of Agatho's decision would be morally certain to sway the councils of Rome, yet the treatment of that decision by English authorities might easily be repeated in regard to a new sentence. But Wilfrid's heart did not fail him: he went forth, to all appearance, with the same cheerful courage as on the previous occasion: his journey across the continent was made on foot [1], in spite of his seventy years, and included a visit, which must have been full of interest, to Archbishop Willibrord, in Frisia, when the conversation often turned on the wonderful things which, according to Willibrord, had been wrought in that province by contact with relics of the holy king Oswald. The archbishop also told a story of his own sojourn in Ireland, about the recovery of an Irish student from the pestilence, after drinking water into which Willibrord had dipped a splinter of the oaken stake on which Oswald's head had been fixed: the sick man, he assured his hearers, not only regained health, but passed from his former irreligiousness to a thoroughness of Christian devotion [2].

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Wilfrid's journey to Rome.

In due time Wilfrid and his companions found themselves once more at Rome, probably in the early part of 704. The existing Pope was John VI, who had been consecrated in the October of 701 [3]. He gave Wilfrid a speedy audience. The bishop presented to him, as he had presented to Agatho, a written memorial; and said that he had come to 'that most glorious see, as to a mother's bosom [4],' and not for the purpose of accusing any one, but in order to meet any charges that might be brought against him in the presence of the Roman Council. If they were true, he would confess them to be true; if they were false, he was ready to refute them. The Pope received the petitioners

Pope John VI.

[1] 'Pedestri gressu;' Eddi, 50.

[2] Bede, iii. 13. See above, p. 177.

[3] On the virtues of this pope, as a peace-maker and a ransomer of captives, see Milman, ii. 336; Hodgkin, vi. 363. He died Jan. 9, 705.

[4] Eddi, 50. Cp. Bede, v. 19, 'veniensque Romam,' &c.

CHAP. XIII. kindly,—the account unites Wilfrid closely with his attendant priests and deacons; and they enjoyed some days of repose in a lodging freely provided for them. Meanwhile certain envoys from the archbishop of Canterbury arrived with written charges against Wilfrid. It is surprising to find that only one of them was even in deacon's orders [1]. They, like Wilfrid, formally craved a hearing; and John assembled a synod of the neighbouring bishops together with their attendant clergy. Wilfrid's memorial was read. It addressed Pope John by that epithet of 'universal' which, a little more than a century before, had been rejected and reprobated by the greatest of his predecessors [2]. In substance it was to this effect: 'Once more, I invoke your see. I doubt not that you will adhere to the decisions of your predecessors; for myself, I accept whatever you may ordain. I come hither, because disturbances have arisen in Britain on the part of those who, contrary to the decree of Pope Agatho, took possession of my bishopric, my monasteries, my lands. I now ask that what was ordered by Agatho, by Benedict, and by Sergius, may be confirmed. But I am ready to meet any charges against me: let me have my accusers face to face. I also ask that Ethelred king of the Mercians may be commanded, for the comfort of my life [3], to protect my monasteries in his realm from disturbance,—as indeed he desires to do,—in accordance with the directions of former Popes. And I earnestly beg that King Aldfrid may be adjured [4] to comply with the decisions of Pope Agatho and his Council; or, if that should seem too much, let the see of York be disposed of as you will,—but at least let me have Ripon and Hexham. And I promise to show all brotherly charity, and all due reverence, to Archbishop Bertwald, if he will treat me according to the decrees of your predecessors [5].'

Roman Synod.

[1] 'Unus diaconus, et alii omnes sine aliquo ecclesiasticae dignitatis gradu;' Eddi, 53. Compare ib. 50, 53, on these 'legati' and 'nuntii.'

[2] See above, p. 71.

[3] 'De vitae nostrae solatio imperare dignemini;' Eddi, 51.

[4] 'Obsecretis.'

[5] Malmesbury, G. P. iii. 104, abbreviates this.

The memorial having been read, Wilfrid and his companions were allowed to return to their lodging. Bertwald's envoys were then admitted, and their paper of accusations was read. They also were bidden to retire, with a promise of a regular hearing at a future time. Pope John then told the Council that it was necessary to go through the documents on both sides. This was agreed to: a second sitting took place, in which the accused and the accusers met, and each charge was taken separately. The first was, 'Wilfrid contumaciously refused to comply with the synodical decree of Bertwald, who was sent from this Apostolic see [1],' a clause in which one of Theodore's strong points was ingeniously transferred to Bertwald. Wilfrid then rose, and gave his account of what had passed at Easterfield: it was accepted by the Council. 'And then,' says Eddi, 'they began to talk in Greek among themselves [2], with subdued smiles, and keeping us in the dark;' 'and afterwards said to the accusers,'—one can imagine the smooth Italian politeness barely hiding a quiet sneer,—'You are well aware, dear brethren, that according to the canons, when the accusers of a cleric fail to prove the first point of their charge, they are not allowed to go on to the rest. However, out of respect to the archbishop sent from this Apostolic see, and to Bishop Wilfrid here present, we will go thoroughly into the whole case, spending days or months, if need be, in bringing it to a conclusion.' The Council again adjourned: and, strange as it seems, devoted no less than seventy sittings, during four months, to a full investigation. At last, the record of Wilfrid's presence and testimony at the Roman Council of Easter Tuesday in 680 on the subject of Monothelitism was publicly read, 'in the Roman fashion, before all the people' who were present at the last of the seventy sittings, and we are told that 'all the wise citizens of Rome were astonished when they heard it read.' When the reader's voice stopped, all began to ask each other, 'Who is this Bishop Wilfrid [3]?' And then Boniface,

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[1] Eddi, 53: 'Hoc est primum capitulum,' &c.

[2] 'Inter se Graecizantes,' &c.; Eddi. The pope was himself a Greek.

[3] Bede, v. 19: 'Quod ubi lectum est,' &c.

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'a counsellor of the Pope,' and Sisinnius[1], with others, who had seen Wilfrid at Rome in 679–680, declared that the appellant now present was the same Wilfrid whom[2] Agatho had acquitted and sent home, and who now, unhappily, had been again compelled to leave his own see after an episcopate of about forty years; what was to be said of the men who had dared to present false documents, as containing accusations against him, in that venerable presence? Did not they deserve to wear out their lives in a dungeon? 'And the Romans affirmed, "You say the truth."' Here, perhaps, we may suppose Eddi to have indulged in amplification: but the next words, in which Pope John declared Wilfrid to be innocent, must be substantially genuine.

Decision of the Synod.

'We find[3], after full inquiry, that no crime is proved against Bishop Wilfrid. Let him be acquitted by authority of the Prince of the Apostles, who has power to bind and loose from hidden offences. What Agatho, Benedict, and Sergius decreed concerning him, our humility, with consent of the synod, has resolved to affirm, by writings sent to the kings and the archbishop.' Accordingly John wrote a letter to Ethelred and Aldfrid. Pope Agatho, he said, had considered the charges against Wilfrid, and had rejected them. His successors had followed his judgement: Theodore himself had not, to all appearance, resisted,—had sent no new accusation,—had rather, according to his own statements, rendered obedience. So much for the past. As to the present, the accusers had not proved their case against Wilfrid; rather, he had refuted them. The Council had gone minutely into the question. But the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop Wilfrid ought to meet face to face:

How modified by Pope John.

[1] They are named in that account of a smaller council which does not mention Wilfrid, and is probably an invention. See above, p. 330.

[2] Eddi. As Bede puts it, 'who after a thorough investigation and hearing of both sides was found by pope Agatho to have been unrighteously expelled from his see, and was held by him in such esteem that he ordered him to take his seat in a Council of bishops . . . as a man of pure faith and upright character.' Bede corrects Eddi's 'forty years and more' to 'nearly forty years.'

[3] Eddi, 53. 'They all said, together with the pontiff, that a man of such high position . . . ought by no means to be condemned, but to return home with honour, entirely acquitted of all charges;' Bede.

the former therefore was now ordered to assemble a synod together with Wilfrid, and then to summon the Bishops Bosa and John, and hear both sides. If the result should be a synodical settlement, that would be best for both sides; failing this[1], let the parties be admonished to repair together to Rome, that the case might be finally settled in a larger Council. Whosoever should delay to come, or ('which is to be abhorred') refuse to come, would incur deprivation. The kings were then exhorted to promote peace, and to remember the decision which several Popes had given as with one mouth; and so they were commended to the Divine keeping. CHAP. XIII.

Truly a characteristic document, one is disposed to say, was this letter of Pope John. He felt himself to be in a difficulty. On the one hand, he and his Council had come to the same conclusion with former Popes, and that was a conclusion in favour of Wilfrid. On the other hand, experience had shown that a Roman decree was by no means sure to be all-powerful with English kings and their ecclesiastical advisers. It would not be wise to issue too stringent a mandate; yet it would be scandalous to sacrifice Wilfrid, or compromise Papal consistency and authority. Therefore, while the kings' attention is solemnly called to the Papal judgements, and Theodore's tardy reconciliation with Wilfrid is magnified into a dutiful acceptance of those judgements, the Pope's letter does not imperatively demand the carrying-out of the decree by a reinstatement of Wilfrid. The dignity of Rome is saved, yet a loophole is provided for something short of simple obedience. That policy of delay, in which the Roman court became afterwards so skilful, is resorted to: on the pretext that Bertwald and Wilfrid ought personally to confront each other, the matter is referred to a synod in England, and Bertwald is soothed by the commission to hold such a synod. It is hoped that by this means the quarrel may be made up: if not, another

[1] Here Eddi's text, as given in Raine, is not clear; as in Haddan and Stubbs, it is unintelligible. Smith reads, 'moneat ut commonitionibus suis quaeque [quae?] prodesse suis partibus possunt unaquaeque (sc. pars) consideret, et ad hanc sedem,' &c. Smith's Bede, p. 758.

CHAP. XIII. and 'a larger Council' at Rome can be summoned to effect that settlement which, by hypothesis, a four months' inquiry at Rome and a national Council in Britain would have failed to effect: thus time is gained, and the English authorities are not alienated by severity[1].

By this time, not only had John VI found it desirable to write cautiously to Aldfrid, but Wilfrid himself had become weary, and perhaps for the first time despondent. He wished to give up the cause, and to end his days beside the throne of St. Peter[2]. But its occupant, and the other bishops, urged him to return home and finish the business, which could not be left in its present condition. He set forth accordingly, taking a last farewell of the sacred city, and carrying with him, 'as his custom was,' a store of relics duly catalogued, and vestments of silk and purple for churches,—together with the letters for the kings and the metropolitan; and also, probably, a letter, still extant[3], in which Pope John informed the English clergy that those of their body who had lately visited Rome had, after due deliberation, on the vigil of St. Gregory, laid aside the 'flowing laic garb,' and adopted close cassocks[4] after the Roman fashion,—an example which they were exhorted, 'by apostolic authority,' to imitate.

Wilfrid at Meaux.

The homeward journey was very trying to the aged bishop[5]. He became very ill, and after travelling on horseback as long as he could, was carried on a litter into Meaux, amid the wailing prayers[6] of his attendants, who thought that they were about to lose him while yet in a strange land. For four days and nights he lay as in a stupor, never tasting food or drink, and giving no token of life save by a faint breathing and by the animal warmth in his worn-out frame[7]. At last, on the fifth morning,

[1] John VI showed diplomatic ability when a visit of the Greek 'exarch' had nearly provoked a 'sedition' (Vit. Pontif.).

[2] Eddi, 55.

[3] Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 264.

[4] 'Talares tunicas.' See above, p. 7.

[5] Eddi, 56.

[6] 'Maerentium, ad Dominumque clamantium;' Eddi.

[7] Eddi; Bede, v. 19, says, 'halitu pertenui.'

while the watchers around his bed were weeping and reciting psalms, he raised himself up like one waking from sleep, and asked, 'Where is Acca the presbyter?' Acca came in, found him better and able to sit up, thanked God, and afterwards[1], when the rest were gone out, heard from Wilfrid that he had in his trance seen St. Michael, who had told him that he should live four years longer[2]. The story of the apparition is one of those imaginations which degrade the sacred names introduced; the prolongation of Wilfrid's life is not only ascribed to the intercession of the Blessed Virgin, but the Archangel is made to remind the great church-builder that he had 'never reared any house for St. Mary,' and that 'he had to amend this' defect[3]. That some such dream was described by Wilfrid to Acca, who told it to Eddi, is not to be doubted: it would fall in with Wilfrid's conceptions on such a subject. The bishop, Eddi then adds, washed his face and hands in the sight of his delighted followers, and, 'like Jonathan, felt his eyes to be enlightened after taking some food;' after a few days he resumed his journey, landed in Kent, and sent some of his clerks to confer with Bertwald. We are informed that the archbishop was overawed by the Pope's letter to him[4], which is not extant; and that he 'promised to mitigate the harsh decrees formerly passed in the synod.' Attended by a number of 'his abbots,' Wilfrid passed by London, and entered Mercia, meaning to present himself to King Ethelred. But Ethelred was king no longer. He was the abbot of Bardney; he had resigned his crown after reigning twenty-nine years[5], and had retired to the monastery in Lindsey which he and his murdered North-

Ethelred abbot of Bardney.

[1] Bede characteristically adds, 'They sat down together for a space, ac *de supernis judiciis trepidi*, began to talk a little,' &c.

[2] Bede reckons these 'four years' from his restoration.

[3] Eddi, 56. Bede omits this.

[4] Eddi says, 57, 'per nuntios scriptis directis,' as if the pope's letter had been entrusted to Bertwald's envoys; while it appears from Eddi, 53, 55, that it was entrusted to Wilfrid. But from c. 60 we learn that the envoys had one copy, and Wilfrid brought another.

[5] See Chronicle, a. 704; Florence, a. 716. Ethelred had resigned before June 13, 704; Cod. Dipl. i. 60.

CHAP. XIII. umbrian wife had 'greatly loved, reverenced, and adorned[1].' One thinks of the ex-king, the son of Penda, gazing at the tomb of his father's sainted victim, where the banner of gold and purple, or the shreds that might remain of it, still bore witness to Oswald's majesty. And here, under the roof of this royal abbey, Wilfrid was fain to meet Ethelred. The old men embraced, and wept for joy: Ethelred, on seeing the papal letter,—a duplicate, of course, of the one addressed to Aldfrid conjointly with himself,—looked on its 'bulls' and seals very differently from Egfrid on a former occasion. He bowed to the very ground after hearing the letter read, and promised that he would do his best to procure compliance with its directions. He kept his word by summoning his nephew Kenred[2], who had succeeded him on his abdication, and who assured him that he also would 'obey the precepts of the Apostolic see.' During a short stay in the Mercian realm, Wilfrid probably met Edgar, then bishop of Lindsey[3], and would hear that in the neighbouring realm of East-Anglia the see of Elmham was held by Nothbert[4], and that of Dunwich perhaps by Aldbert[5], while the foundation of his friend Queen Etheldred was under the care of Ermenild, the widow of Wulfhere, or possibly of her daughter Werburga, who had been active during her uncle Ethelred's reign in founding nunneries at Trentham, Hanbury, and Weedon[6]. Before leaving

Kenred king of Mercia.

[1] Bede, iii. 11: 'Ut monasterium nobile,' &c. See above, p. 177, on the burial of St. Oswald there.

[2] He was son of Wulfhere, and brother of St. Werburga. He confirmed a grant of land at Twickenham to bishop Waldhere; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. i. 60. Bede tells a terrible story (v. 13, told him by bishop Pecthelm) respecting a thane in Kenred's service whom the young king often admonished to amend his conduct, but who always answered that he had time enough before him. He died in despair, and Malmesbury sees in this a main cause of Kenred's resolution to go to Rome and turn monk; G. Reg. i. 4.

[3] See Bede, iv. 12. He signs, as bishop, a charter of Ethelward, 'subregulus' of the Hwiccas, in favour of Egwin's new monastery, in 706; Cod. Dipl. i. 65.

[4] Florence, App., Mon. H. Brit. p. 618. He signs the same charter.

[5] He was bishop when Bede wrote; v. 23: the date of his accession is unknown. Florence calls him Æsculf.

[6] Cp. Alb. Butler, Feb. 3. See above, p. 207.

Lindsey, Wilfrid, by Ethelred's advice, sent an abbot named Badwin and a 'teacher[1]' called Alfrid to apprise the Northumbrian king of his return, and to ask leave for Wilfrid to come to him with the Apostolic letter of greeting, and with the Apostolic decisions in the cause. Aldfrid gave them a courteous reception, and appointed a day for his definite answer. But when, on that day, they again appeared before him, he, by advice of his counsellors, spoke thus: 'Venerable brothers both, ask of me whatever you want for yourselves, and I will give it you. But, from this day forth, never ask of me anything for Wilfrid your lord. For what my predecessors[2], and the archbishop, with their advisers, determined, and what I myself with the archbishop[3] and nearly all the bishops of the nation have decided upon, this I am resolved never, while I live, to alter for any alleged writings from the Apostolic see[4].'

CHAP. XIII.

Obstinacy of Aldfrid.

It was afterwards said that Aldfrid, on his death-bed, regretted his treatment of Wilfrid, and exhorted his future successor to obey the Pope's decree. His sister Elfled is cited by Eddi[5] as an authority, among other 'eye-witnesses,' for the king's 'repentance,' and for this speech, which included a promise on his own part, if his life should be spared. Eddi presumes that Aldfrid 'the Wise' knew his illness to be 'a stroke of the Apostle's power.' He did not recover: for some days he was speechless, and on the 14th of December, 705[6], he died at Driffield, 'the field of Deira,' an ancient town in the East Riding. For eight weeks the kingdom was in the hands of Eadwulf, who is ignored by the Chronicle: and his usurpation was the first specimen of several feeble and ignoble kingships,

Death of Aldfrid.

[1] Comp. Bede, iv. 5: 'Magistris ecclesiae pluribus.'

[2] So Eddi, 58, by a slip for 'predecessor.'

[3] Again, as in Eddi, 53, the phrase, 'ab apostolica sede emisso,' is applied without propriety to Bertwald.

[4] 'Propter apostolicae sedis, *ut dicitis*, scripta.' Hook's mistranslation, 'from the apostolic see, *as you call it*,' i. 191, is a serious misrepresentation.

[5] Together with 'Ethelburga, abbess;' Eddi, 59.

[6] Bede and the Chronicle give the year; the Chronicle gives the day and place.

CHAP. XIII. which caused men to look upon the close of Aldfrid's nineteen years as a disastrous epoch for Northumbria[1]. Wilfrid had ventured to return to Ripon[2] before he sent messengers to Eadwulf, who repelled them with an 'austere' reply, swearing by his salvation that unless Wilfrid left his realm within six days, any of his companions found in it should be put to death. But in February, a successful conspiracy overthrew Eadwulf and enthroned Osred, son of Aldfrid, a boy of eight, in the first year of whose reign[3] another Council was called to settle the 'cause of Wilfrid' in the manner suggested by Pope John. The place of this assembly was somewhere on the river Nidd[4], which flows from the north-west by Knaresborough, and is invested with remarkable associations of later date.

Osred king of Northumbria.

Council of the Nidd.

This Council of the Nidd was not, like that of Easterfield, a representation of all the English Churches. Bertwald was the only Southern prelate present: he and Wilfrid arrived on the same day. The boy-king and his earls appeared with the three Northumbrian bishops, Bosa, John, and Eadfrid, and certain abbots, and the abbess Elfled, 'ever the comforter and best counsellor of the whole province[5].' The archbishop was in a different mood from that in which he had seconded Aldfrid's rigorous line of conduct towards Wilfrid. He rose, and at once took the line of a peacemaker: 'Let us pray to our Lord, that He would by His Holy Spirit

[1] Bede, Ep. to Egbert, 7. Boniface, Ep. 62, tells king Ethelbald of Mercia that the privileges of Northumbrian churches remained inviolate until the time of king Osred.

[2] Eddi says, 'cum filio suo proprio veniens de Hrypis;' 59. On this it has been asked, Was Wilfrid ever married? Kemble supposes that he had been; ii. 444. But this would be inconsistent with Eddi's account of his early life, and with his own affirmation, Eddi, 21. Raine thinks that the relationship was a spiritual one, Hist. Ch. York, i. 89; and although the word 'proprio' is remarkable, as followed by the statement that Osred became his 'filius adoptivus,' it may be used to indicate a 'sonship' more sacred and intimate than would be constituted by simple 'adoption.' See Eddi, 18, for the story of the boy (Eodbald), surnamed 'Bishop's son.' Above, p. 269.

[3] It was a bad reign; see Boniface, Ep. 62. He was a profligate youth, and was killed in battle, when only nineteen, Chron. a. 716; Hen. Hunt. iv. 8; cp. Malm. G. R. i. 53. Bede records his violent death, v. 22.

[4] Bede, v. 19, 'juxta fluvium Nidd.' Eddi adds, 'ab oriente,' 60.

[5] 'Consolatrix optimaque consiliatrix.'

infuse into our hearts the spirit of concord.' Then, speaking as Theodore would never have condescended to speak, in the deferential style of one who was not certain of his own authority in Northumbria, Bertwald said that he and Bishop Wilfrid had certain letters directed to him from the Apostolic see, which they wished the Council to hear; and the document, of which, it appears, there were two copies, was read accordingly. Bertfrid, the chief ealdorman, said to the archbishop, 'We should like to hear it translated into our own language.' Bertwald answered by remarking —a true remark for many an age—on the periphrastic lengthiness of the Papal style [1], and added that he could give the sense of the letter in few words. The Apostolic see, which had power to bind and to loose, had ordered that in his presence the bishops of Northumbria should be reconciled to Bishop Wilfrid. They must choose one of two courses. Either let them make peace with Wilfrid, and restore, as the Witan should decide together with the archbishop, 'those parts of the churches which Wilfrid himself once ruled;' or else let all the parties concerned meet at Rome, to have the affair settled by a greater Council. To refuse both these courses would be to incur deposition: a layman so offending would incur excommunication 'from the Body and Blood of Christ.' The three bishops, who evidently deemed their chief a weak deserter, boldly asked, 'How can any one have power to change what our predecessors, and Theodore, and King Egfrid, ordained, and what afterwards, in the field called Easterfield, we and nearly all the bishops of Britain decreed, with King Aldfrid, and in your presence, O Archbishop?' The tide, however, had turned against them. Elfled declared that Aldfrid had in his last days expressed his intentions in favour of Wilfrid with the solemnity of a vow as to himself, of an injunction as to his heir; and Bertfrid, speaking for the king and the ealdormen, announced their mind to the same purpose. He told what had lately happened: when besieged in Bamborough [2] by Eadwulf, CHAP. XIII.

[1] 'Longo circuitu et ambagibus verborum;' Eddi.

[2] 'Bebbanburg.' See above, p. 28.

CHAP. XIII. and shut up within the limits of a rocky fortress, he and his fellow-earls had vowed that if 'their royal boy' should gain his father's kingdom, they would adhere to the decisions of Rome about Wilfrid; straightway the besiegers had come over to their side, and sworn friendship towards them,—the gates of the city had been thrown open, they had been delivered from their distress,—their royal boy was king. The three bishops saw that it was a time for peaceful settlement, on such terms as could be accepted. They conferred with Bertwald, and then with Elfled; and the result—the end of the whole weary controversy—was another compromise. For all the big words about obedience to Papal mandates, the mandates of Agatho, of Benedict, and of Sergius were *not* obeyed: the liberty of decision conceded by John VI to a Northumbrian synod was used in such a manner as Wilfrid himself had in some sense foreseen, when he intimated that his full claim might be more than Northumbrian authorities would grant. Bede says indeed, in one place, that he was 'received again to the prelacy of his own church[1]'; but in another he explains that this church was Hexham, and that when Wilfrid 'after his long exile' was restored to this bishopric[2], John, on the death of Bosa[3], was placed in the see of York[4]. So that, in fact, the second compromise was less favourable than the first: Wilfrid, in 686, became bishop of York, though with a diminished diocese; in 706 he had to be content with the see of Hexham and the minster of Ripon,—clearly, in the first instance, with Ripon only, until Bosa's death, which soon followed, opened the way for an arrangement. Wilfrid

Final compromise.

[1] Bede, v. 19. So Eadmer, who wishes to make it appear that Wilfrid simply triumphed, 51.

[2] Bede, v. 3. He plainly refers to the second exile.

[3] Bosa's death, as we have seen, was erroneously ante-dated by Florence. See Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 171; Stubbs, Registr. Angl. p. 4; and Smith's Bede, p. 759, 'Bosa ante annum 705 non obiit.'

[4] It was as bishop of York that John visited the nunnery of 'Wetadun,' and prayed over a sick nun, Bede, v. 3; and dedicated a church on the estate of an earl named Puch, two miles from Beverley (v. 4), and another church founded by earl Addi in the neighbourhood (v. 5)—indications of the growth of that parochial system which 'needed no foundation'; Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 260: see above, p. 196.

had thus to abandon his claim on the ancient see of the royal city, the mother-church of Northumbria; he had to acquiesce in the translation of John from Hexham to York, and to take possession of Hexham as John's successor. He recovered, however, all his domains and monasteries, in Northumbria and in Mercia. The arrangements made in the Council were sealed by a solemn Eucharist, at which the four prelates of Northumbria exchanged the kiss of peace, and shared in the Bread of unity. And so, writes Eddi, 'they returned to their own homes in the peace of Christ;' and the once fiery and imperial spirit of Wilfrid, bent and chastened by age and troubles, was content with the prospect of quiet and peace in exchange for the hope of triumphant ascendency. But, from a purely Roman point of view, the settlement was somewhat of an impotent conclusion: an ardent supporter of Roman claims would be disappointed at such a result of reiterated Papal decisions although he might console himself by the reflection that if Wilfrid had not, in effect, secured all that he had once hoped for, his protracted cause had at least familiarized his fellow-Churchmen with the thought of appeals to the 'Apostolic see.' His pertinacity had not led to any immediate and brilliant success; but it had formed a precedent which might, under favourable auspices, be productive of greater things hereafter[1].

CHAP. XIII.

[1] On the 'system of appeals to Rome,' as having begun with Anselm, see Dean Church's Life of St. Anselm, p. 223; above, p. 325.

CHAPTER XIV.

We must now, once more, turn back from the continuous story of Wilfrid's contests and troubles to the quiet development of Church life and work in the southern districts, and particularly among the West-Saxons. We have seen something of Aldhelm's unrivalled celebrity and influence; and the interest of ecclesiastical annals, as regards the ordinary progress of the English Church, centres at this point in him. Of him probably Bertwald thought, when he urged on the Wessex authorities the partition of their great diocese,—a step which Heddi seems to have regarded with disfavour, and to have hindered during his own lifetime. The difficulty was so serious that in 704, the year of Wilfrid's sojourn at Rome, a provincial Council in its yearly meeting threatened to suspend communion with Wessex, if there were further delay in the appointment of another bishop, at least, for that kingdom [1]. But in the following year, 705 [2], we find a number of English bishops [3] taking part in a synod which was held, apparently, within the bounds of Wessex, and which resolved to remonstrate with the neighbouring British clergy and laity on their obnoxious Easter-rule. Who so fit as the abbot of Malmes-

[1] Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 267, 275: the letter of bishop Waldhere. This throws a doubt on a quotation by Rudborne of a 'decree of Theodore,' to the effect that the diocese was not to be divided in Heddi's lifetime; Angl. Sac. i. 193; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 126.

[2] Faricius says, indeed, in 706; but this would not suit the notes of time for the episcopate of Aldhelm. Probably he was misled by a record connecting this synod with the first year of the Northumbrian Osred, whose right to his father's crown would in some sense be traced to the end of 705. See Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 268.

[3] Aldhelm, Ep. 1: 'Ex tota paene Britannia innumerabilis Dei sacerdotum caterva confluxit.' It was not, then, as Faricius says, a mere West-Saxon synod.

bury, the foremost scholar in all the English Churches, to undertake such a task? To him, accordingly, it was committed [1]; and he wrote, at once, what is reckoned as the first of his letters [2], and is addressed, in highly respectful terms, to 'the most glorious lord, swaying the sceptre of the Western realm, whom the writer embraces with brotherly charity,—to King Geruntius, and at the same time to all God's priests [3] dwelling in Domnonia.' This potentate was the British king Geraint, who appears in the Chronicle for 710 as defeated by Ine: his realm was nearly the whole of Dyfnaint [4], that is, of Devonshire and Cornwall, the 'West Wales' of English speech, which still maintained its Celtic independence, and only by degrees gave place to the advance of the Saxon. Geraint, indeed, held part of Somersetshire, until Ine built Taunton as a frontier-fortress [5]. To this prince, then, Aldhelm wrote, in effect as follows. 'I am commissioned by a large Council of bishops to call your attention to four points which are faulty in regard to the clergy of your nation. First, your priests are said to be contentious: they do not live in harmony with each other. They ought to remember the sayings of Scripture in praise of concord. Secondly, there has been a rumour, widely spread, to the effect that certain priests and clerics in your province obstinately refuse the tonsure of St. Peter, on the ground of adherence to the tradition of their predecessors. As for the tonsure which they use, it is, according to the opinion of most persons [6], traceable to Simon, the inventor of art-magic; and this I take to be the

[1] 'Jubente synodo,' Bede, v. 18. Aldhelm refers, in De Laud. Virginit. 2, to a 'pontificale conciliabulum' which he had attended.

[2] See it in Migne, Patr. Lat. lxxxix. 87; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 268.

[3] As we have seen (p. 245) two of Chad's consecrators were probably from this part of the British Church. See Haddan and Stubbs, i. 150.

[4] Probably 'the deep valleys,' e.g. of Dartmoor. Strictly, Dyfnaint would be distinguished from Cernau, or Cornwall. For this king Geraint, and for an earlier who has left his name at 'St. Gerrans,' in Cornwall, see Dict. Chr. Biogr. ii. 664, 666. Also Rhys, Celtic Britain, p. 109; Guest, Orig. Celt. ii. 271. Dumnonia or Damnonia was then the most important of 'British' kingdoms.

[5] Soon after his victory, Chron. 716. Wessex had stretched to the Parret since the victory of Kenwalch at 'Peonna' (Pen) in 658.

[6] 'Secundum plurimorum opinionem.' See above, p. 93.

CHAP. XIV. case, because the Clementine books testify to his machinations, as a wizard, against St. Peter. We, bearing testimony, according to Scripture, concerning our tonsure, assert that St. Peter appointed it for several reasons [1];—but we see an indication of it in the ancient Nazarites, and it seems to be a symbol both of royalty and priesthood, so that the heads of clerics illustrate St. Peter's own saying, "Ye are . . . a royal priesthood [2]." But, thirdly, there is another and a more cruel mischief to souls, in that your priests do not follow the rule of the Nicene Council as to Easter. That rule prescribed the use of a cycle of nineteen years [3], and made the fifteenth moon the beginning of the Paschal "calculation," and the twenty-first moon the end of it' (i. e. the possible Easter Sundays were those from the fifteenth to the twenty-first moon inclusive). 'But your priests, following the canon of Anatolius [4], or rather that of Sulpicius Severus, keep Easter with the Jews on the fourteenth moon: whereas the Roman pontiffs have not sanctioned either canon, nor that of Victorius, which embraces five hundred and thirty-two years. For there was an old sect of heretics called Tessareskaidecaditae, who were excommunicated for keeping the fourteenth moon with the Jews as the time for the Paschal festival.

[1] Three are then given: (1) to represent the crown of thorns; (2) to distinguish the old from the new priesthood; (3) 'that Peter and his successors might bear ridiculosum gannaturae ludibrium in populo Romano, quia et eorum barones et hostes exercitu superatos sub corona vendere solebant.'

[2] It would almost seem as if Aldhelm thought that 1 Pet. ii. 9 was addressed to the clergy as such.

[3] He adds, 'composed of an ogdoad and a hendecadas;' see Bede, De Temporibus, c. 11: 'Cyclum decennovenalem propter xiv. lunas paschales Nicaena synodus instituit, eo quod ad eundem anni solaris diem unaquaeque luna per xix. annos . . . redeat . .;' 'Octo enim anni lunares totidem annos solares duobus tantum diebus transcendunt, quorum alter ad explementum occurrit hendecadis,' &c.; and his verses 'De Ratione Temporum.' On the nineteen years' cycle, see also Ceolfrid (in effect, Bede) in Bede, v. 21.

[4] See Bede, iii. 3, 'aestimans, &c. . . . Anatolii scripta secutam;' and iii. 25, where Colman argues that Anatolius reckoned from 'the fourteenth,' and Wilfrid replies that *he* framed a cycle of nineteen years which Colman ignored, and that he regarded the fourteenth evening as the beginning of the fifteenth moon. See above, p. 228.

Fourthly, the priests of the Demetians[1] (i.e. the people of our present South Wales), who dwell beyond the Severn, will not even pray with a Saxon in church, nor eat with him at table. On the contrary, they throw to dogs and swine the remains of his meal, and insist on cleansing with sand or ashes[2] the dishes or bowls from which he has eaten and drunk. They refuse us the kiss of peace; they even refuse us an ordinary greeting. If any of our people, that is, of Catholics, go to dwell among them[3], they put them under penance for forty days. This is like those heretics who called themselves "the Pure[4]." Alas! it is like the Pharisees who incurred the "woe" for cleansing the outside of cup and platter, and for indulging in a spirit of self-righteous intolerance. I entreat you, "do not superciliously and doggedly refuse to obey the decrees of St. Peter, nor in tyrannous pertinacity spurn the tradition of the Roman Church for the sake of the statutes of your own forefathers." It was to Peter that the keys were given: who then can hope to enter the gate of paradise, if in this world he despises the statutes of Peter's Church? But perhaps some one, proud of his knowledge of Scripture, will say, "I sincerely believe both Testaments, and will freely proclaim to the people the true faith as to the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Passion, the Resurrection." But "faith without works is dead"; faith, if it is Catholic, is inseparable from charity, or else it profits nothing; good works are profitless outside the Catholic Church, even if they include strict observance of coenobitic discipline, or CHAP. XIV.

[1] Demetia is here used for Deheubarth or South Wales; Palgrave, p. 457; Pearson's Hist. Maps, p. 22; although in a stricter sense it meant the south-western part, Pembrokeshire and the parts next to it, otherwise called Dyfed; see Lappenberg, i. 120; Haddan and Stubbs, i. 144; Jones and Freeman's Hist. St. David's, p. 237. Giraldus, in Descr. Camb. i. 2, calls Demetia a portion of Deheubarth containing seven 'cantrevs' or hundreds.

[2] 'Aut harenosis sabulorum glareis, aut fulvis favillarum cineribus.' See above, p. 112.

[3] The West-Saxons who gradually settled beyond our present Somerset, amid a British population, called themselves Defnsætas, dwellers in Dyfnaint,—whence 'men of Devon.'

[4] Novatians, the 'Cathari'; Nicene can. 8.

CHAP. XIV. even the severest asceticism of the anchorite: in one word, it is idle to boast of true belief, unless one follows the rule of St. Peter.'

It must be owned that this letter does not raise our opinion of Aldhelm. It is superior to many of his remains in point of style, that is, it is comparatively free from the extravagant and often ludicrous grandiloquence [1] which, being a characteristic of one so greatly admired and honoured, did much to pervert the taste of those who looked to him as a model, especially of the charter-writers of the ninth century [2]. We have more serious matter in this letter to King Geraint. The absurdity of Aldhelm's remarks on the tonsure is disappointing; but the unfairness of describing the Britons as Quartodecimans without indicating, as even Eddi does, that the term is being used in a lax sense,—the virtual identification of faith like St. Peter's with conformity to all the decrees or observances of Rome [3], the conspicuous lack of a sense of proportion in matters ecclesiastical or religious,—these things awaken a stronger feeling than that of mere disappointment. If so good a man and so well-read a student could sink into such petty narrowness, what must have been the effect of Latin rigorism on the rank and file of Latinized clergy? The calm assumption that the British Church was not Catholic is in full accord with the apparent unconsciousness of any provocations of the 'Saxon' side which had stirred the resentful Celtic nature to such coarse demonstrations as are here denounced, or as, in the Irish bishop Dagan's case, had shocked the first successor of Augustine [4]. The intense antipathy of the British to the English Church, described by Bede as a

[1] See above, p. 296.

[2] Lingard, A.-S. Ch. ii. 152, 404, says that Boniface showed traces of this bad habit, but that it hardly reappears afterwards until in the ninth century it was 'revived in all its extravagance' by charter-writers.

[3] Aldhelm undoubtedly treats Rome as the centre of unity and the standard of doctrine and discipline. He puts into sonorous form the argument with which Oswy closed the Whitby conference.

[4] Above, p. 111. Giraldus says that the Welsh are 'ready to avenge not only new and fresh injuries, verum etiam veteres et antiquas *velut instantes*' (Descr. Camb. i. 17).

virtual non-recognition of its Christianity [1], was of course connected with the bitter recollections of the English conquest, the humiliating experiences of English ascendency. With all such allowances, it was doubtless excessive and unchristian-like; it must have been fostered by the continuous neglect or refusal of all responsibility in regard to the evangelization of the 'Saxons' while yet heathen; but we have Aldhelm's word for the existence, among these remoter Welsh, of the theological learning and the monastic self-devotion which had distinguished the Church of Padarn and Illtyd, of Dubricius and David. The effect of Aldhelm's exhortations was confined, says Bede, to those Britons who were 'subject to the West-Saxons [2],' that is, who dwelt in parts of Devon and Somerset which were no longer British. No inhabitants of Wales adopted the 'Catholic Easter' until 755-777, when 'their Easter was altered' first in North Wales, then, after much resistance, in South Wales, by the counsel 'of Elbod, a man of God,' who is also described as 'archbishop of Gwynedd [3],' and after whose death the contest was renewed; while, so far as 'West Wales' was concerned, there was no surrender of the national 'Pasc' until after the foundation of the Saxon bishopric of Crediton in the early part of the tenth century [4], although a Cornish bishop, some fifty years before, CHAP. XIV.

[1] Bede, ii. 20. See Lingard, A.-S. Ch. i. 61: 'In their estimation the Saxons were . . . the children of robbers . . . possessing the fruit of their fathers' crimes, and therefore still lying under the maledictions formerly pronounced by the British bishops against the invaders.'

[2] Bede, v. 18. Were these the 'nonnulla pars de Brettonibus' to whom Bede refers in v. 15? The reference to Adamnan there might seem to point to Britons of Strathclyde. The laws of Ine treat Britons as subjects, though of a lower class; s. 23, 24, 32, 46: see Freeman, i. 34, and Hist. Cath. Ch. of Wells, p. 18.

[3] See Ann. Camb., and Brut, in Mon. Hist. Brit. pp. 834, 843, and another form in Haddan and Stubbs, i. 204, and Ann. Menev. in Angl. Sac. ii. 648. See Lingard, A.-S. Ch. i. 62. According to Rees, Welsh Saints, p. 66, North Wales adopted the Catholic Easter soon after Elbod became bishop of Bangor in 755. The South Welsh resisted until 777: and when Elbod died in 809 they returned for a time to their old rule. For Elbod or Elfod, as probably bishop of Bangor, and as not proved to be a metropolitan, although clearly not under a metropolitan, see Jones and Freeman, Hist. St. David's, p. 258.

[4] Haddan and Stubbs, i. 676. See Napier and Stevenson, Early Charters, p. 1 ff., for the probable foundation of a monastery at Crediton in 739.

CHAP. XIV. had submitted to Canterbury. However, it pleased Malmesbury to say, 'The Britons even to this day owe their correction to Aldhelm[1].' The Celtic persistency had given way in more than one quarter when Aldhelm was thus employed against its south-western strongholds. The Northern Irish had followed, about 704, the example set by the Southern Irish after the Council of the White Field in 634: they had yielded to the influence of Adamnan[2], who had candidly examined the subject, and come to the conclusion that the Roman system was correct, but, abbot of Hy as he was, had failed to carry his own monks along with him, and even in North Ireland those who were specially under the sway of Hy stood out against the arguments of its head[3]. But after several years, they were 'brought round' by his influence 'from their ancestral errors.' The Pictish Church, its 'Columban' monasteries excepted[4], was persuaded or constrained by its king Nechtan or Naiton (himself convinced by a missionary named Boniface)[5] to yield to the representations of Abbot Ceolfrid in a letter which Bede himself may well have penned[6], five years after the letter of Aldhelm to Geraint:

[1] Malmesb. Gest. Pontif. v. 215. He adds, 'Although, in their ingrained wickedness, they ignore the man and set at nought the book.'

[2] See Bede, v. 15: 'Navigavit Hiberniam,' &c. Above, p. 112.

[3] Adamnan was in Ireland in 686; on his return to Hy, he vainly endeavoured to establish there the 'Catholic' Easter. He revisited Ireland in 692, and again in 697; then remained there seven years, and 'taught nearly all of those who were free from the dominion of the monks of Hy to observe the legitimate time of Easter'; Bede, v. 15. Whether the English-born St. Gerald of Mayo lived thus early, and was his host, is uncertain. He had the satisfaction of celebrating the 'true' Easter of 704 in Ireland, returned to Hy, and died on Sept. 23, 704; so that, as Bede expresses it, he was spared 'a more serious contest, at the return of Easter, with those who would not follow him to the truth.' See Lanigan, iii. 150; Reeves's Adamnan, p. lvi; Haddan and Stubbs, ii. 110; Skene, Celt. Sc. ii. 174.

[4] Nechtan afterwards, as Reeves says, p. 184, 'drove the non-conforming Columbian' (*sic*) 'monks past his frontier' (i. e. monks dependent on Hy). Cp. Skene, i. 284.

[5] Skene, Celt. Sc. ii. 231.

[6] Bede, v. 21. The letter is a repository of the Roman topics of argument as to 'Pasch' and tonsure. On the former point, Ceolfrid lays down three principles: (1) In settling Easter, observe the first month; (2) in it, the third week; (3) in that week, a Sunday. The true import of 'the fourteenth day *at even*' (Exod. xii. 18) must be insisted on, so that the

and even the stubbornness of St. Columba's own monastery was for the most part broken down by the persuasions of the priest Egbert, six years later yet, in 716[1]. But a section of the monks set up a new abbot, and this schism lasted for nearly sixty years. CHAP. XIV.

The obstacle to the partition of the West-Saxon diocese was removed in 705, on the 7th of July[2], or more probably earlier, by the death of Heddi, after an episcopate of nearly thirty years. Then, at last, the partition took place; but it was not an equal one[3], for Winchester retained only Hampshire and Surrey, while the other parts of Wessex—Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Berkshire, and part if not the whole of Somerset—were annexed to the new see, which was established at Sherborne. For Winchester a bishop was found who is best known to us through his correspondence with the great St. Boniface. This was Daniel, who was still living when Bede wrote[4]: it was he who overcame

West-Saxon diocese divided.

Daniel, bishop of Winchester.

reckoning may not begin earlier than the close of that day. If that evening is a Saturday, let it be Easter Eve; let the fifteenth day be Easter Sunday. Avoid the mistakes either of taking the thirteenth or the sixteenth evening as the *terminus a quo*, or the twentieth or the twenty-second as the *terminus ad quem*; in other words, do not include days ignored in the Law and exclude days expressly mentioned. And as for the month, let the equinox be the guide; it falls on March 21; a full moon, then, which is earlier than that day, cannot be the paschal full moon. (Here comes a mystical explanation of the rule of keeping Easter *after* the equinox.) Ceolfrid adds an account of the nineteen years' cycle, with the remark that even in Britain there are reckoners who, by help of Alexandrian rules, can calculate Easters for the whole period of 532 years, after which the solar and lunar, the monthly and weekly, sequences would recommence. As to tonsure, it is admitted that there has been no uniformity, and that variety of usage does no harm where faith and charity are present; but among all modes surely that is the best which is traceable to St. Peter, and reminds us of the crown of thorns, and of the duty of suffering reproaches for Christ's sake. Then comes a criticism on the Celtic tonsure.

[1] Bede, v. 22. Haddan and Stubbs, ii. 114. Skene, ii. 177, 278.

[2] See Alb. Butler. But this day is too late, if Aldhelm died in the fifth year of his episcopate; Malmesb. v. 231. It is probable that after the threat of suspension of communion at a synod of 704, there was an agreement that the division should take place as soon as the now aged bishop had passed away.

[3] See Malmesb. Gest. Pontif. v. 223. The Chronicle says that Aldhelm 'was bishop on the west of Selwood.'

[4] Bede, v. 18. He supplied Bede with some documents, and survived him ten years, having resigned his see in 744.

CHAP. XIV. the repugnance of the Isle of Wight to West-Saxon dominion sufficiently for the regular annexation of its church to his bishopric, and who promoted the revival of the South-Saxon bishopric of Selsey[1]. He gave most opportune encouragement to the mission-schemes of Winfrid, afterwards known as Boniface, who at the time of his consecration for Winchester was living as a young monk of twenty-five in a Hampshire monastery called Nutscelle[2], where under the abbot Winbert he studied the 'tripartite' sense[3] of Scripture, together with grammar and metres, and, while he attended diligently to his portion of manual labour and to all the details of Benedictine observance, was making himself eminent as a teacher, kindling enthusiasm for sacred knowledge in the minds of his auditors, every day learning by heart something from the Scriptures, or from the 'acts' of those martyrs whom he was one day gloriously to join, and was uniformly cordial and helpful to all who came under his influence, whether poor or rich, whether thrall or free[4]. Daniel discerned in him a 'vessel for honour,' and gave him, on his second journey into Frisia, a letter of commendation to any kings, dukes, bishops, abbots, presbyters, and 'spiritual sons,' asking them to show hospitality, after the manner of the patriarchs, to the religious presbyter Winfrid[5]. A letter written long afterwards by Boniface to Daniel informs us that the latter in old age became blind[6]; and two letters from Daniel[7] give us an insight into his mind and character, showing how he could advise and comfort. He urged Boniface not to be disheartened by his difficulties, not to attempt an impracticable separation of all the bad

Boniface in Friesland.

[1] Bede, iv. 16; v. 18. Stephens, Memor. of See of Chich. p. 22.

[2] Willibald, Vit. S. Bonifac. c. 2. See above, p. 354, and Maclear, Apostles of Med. Eur. p. 110. Winbert 'left behind him' a MS. of the Prophets in 'clear and distinct letters'; Bonif. Ep. 12.

[3] The threefold spiritual sense, moral, allegorical, and 'anagogical.'

[4] Willibald, c. 3.

[5] Bonif. Ep. 1. This was in 718.

[6] Bonif. Ep. 12. He retired to Malmesbury (his old home?) in 744.

[7] Bonif. Ep. 13, 14. Of these letters, Ep. 13 was written several years after Ep. 14, i. e. when Boniface was archbishop.

from all the good, a complete avoidance of all contact with false teachers; but here he carries his principle to toleration to the point of sanctioning, or imagining Scripture to sanction, a temporary simulation[1]. More interesting,—indeed, specially interesting,—is the other letter, in which Daniel suggests topics for missionary argument against polytheism, intended to draw the polytheist by a Socratic process into difficulties[2], and at the same time insists that these points are to be advanced with all gentleness, and to be followed up by indirect contrasts between Christianity and Pagan 'superstition.' But, it must be owned, Daniel again provokes criticism by recommending Boniface not only to insist on the argument, as we now call it, from *Christendom*,—from the world-wide spread of the Gospel,—but to point out that Christians enjoy the temporal blessing of 'lands fruitful in corn, wine, and oil,' while Heathenism is confined to climates of 'perpetual winter[3],'—a perilous exaggeration of 'the promise of the life that now is.' CHAP. XIV.

This was the prelate, then, who in the autumn of 705 succeeded Heddi at Winchester. For Sherborne there could be but one choice; all orders, including a multitude of the people[4], turned at once to Aldhelm, 'who was specially recommended by the very fact that he showed reluctance to accept the promotion[5].' He was, of course, present at the Witenagemot; we picture him according to a pupil's description, as a tall man with white hair and sparkling Aldhelm, bishop of Sherborne.

[1] Following Jerome, and thereby forsaking St. Augustine, he treats St. Peter's conduct in Gal. ii. 12 as right, and compares it to the conduct of St. Paul in Acts xxi. 26, &c. He seems not to see the difference between any kind of 'simulation,' or even of pretending (fingendi), and such an 'economy' as is free of insincerity.

[2] E. g. 'Since the gods had a beginning, what of the world? If it had a beginning, who made it? Not the gods, who were confessedly not eternal. If it was eternal, who ruled it before the gods? How was the first god produced? Will any more come into being? How do they know what god is the mightiest? Valde cavendum est ne in potiorem quis offendat. Do they expect temporal or eternal happiness? Do the gods *need* their sacrifices?' &c.

[3] 'Frigore semper rigentes terras.' Cp. above, p. 139.

[4] Faricius, c. 3. 'Omnis aetatis et ordinis conflatur sententia;' Malmesb. G. P. v. 223. The 'people' or laity were active in this election.

[5] Faricius, c. 3. Cp. Bingham, b. iv. c. 7. s. 1.

CHAP. XIV. eyes[1]. He endeavoured to decline the great office. 'I am too old, I need rest.' Instantly, and by acclamation, came the reply: 'The older, the wiser and the fitter[2]!' He still held out as long as he could without unseemliness; but 'as he had not been drawn on by ambition, so neither did he draw back in disobedience: in each respect he observed the mean[3].' He yielded, and was conducted to Canterbury for consecration. With what recollections must he have trod the precinct of Christ Church, and visited his old master Hadrian, still living and officiating as abbot in St. Peter's! After his consecration, the archbishop detained him for some time in order to get the benefit of his counsels[4]. When he took possession of his new bishopric, he built a church at Sherborne, which Malmesbury tells us that he himself had seen[5]. The little town, he says elsewhere, was 'not an agreeable place; it had neither a good situation nor a large population; it was surprising, it was almost disgraceful, that it should have retained an episcopal see for so many ages[6],'—in fact, through twenty-seven episcopates, of which the most noteworthy was that of Asser, the Welsh counsellor and biographer of Alfred, and the last was Herman's, who after uniting Sherborne to the younger bishopric of Ramsbury[7], removed his see to Old Sarum, in obedience to the Council of 1075. Aldhelm wished to resign the headship of Malmesbury and its dependent monasteries; but his monks could not brook such a loss[8]. They rejected the

[1] See Ethelwald's 'carmen' in Migne, lxxxix. 308.

[2] Malmesbury, v. 223. [3] 'Servavit modum,' Faricius.

[4] Malmesbury; who brings in here a story of Aldhelm's visiting Dover, and finding some sailors at work in landing a store of books. Attracted by one, which includes both Testaments, he turns over the leaves and begins to bargain for it: they abuse him for trying to beat down the price of their property. He only smiles; they row off, are caught in a storm, and cry out to him for pardon; he signs the cross and rows to their vessel; they make the shore safely, and offer to give him the book: he insists on paying for it,—and it is preserved at Malmesbury as a specimen of antiquity; v. 224. Faricius tells this tale rather differently, and dates it earlier.

[5] 'Ecclesiam quam ego quoque vidi mirifice construxit.'

[6] Malmesb. G. P. ii. 79. Cp. Stubbs, Registr. Sacr. Anglic. p. 165.

[7] Founded for Wiltshire, to relieve Sherborne, in 909.

[8] Faricius, c. 3; Malmesbury, G. P. v. 225.

notion of having any other 'president[1]' in his lifetime. His object had been to secure desirable appointments; and when he yielded to his monks' affectionate resistance, he took care to guard their right of free election by a document which is said to have been duly signed and attested at Wimborne in the presence of Ine and Daniel, and afterwards confirmed by a Council on the Nodder. But this deed is at least of doubtful authenticity[2]. That he possessed a great influence, in things ecclesiastical, over Ine, may be taken for granted. It was probably through his influence that the foundation of the monastery of Abingdon, long interrupted by the delays and inconsistencies of Hean, was finally accomplished[3], by the renewed co-operation between him and his sovereign. And although the document which represents Ine as granting endowments to abbot Hemgils and his monks, in 'the old city which is called Glastingea,' and which professes to have been executed in the ancient 'wooden church' of that sacred isle, has been condemned as spurious,—being dated in 704, yet referring to the counsel of Aldhelm as bishop[4],—and although the Glastonbury tradition cannot convince us that Ine gave splendid gifts to that church, such as a chapel enriched with gold and silver[5], yet we may believe that he bestowed upon it some gifts which were afterwards exaggerated, and raised to the east of it a new minster, the predecessor of the mighty abbey church[6]. Whether he did

[1] 'Patronum.'

[2] Kemble rejects it, Cod. Dipl. i. 61. See Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 276. Another 'charter of Ine,' exempting West-Saxon monasteries from taxation, is dated in 704, and therefore is inconsistent with the date of Aldhelm's episcopate, while it refers to him as a prelate; Cod. Dipl. i. 57.

[3] See Stevenson, Chron. Abingd. ii. p. xiii. He adds, 'Aldhelm must have been conscious that, in promoting this object, he was promoting the interests of civilization as well as those of Christianity,' &c. Above, p. 298.

[4] See this Parvum Privilegium Regis Inae in Malmesb. de Antiq. Glast. Eccl. (XV Script. p. 309) and Cod. Dipl. i. 58. The Magnum Privilegium, which is clearly spurious, is in Malmesb. (Gest. Reg. i. s. 36) and Cod. Dipl. i. 85: it is dated in 725. A grant of lands at Brent (Cod. Dipl. i. 83) is at least very questionable (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 307).

[5] XV Script. p. 310.

[6] Freeman, Engl. Towns and Districts, p. 98.

CHAP. XIV. anything in the way of founding a church at Wells must be, at least, extremely uncertain: that he planted a bishopric at Congresbury, afterwards removed to Wells, is a story without real groundwork [1].

Activity of Aldhelm.

Aldhelm's ascetic habits had probably made him prematurely old. But he abated none of them, while he discharged his new duties indefatigably, visiting every part of his diocese, and preaching by night as well as by day [2]. This labour wore him out in four years: the spring of 709 was the last of his life. He was at Dulting in Somerset, when

His death.

his last hour drew nigh. He assembled a number of clergy, monks, and laics, enforced on them the observance of the bond of charity, and after commending his flock to the Divine care, desired to be carried into the little wooden church [3] of the village, and there, seated on a stone, breathed his last, on the 25th of May, 709 [4]. He was buried, by his own desire, in St. Michael's church at Malmesbury [5], and succeeded by Forthere, a man of much theological learning, who was still living when Bede wrote [6].

We draw towards the end: this year is the last of the great period which we are reviewing. Wilfrid had passed some quiet years—between three and four—in the bishopric of Hexham, with leisure for looking back, as from a well-loved home and refuge, on the storms and the splendours of the past. It was during this interval, in 707 [7], that some

[1] See Freeman, Hist. Cath. Ch. Wells, p. 13.

[2] Malmesb. G. P. v. 227: he uses 'dioeceses' for parts of the diocese.

[3] Afterwards rebuilt of stone by a monk of Glastonbury. Comp. pp. 54–5.

[4] See Faricius, c. 3; Malmesb. v. 228.

[5] The distance was fifty miles: a great crowd attended the corpse, each thinking himself 'beatiorem qui propior esset,' and glad to see, if not to touch, the bier on which the form and face, undefaced by decay, were visible. Stone crosses were afterwards set up at every seven miles of the road, which long stood uninjured, and were called 'Bishopstones'; Malmesb. v. 230. He tells us that bishop Egwin came to Dulting to conduct the funeral.

[6] Bede, v. 18: 'Quo defuncto,' &c. See a grant of his in Cod. Dipl. i. 73.

[7] Bede, Ep. 3, to Plegwin; cp. Giles's Bede, i. p. cxxxv, for this date. In the letter Bede refers to his Opusculum de Temporibus, as published five years before. This tract ends in the fifth year of Tiberius III (Apsimar), i. e. 702–3 (if his accession was in 698, L'Art de Vérifier, &c. iv. 284, not 697, as others). Hence we infer that the Wilfrid referred to

monks of the countryside [1], in his presence and over their cups, spoke of Bede as 'a heretic.' Plegwin, one of the monks of Hexham, hearing this, sent a messenger to inform Bede, who at first 'turned pale with horror,' then, on inquiring, found that the reason was 'that he had denied that the Saviour had come in the sixth age of the world.' On reflection, he concluded [2] that this was a misapprehension of what he had said, five years before, in his tract 'On Times,' wherein he had preferred the shorter or Hebrew chronology of Genesis, according to which Christ must have come when five thousand years were not completed [3]. He desired Plegwin to cause this letter to be read [4] before their 'most reverend father and lord Wilfrid, that as he was present when I was senselessly assailed, he may hear, and judge for himself, how little I deserved it.' The incident is curious, as a proof of the extent of interest in questions of Scriptural chronology which was felt at this time even by the 'rustic' monks of the North. Often, no doubt, with Acca by his side, the bishop would 'walk about' the precinct of that basilica which Eddi has called superior to all churches north of Wilfrid's beloved Italy. Once, when going out of Hexham on some occasion, he was struck with an illness of the same kind as that which had prostrated him on his approach to Meaux. The tidings brought a number of his abbots, and of the hermits dependent on his monasteries, to pray with his monks as he lay unconscious; the aim of their prayers being that he might at least have a return of consciousness, which would enable him to dispose of his monasteries and his property [5]. He

in the letter was 'St. Wilfrid,' not Wilfrid II (bishop of York, 718–732), as Smith (App. to Bede, p. 802) and Raine (i. 93) assert.

[1] 'Rusticis.' See his Life of St. Felix, c. 8: 'Rusticus, non rustice, sed docte ac fideliter agens.'

[2] 'Cogitare sedulus coepi, unde haec in me calumnia devolveretur.'

[3] Nor, indeed, four thousand; De Tempor. 22. Bede solemnly professes his belief that Christ came in the sixth age, but says that an age has not a fixed number of years. He cites Jerome in behalf of the Hebrew text; Ep. 3.

[4] By a certain David, who on the occasion referred to, when some other 'brother' vilified Bede, spoke in his favour, but could not explain what he had meant.

[5] Eddi, 61: 'Ne nos quasi orbatos sine abbatibus relinqueret.'

CHAP. XIV. did recover, not only consciousness, but a measure of health, and lived a year and a half longer,—the illness having happened, it would appear, in the spring of 708. In the following year, when at Ripon, he caused his 'hoard' to be opened in the presence of two abbots and six monks of proved fidelity [1]. They gazed on the shining store of gold and silver and jewels: he bade his treasurer divide it into four parts. Then said the bishop, 'Dearest brothers, you know that I have long thought of making yet another visit to the see of St. Peter, where I have so often been delivered from troubles, and there, if God so willed, to end my life. I meant to offer gifts, from the best part of this treasure, at the churches of St. Mary and St. Paul at Rome [2]. But should God provide for me otherwise,—as often happens to old men,—and my last day should come sooner, then I charge you to send my gifts to those churches. Of the three other parts, give one to the poor of my flock, 'for the redemption of my soul [3];' let the abbots of Hexham and Ripon share another between them, so that they may purchase the favour of kings and bishops [4]. But as to the last part,'—one may imagine the old man's eyes bedimmed as he proceeded,—'distribute it, according to each man's proportion, among those who have suffered long exiles with me, and to whom I have given no lands: let it go to maintaining them when I am gone.' The tender and noble heart, unchilled by age, felt warmly for the possible needs of adherents so loyal and loving as those who had

Wilfrid's last arrangements.

[1] Eddi, 62. See Lingard, A.-S. Ch. i. 270.

[2] That is, the Liberian basilica of 'St. Mary Major,' rebuilt about 432 by Sixtus III, and the glorious church of St. Paul-without-the-walls, erected in 386, and now rebuilt in its old form after the fire of 1823. The mosaics of the great arch at the end of its vast nave are those which Wilfrid must often have admired, having been set there in 440.

[3] A common phrase in ancient charters; see Kemble, Cod. Dipl. i. 73, 82, 90, 108. Bede, in his preface to his Life of Cuthbert, asks that prayers may be made for him at Lindisfarne after his death, 'for the redemption of his soul.' 'Redemption,' in such phrases, was not used in its strict sense; the phrase is equivalent to 'pro remedio animae'; Cod. Dipl. i. 1, 16, 26, 41, 55, &c., 'remedium' = relief from penalty. See above, p. 187.

[4] Contrast Aidan in Bede, iii. 5: 'Nullam potentibus saeculi pecuniam . . . unquam dare solebat.' But 'old times were changed.' Above, p. 234.

stood by him through all troubles: he could not bear to think that they should want when they had no longer the comfort of his presence and protection. Soon afterwards he announced that he had appointed one of these true companions, his own kinsman Tatbert, to preside over the minster of Ripon after his death. This was spoken to his confidants: he then ordered the bell[1] to be rung, and 'the whole family[2] of Ripon' obeyed its summons. He entered the chapter-house, sat down, and said: 'Our brother Celin, sometime prior, wishes to adopt the hermit-life; and I will not detain him. Do you all keep to your rule, until, if God wills, I return to you. But these two abbots of ours, Tibba and Ebba, have come hither from the Mercian king Ceolred, with an invitation for me to speak to him on the affairs of our houses in Mercia, and have persuaded me to go. When I return, I will bring with me the person fittest for the presidency of this house; but if anything else should happen to me through my infirmities, then I bid you all to accept as abbot whomsoever these who sit by me, Tibba and Ebba, Tatbert, Hadufrid, and Aluhfrid, shall present to you,'—meaning, of course, that Tatbert himself should be so presented. All the monks bowed to the ground, promised obedience, received his benison, 'and, as a body, saw his face no more.' He proceeded into Mercia: King Kenred had, in the spring of that same year, imitated, in part, the example of Cadwalla by resigning his crown and going to Rome, accompanied by Offa, the young, handsome, and

CHAP. XIV.

Wilfrid in Mercia.

[1] Comp. Adamn. Vit. Col. i. 8, 'Cloccam pulsa;' and iii. 23, 'media nocte pulsata personante clocca.' See too Miss Stokes, Early Chr. Art in Ireland, p. 58 ff. In Vit. Anskar. 32 we hear of a concession, 'quod antea nefandum paganis videbatur,' that a church might have a 'clocca.' So Vit. Sturm. 24: Sturmi, dying, orders 'omnes *gloggas* pariter moveri.' Eddi calls it 'signum.'

[2] Eddi, 63. So again, 65, 'familia tota;' and 23, on the 'familia' of Hexham. So Bede, v. 2, on the 'familia' of bishop John. So the community of Hy was regarded as a 'familia'; Reeves's Adamnan, p. 342: comp. ib. 304: the term was also applied to all the Columban communities as forming one body; ib. 162. It meant a society of 'God's servants,' just as a king's household is called his 'familia,' Bede, iii. 23. Comp. 'Thy family' in the first collect for Good Friday. See above, p. 216.

CHAP. XIV. popular East-Saxon king, son of Sighere [1],—and, according to an inferior authority, by Egwin of Worcester, who wished to procure from Pope Constantine a 'privilege' for Evesham [2]. Kenred had been succeeded by Ceolred, son of Ethelred, a prince who appears in history as warring with Ine [3], in the legend of St. Guthlac as persecuting the future King Ethelbald [4], and in the wild and hideous 'vision' of a Wenlock recluse as a lost reprobate [5]. In his realm Wilfrid found all honourable reception: the monasteries which he was anxious to visit were all in good order: he went about among them, 'increasing their livelihood by domains, or gladdening their hearts with money [6].' Once,

[1] Chronicle, a. 709; Lappenberg, i. 223. Bede, v. 19, calls Offa 'juvenis amantissimae aetatis et venustatis, totaeque suae genti ad tenenda servandaque regni sceptra exoptatissimus . . . Qui . . . reliquit uxorem . . . et patriam propter Christum,' &c. Even Bede could not see that Offa, in the prime of strength, would have more truly acted 'propter Christum' by doing the royal duty laid upon him. (Above, pp. 144, 404.) See the striking anecdote of the Emperor Henry II being received by an abbot at Verdun into his community, and then commanded, in virtue of monastic obedience, to return to the government confided to him by God; Dunham's Germ. Empire, ii. 138. Hen. Hunt. is enthusiastic: 'O Deus bone, quae et qualia diademata eis reddes!' Ceolwulf, Bede's royal friend, who became king of Northumbria in 729, became a monk in Lindisfarne in 737 (see Marmion, c. 2). A similar retirement by his successor Eadbert, the last of the great Northumbrian kings, in 758, was the occasion of disastrous anarchy. Elmham, p. 236, says that Offa acted by advice of Ethelred's sister Kineswith, or Kyneswide, a nun in the convent founded at Caistor for her sister Kyniburga, the widow of Alchfrid. He was succeeded by Selred, son of Sigebert the Good.

[2] Ann. SS. Bened. iii. 334; Chron. Evesh. p. 10. The extant 'privilege of Constantine' is called by Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 281, 'spurious.' Egwin could not have set off before June if he buried Aldhelm. Constantine sat from 708 to 715; that he probably made some concessions as to the canons of the Greek council 'in Trullo,' see Hodgkin, vi. 378.

[3] Chronicle, a. 715. He is mentioned as a benefactor to the church of St. Mary at Evesham; Chron. Evesh. p. 72.

[4] Ann. SS. Bened. iii. 279.

[5] Boniface, Ep. 20. In Ep. 62 Boniface denounces him and king Osred of Northumbria for 'adulterium nonnarum,' and adds, with a terrible positiveness, that he died at a feast, mad, and impenitent. See Lappenberg, i. 224. Henry of Huntingdon calls him 'patriae et avitae virtutis haeres,' iv. 7.

[6] Eddi, 64. The legend of St. Egwin (Chron. Evesh. p. 11) makes Wilfrid take part in the dedication of the minster of Evesham in this very year, after the return of Egwin, and by order of a synod; but this is incredible. He may have become acquainted, then or in 704–5, with

while riding along with Tatbert, he recounted from memory all the events of his past life. Nothing was forgotten: every bit of property which he had given, or now willed to give, to his abbots, was duly specified: he named his beloved Acca as the future abbot of Hexham. That ride must have been a memorable one to the future abbot of Ripon: he must have listened to an autobiography of almost matchless interest,—the whole splendid exciting story, beginning with the boy's presentation to Queen Eanfled, and passing through scenes so varied and so eventful as no other prelate of that age could have claimed as portions of his experience. At last Wilfrid reached his minster of St. Andrew at Oundle, where another illness ere long warned him that the hour was at last come; he uttered a few parting admonitions, 'leaned back his head upon the pillow, and went to his rest without groan or murmur,' just at the moment when the monks in choir, who were keeping up on his behalf a ceaseless round of psalmody, had reached the sublime inspiriting verse, 'Thou shalt send forth Thy Spirit, and they shall be created, and Thou shalt renew the face of the earth.' It was probably on a Thursday [1], in October,—the year being doubtless 709. CHAP. XIV. Death of Wilfrid.

He was buried in his best-loved church, the minster of Ripon, after an elaborate and solemn preparation of the corpse [2], and a processional funeral-journey. Hardly any

the Mercian ealdorman Friodored, 'a man full of the missionary spirit' (Stubbs, on Found. of Peterborough, p. 10), the founder of a church at Bredon.

[1] Tatbert used to keep all Thursdays, in memorial of his death, as if they were Sundays, with a feast, 'in epulis;' Eddi, 64. October 12 was the day always kept in his honour; but it could hardly be the day of his death, for in 709 it fell on a Saturday. Probably the true day was October 3 (a Thursday in 709), for 'the obituary of the church of Durham fixes' his 'depositio' on that day; see Raine, i. 81. To date his death earlier than the autumn of that year would disturb our notes of time, for he could not be said to have completed forty-five years of episcopate in April of 709, nor would this give time for Ceolred's message after his accession and for the Mercian sojourn: and yet the Martyrologium Poeticum of Bede dates his death April 24, and so Smith's Bede, p. 759, and Alb. Butler on Oct. 12. The abbot of Oundle at this time was Cuthbald.

[2] An abbot named Bacula spread a linen cloth (sindonem suam) on the

CHAP. XIV. one refrained from weeping while, amid the loud chant of the monastic choir, the great bishop was borne to his grave on the south side of the altar. He was 'in his seventy-sixth year, and had been forty-five years a bishop[1],' reckoning, probably, from his election in the early autumn of 664.

Close of a great period.

So passed away the 'St. Wilfrid' of our forefathers[2]; a man by no means free from faults or weaknesses,—a man whose public conduct had some results prejudicial to his native Church, and who does not rise entirely superior to the influences of power and high state,—but after all one who worthily concludes the most 'brilliant period[3]' of our ancient ecclesiastical history. After his death, a generation of lesser men succeeds: there is hardly any striking or impressive character among those who appear in the public life of the Church[4], until Egbert of York establishes and adorns the Northern archbishopric, and his successor Albert carries on the glory of its theological school. Corruptions of various kinds become rife in monasteries: the vivid intensity of religious faith, the fresh enthusiasm of devotion, which marked the earlier time, die out piteously among clerks and laics: a lofty and holy soul like Bede's finds itself left to look on a deteriorated clergy, and a people practically relapsing towards indifference[5]: one can conceive of him as taking refuge from contemporary decadence amid the noble forms which he perpetuates in his History. A great age, in short, expires with Wilfrid; and

ground, and upon it the corpse was washed and arrayed. Comp. Lingard, A.-S. Ch. ii. 48. On the question whether his bones (all but a small portion) were translated to Canterbury, see Raine's preface to Hist. Ch. York, i. p. xliii. His shrine stood in the north choir aisle of Ripon.

[1] Eddi, 63, says forty-six. Bede, v. 19, 'post quadraginta et quinque annos accepti episcopatus.' Eadmer says, c. 61, in the seventy-fifth year of his life and forty-fifth of his episcopate. Eadmer begins by dating his birth in 634; c. 1. See above, p. 241.

[2] 'In many respects the star of the Anglo-Saxon Church;' Raine, i. 77.

[3] See Freeman, i. 30.

[4] For St. Boniface does not count as one of the great churchmen living and working in England; and Bede hardly ever left his cloister.

[5] See his Ep. to Egbert; and on the general apathy as to learning, his Explan. Apocal. praef. 'Anglorum gentis inertiae . . . ad lectionem.'

it is but fitting that the death of the Apostle of Sussex and of Wight should terminate the story of the extension of 'the Vine' through the land, as, amid many vicissitudes, 'room was made for it,'—the story of a work more solidly and healthily accomplished[1] than in other lands and by other agents, the work of our national conversion. That conversion, it is obvious to remark, involves the formation of a new 'Church of the English,' not the development or extension of the 'ancient British Church.' The English Church did not grow out of the British; the missionaries who brought the Saxon or Anglian tribes into the fellowship of Christ's Kingdom were men from the Continent, or men of Irish race, or Englishmen like Cedd or Wilfrid; they were in no instance 'Britons' or 'Welshmen[2].' Long after the conversion was completed, the 'British' Christians held aloof from the 'Saxon' Christians[3]; it was but by degrees during the next centuries that they conformed to the 'Catholic Easter,' and entered into fellowship with the younger and stronger Church. It is necessary to state this in plain words, because of the inaccurate language which has often obscured the facts under the influence, perhaps, of a strong preconception, controversial or 'patriotic.' And these facts, for history's sake, must be kept distinctly in view. CHAP. XIV.

[1] 'In no part of the world did Christianity make its way in a more honourable manner;' Freeman, i. 29. 'Nowhere else did Christianity make a deeper or more lasting impression;' Kemble, ii. 363,—and see the whole striking passage. 'In a single century England became known to Christendom as a fountain of light . . . Scarcely was Christianity presented to the Anglo-Saxons . . . when they embraced it with singular fidelity and singleness of heart;' Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 251. See also Gardiner, Student's Hist. of Engl. p. 49, and Dean Church, quoted below.

[2] Bp. Browne insists strongly on this fact. 'The British Church had nothing whatever to do with the conversion of England or of the English; nothing to do with the origin or early work of the Church of England.' Conversion of the Heptarchy, p. 181.

[3] See Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 252, on this 'attitude of the Britons.' Of course it is likely enough that, here and there, Britons, 'living on, as useful theows' (Freeman, Four Lectures, p. 109), under Saxons or Angles, used influence in favour of the faith to which they clung. But of such 'witnessing for Christ,' however effective, history can know nothing.

CHAP. XIV. Conclusion.

But whatever else we remember or forget as to this great religious movement to which our own debt is so incalculable, let us bear in mind two things that shine out in those who responded most readily to its touch, whose lives were the best monuments of its power. One is, the simple loyal thoroughness, the unreserved 'perfectness of heart,' with which, having accepted the Faith as the explanation of man's destiny, they accepted withal the practical obligations which were proposed to them as arising out of it, or even seemed to think only of how they could do most in order to attain holiness and salvation. The other is that passion for 'winning souls,' for spreading the new-found light among their heathen countrymen or their Teutonic kinsmen abroad, which passed on through those first generations of English Christians the 'fiery torch' of missionary ardour. It is the typical laymen of the several kingdoms who most conspicuously illustrate these true conditions of Church life. We think not only of the noble earnestness of Ethelbert, of the heroic sanctity of Oswald, of the sweet humility of Oswin, but of the genuine conversions of Eadbald and Kenwalch, of the thoughtful co-operation of Edwin and Sigebert the Learned with Paulinus and with Felix, of the family piety of the court of Anna, of Edwin 'persuading' Eorpwald, of Oswy discoursing to Sigebert the Good, of Sebbi sustaining his people's faith under 'a great trial of affliction,' of the wonderful outburst of Christian enthusiasm among the children and grandchildren of Penda. Nor can we forget how impressive and attractive was the manifest consistency of the preachers' conduct with their Gospel[1]; nor how effectively the representatives of religion in Kent and East Anglia, in Northumbria and in Wessex, maintained its alliance with the learning and education of their time. To say this is not to idealize, to ignore any tokens of superstition or of 'zeal not according to knowledge,' or to think lightly of some accretions on primitive Christianity which our fathers received along with it, and which grew in bulk and tenacity after their time. All these allowed for, the Conversion is among the

[1] See above, p. 56.

magnalia Dei. Its records, moreover, abound in illustrations of a Divine discipline administered through reverses and disappointments, through seemingly premature deaths, and seemingly fruitless labours; and then, again, of an 'excellency of power' put forth in ways unexpected, when need was sorest and hearts were like to fail[1]. It is this which gives to the whole period so pathetic and solemn a charm for the Christian student. He feels that the years of the Conversion were emphatically 'years of the Right Hand.' CHAP. XIV.

No words could be more appropriate for the close of such a survey than those which conclude one of the most admirable of Dean Church's many admirable contributions to European history,—his lecture on 'Christianity and the Teutonic Races.' 'Those ancient and far distant ages . . . we may, we ought to leave far behind, in what we hope to achieve. But, in our eagerness for improvement, it concerns us to be on our guard against the temptation of thinking that we can have the fruit or the flower, and yet destroy the root; that we may retain the high view of human nature which has grown with the growth of Christian nations, and discard that revelation of Divine love and human destiny of which that view forms a part or a consequence; that we may retain the moral energy, and yet make light of the faith that produced it. . . . It concerns us that we do not despise our birthright, and cast away our heritage of gifts and of powers, which we may lose, but not recover[2].'

[1] See above, pp. 132, 150.

[2] Dean Church, Gifts of Civilization, &c. p. 343. See also his Beginning of the Middle Ages, p. 85, that the main causes of the Conversion were 'the breadth and greatness of Christian ideas, and the purity, courage, enthusiasm, and indefatigable self-devotion, though not always innocent of superstition, of the Christian teachers,' &c. The whole passage should be read—and remembered. See also Gardiner, Student's Hist. of Engl. p. 49: 'Missionaries spread over the country. In their mouths, and still more in their lives, Christianity taught what the fierce English warrior most wanted to learn, the duty of restraining his evil passions, and above all, his cruelty. . . . Nowhere but in England were to be found kings like Oswald and Oswin, who bowed their souls to the lesson of the Cross, and learned that they were not their own, but were placed in power that they might use their strength in helping the poor and needy,' &c. Oswald, however, was not a convert of the missionaries referred to.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

NOTE A.

Christian adoption of Pagan Sites.

To the illustrations of this subject in the text may be added the following passage in one of Mr. Tozer's notes to his edition of Dr. Finlay's 'History of Greece.' It occurs in vol. i. p. 424:—

'The adaptation of Pagan beliefs and ceremonies to Christian use must not wholly be attributed to superstition and priestcraft. Even in the Catacombs we find numerous Pagan emblems used as a means of symbolizing Christian truth. Nor was it unjustifiable at a later period to facilitate in this manner the transition from an old to a new religion—for instance, in building Christian churches on the sites of Pagan temples. The extent to which this took place is shown by M. Petit de Julleville in a paper entitled, *Sur l'emplacement et le vocable des Églises Chrétiennes en Grèce*, in the *Archives des Missions*, deuxième série, vol. v. According to this writer (p. 525) more than eighty churches in Attica were built on sites of ancient temples, and the names of their dedication usually recall the names of those temples. . . . Athena becomes Haghia Sophia,' &c.

NOTE B.

Bede and Gregory of Tours.

A comparison between the 'Ecclesiastical Histories' of Bede and Gregory of Tours would illustrate what has been said as to the first age of English Christianity. The books have naturally not a little in common. Gregory's 'faculty of story-telling' (see Freeman,

Four Lectures, p. 64) is not far inferior to Bede's: take, for instance, the escape of young Attalus and the faithful cook Leo (H. Fr. iii. 15), the adventures of a priest buried alive amid a 'foetor letalis' (iv. 12), the murder of Chlodomir's two boys by their fierce uncle (iii. 18), and of bishop Praetextatus 'while he leaned upon a form' during the Easter service in Rouen cathedral, and none of his clergy durst answer his cry for aid (viii. 31). We seem almost to see the townsmen of beleaguered Orleans, alternately praying and looking out for relief (ii. 7); or to hear the terrible 'Vua!' of Chlotair in his death-agony (iv. 21). Some beautiful and solemn touches occur at intervals in the narrative: the description of Nicetius of Lyons as showing such love to all men 'ut in ejus pectore ipse Dominus, qui est vera caritas, cerneretur' (iv. 36), and the expansion of Ps. xlix. 17 in regard to the man of ill-gotten gains who died with an outside show of penitence, 'nihil exinde secum al'ud portans nisi animae detrimentum' (vi. 28), are just what might have come from Bede himself. When we read that bishop Salvius, if constrained to accept money, 'forthwith made it over to the poor' (vii. 1), we cannot but think of St. Aidan: when we hear of 'the common saying, "If a man has to pass between Pagan altars and God's church, there is no harm in his paying respect to both"' (v. 44), we are reminded of the compromise of Redwald of East-Anglia. Both writers give us much information about ecclesiastical usages, such as the clerical tonsure (Gregory even mentions the British tonsure, x. 9), the nocturnal or 'matin' service, the frequent psalmody, the 'reception' of the neophyte 'from the font' by his godfather; about the estates or other property of churches, the infliction of spiritual censures, the appointment of bishops, the holding of synods, the life of 'recluses,' the veneration of relics, and so on. Both narrate 'miracles' wrought at saintly shrines (compare, e. g. Greg. iv. 19 with his Vit. Patr. c. 2, where he tells us that he himself, when a youth, had been cured of a fever at the tomb of St. Illidius), and dreams which are accepted as visions (e. g. Greg. v. 14, vi. 29). The description of Heaven in the 'vision' of Greg. vii. 1 surpasses that of Paradise in the story of Drythelm (Bede, v. 12). Both writers seem prone to treat ordinary events as supernatural (cp. Greg. x. 25). The Paschal question, on which the later historian is so exuberant, is not unnoticed by the earlier (Greg. v. 17, x. 23). Each records a case of episcopal appeal to Rome; but that in Greg. v. 21 is made with royal permission. Other resemblances

might be mentioned; but, in spite of all, the moral difference between the two books is even startling. The atmosphere, so to speak, of Gregory's is as heavy and lurid as that of Bede's is luminous and pure. The contrast lies not merely,—it may be said, not mainly,—in the exceptional wickedness of Frankish royalty in the sixth century, and the remarkable excellence of English royalty in the seventh. No doubt the kings who promoted the Christian cause in our country were, on the whole, men whose lives would ennoble the ideas of their office. No doubt, also, the 'Merovingians' were the worst dynasty that ever reigned in Christian Europe. 'There is nothing that can be compared to their story for horror in the records of any nation on this side of the Mediterranean;' Oman, Europ. Hist. p. 159. But what strikes one most is the fact that the ecclesiastics of the two neighbour countries were so unlike each other. Bede has to tell us of one prelate who 'purchased' a see (iii. 7); in Gregory's pages we meet with two bishops who rush into wild orgies of crime (v. 21); another who assaults his archdeacon, on suspicion of fraud, in church on a Christmas morning (iv. 44); another who persecutes, even to death, the friends of his holy predecessor (iv. 36); another who asks, 'Because I have taken orders, am I therefore to forego my revenge?' (viii. 39); another who drinks himself into epilepsy, and orders a priest to be shut up in a tomb in order to extract from him his own title-deeds (iv. 12); an abbot, 'in adulteriis nimium dissolutus,' who is slain by an injured husband (viii. 19); together with clerics who plot against the reputation or the life of a bishop (v. 50, vi. 36), or are chosen by the worst of all queens to despatch a young king with poisoned daggers, and are only afraid that the task will be found 'difficult' (viii. 29). Allowing for inevitable exaggerations,—although we may believe Gregory's protest that he has set down nothing in malice (iv. 13), and that he suppresses some episcopal misdeeds lest he should seem a 'detractor' (v. 5)—and bearing in mind the multitude of office-bearers necessarily belonging to a long-settled Church in a wide region, we must suppose that 'the Gallo-Roman bishops who crowded round' the proselyte of St. Remigius (Kitchin, Hist. Fr. i. 74), condoning his brutality for the sake of his orthodoxy, and hoping to train him into Christian kingliness, became gradually infected by the barbarism which made them potentates, and bequeathed to their successors a tradition of violence, greed, and laxity. As Dean Church has said, the Church had deteriorated by its contact with the Franks: 'The power which

it had received from its coarse and brutal patrons, had lured its chief pastors into worldliness and license' (Beginning of the Middle Ages, pp. 61, 158). And so we can understand how the pedantic tyrant Chilperic, who shocked Gregory (v. 45) by Sabellianizing, and made episcopal faults the chief topics of his sarcasm, 'would frequently say' that the churches had impoverished the 'fiscus,' and that 'the bishops alone really reigned' (ib. vi. 46); and this, although some of them could incur reproach for abandoning a colleague to his enmity (ib. v. 19). A hierarchy thus secularized might well be apathetic about missions, and indifferent to the disgrace of simony. Perhaps the saddest indication of its lowered moral tone is given by Gregory himself, who, good man as he was, hating the bloody feuds of princes, and ready to withstand a king in the cause of justice (ib. v. prol. and 19), could pause in his recital of the crimes of 'Clovis' to observe that 'God increased his dominion, because he walked before him with an upright heart' (ii. 40). So in the seventh century we meet with very unworthy bishops; a bishop of Sion is implicated in the murder of a good governor of the Jura country under Chlotair II; a bishop of Poitiers 'is not ashamed to undertake the infamous task' of carrying the heir of Austrasia into exile; others join the conspiracy which killed him; the bishops of Chalon and Valence, 'deposed for their crimes,' support a pretender against Theodoric III (L'Art de Vérifier, n. v. 401–414); and even Leodegar of Autun is said to have been party to the murder of Childeric II, who, indeed, had planned his ruin (Dict. Chr. Biogr. iii. 685). Of course, the greater the corporate deterioration, the more honour is due to those individual prelates or clerics whose genuine piety was the salt of the Frankish Church, and who, doubtless, made a better use of such a memory as St. Martin's than by representing him as a formidable tutelary power, to be propitiated by savage warriors who did not, in any practical sense, know or fear God (cp. Greg. iii. 28, iv. 2, 16, vii. 42, &c. on the 'virtus consueta beati Martini'). It is matter of thankfulness that the English Church and nation have had no such period in their history. After the age of the Conversion, when missionary ardour had no more scope, religion in England—Bede himself being the witness—lost much of its fruitfulness and its power. But it never fell so low as in Gaul under the 'Merovingians'; and that, because, when addressing our fathers, it escaped the snare of such evil support, and relied, in the main, on its own Divine vitality.

NOTE C.

Theodore and Chad.

There is a remarkable coincidence between Theodore's phrase 'confirmentur,' quoted on p. 262, and the language of the Nicene Council as to bishops and priests ordained by the schismatic bishop Meletius (Socrates, i. 9). 'Those who have been appointed by him are to be admitted to communion' (on their return to the Church) 'after having been confirmed (*βεβαιωθέντας*) with a more sacred ordination (*μυστικωτέρᾳ χειροτονίᾳ*).' This sentence has been sometimes interpreted as Theodore's sentence is interpreted in the text; and the word *βεβαιωθέντας*, of itself, might mean only an act of benediction, rehabilitating the recipients for the canonical exercise of their ministry. But, even if we take it as referring more naturally to an act *ejusdem generis* with their former schismatical 'appointment,' i. e. to an ordination 'more sacred' because performed by a Catholic bishop (as Valesius says, 'Cum praeter consensum ipsius ordinati fuissent, vult synodus ut ante omnia ab episcopo Alexandrino ordinentur'), still it does not seem strictly necessary to impose this sense on Theodore's 'confirmentur'; the preceding clause, 'adunati ecclesiae non sunt,' may be taken as referring it to an act which would 'establish' the persons in question as thenceforth legitimate ministers of the Church. And the next rule in the Penitential employs the same verb in a somewhat similar sense: churches hallowed by Scotic or British bishops are to be sprinkled with holy water, 'et aliqua collectione (some prayer) confirmentur:' words which point to a supplying of what was lacking to their previous consecration (see above, p. 323), and do not imply that it was treated as simply null. (Compare the rule as to a removed church, Penit. b. 2. 1. 1.) Theodore adds significantly, 'And if any one of their race . . . has doubts as to his own baptism, let him be baptized:' he does not say, 'conditionally,' as St. Boniface afterwards said (Concil. Liptin. c. 28). About a year after Theodore's death, the Council in Trullo, can. 84, ordered baptism to be administered in such doubtful cases, as it seems, unconditionally, according to Cod. Afric. 72. Compare the story of Herebald in Bede, v. 6.

The question of the so-called 'completion' by Theodore of Chad's consecration may be illustrated by a view which appears

to have obtained for a time in the Roman communion. If by some accident the delivery of the paten and chalice ('porrectio instrumentorum') had been omitted at a priest's ordination, it was held that it might be 'supplied' afterwards without any conditional re-ordination such as has been the rule, at any rate, since a Roman decision of the time of Benedict XIV, if not earlier. In March, 1554, Queen Mary issued regulations to the bishops, one of which directed that as persons 'promoted to any orders after the new sort and fashion of orders' (i. e. the Edwardian ordinal) 'were *not ordered in very deed*, the bishop, if he found them otherwise competent, might *supply* that thing which wanted in them before.' Dixon understands this not to enjoin re-ordination, but the addition of ceremonies that were omitted in the English ordinal (Hist. Ch. Engl. iv. 135): and so Denny and Lacey (de Hierarch. Anglic. p. 148) and Frere (Marian Reaction, p. 131) treat the word 'supply' as overriding the natural sense of 'not ordered in very deed'; but either construction leaves a difficulty. Pilkington, who became bishop of Durham in 1561, had written shortly before, in a commentary on Haggai (Works, p. 163), that 'in the late days of popery . . . bishops called before them all such as were made ministers without *greasing*' (unction) 'and anointed them,' on the ground that 'oil' was necessary for priesthood.

NOTE D.

The Council of Hertford.

It is interesting to compare the third canon of Hertford, as to monasteries, with canons of the Council of Clovesho in 747. In the interval there had grown up—in consequence of the privileges attached to monastic property—the gross abuse denounced in Bede's letter to Egbert, c. 7. A king's thane or reeve would procure lands chartered as for monastic uses, build on them a so-called monastery, fill it with worthless monks (of whom Bede says, 'Wasps can make combs, but not honey'), and preside over it as 'abbot,' without abandoning his secular habits: his wife would often do the like, and figure as 'abbess' of a mock nunnery. The Council of Clovesho did not venture absolutely to proscribe this flagrant perversion of the conventual idea, but ordered the bishops to mitigate its evils by visiting these houses and exhorting the inmates (can. 5). The same Council also deplores the decay of

studiousness in real monasteries (c. 7); and intimates that some abbots were wont to treat their monks as slaves, not as sons (c. 4). Worldliness had evidently infected many convents: there had sprung up (as previously at Coldingham) a love of 'pompous' and 'parti-coloured' dress: gleemen and harpers were entertained within the precincts: monks would drink freely before Terce, and even constrain others 'intemperanter bibere.'

It may be observed that while Theodore was proposing that bishops should not 'disturb monasteries in any respect,' he forgot the danger of such disturbance on the part of kings: compare Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 394, on the seizure of three Northumbrian monasteries, one of them at Coxwold, by king Eadbert, in 757; and see Clovesh. c. 29.

The fourth canon of Hertford undoubtedly refers to monks: the reading 'episcopi' is, as Smith calls it, 'most absurd.' Compare Clovesh. c. 29, that no monks or nuns shall live in the houses of laymen, 'sed repetant monasteria,' &c.

The sixteenth Nicene canon is not named by Johnson, nor by Haddan and Stubbs, among the sources of the fifth canon of Hertford. But although it does not refer to cases of aimless wandering ('passim quolibet,' Hertf.) it may have been in Theodore's thoughts, as forbidding clerics to 'depart from their church in a random way, without regard to the fear of God or to ecclesiastical rule.'

There is no discrepancy, such as Johnson supposed (Engl. Canons, i. 94), between the tenth canon of Hertford and a passage in Theodore's Penitential, if we take 'Quod si,' &c., in the former, as relating not to divorce, but to the 'expulsion' of a wife who has *not* forfeited her rights by adultery.

One omission in these canons may surprise us. Provisions are made as to episcopal jurisdiction, precedency, and unity of action: a proposal is made, but deferred, as to increase of the episcopate: but nothing is said as to episcopal election. Yet Theodore could not be ignorant of the standing law of the Church on this matter; and it might have been thought desirable to take the first opportunity of formally incorporating it in the legislation of the English Church. The Cyprianic requirement of the 'suffragium plebis' or 'populi' (Cypr. Ep. 55. 7; 59. 7) and the Nicene sanction of 'the people's choice' (Soc. i. 9) had received in the Western Church a terse and pointed expression from Pope Celestine I in his letter to the bishops of the provinces of Vienne and Narbonne. '*Nullus*

invitis detur episcopus: cleri, plebis, et ordinis' (i. e. the magistracy) 'consensus et desiderium requiratur' (Celest. Ep. 2. 5; Mansi, iv. 466, A. D. 428). This maxim took hold of the ecclesiastical mind, and is cited by Gallic Councils, as Orleans V. A. D. 549, can. 11, which also guards against any forcing of the consent of 'the citizens or clerics' on the part of 'powerful persons,' and (can. 10) recognizes three conditions of a legitimate accession to the episcopate: (1) the king's will, (2) election by clergy and people, according to 'ancient canons,' (3) consecration by the metropolitan, or his deputy, with the comprovincials (Mansi, ix. 131); and Paris III. circ. A. D. 557, can. 8, which amplifies the formula thus, 'Nullus *civibus* invitis ordinetur episcopus;' and after reciting the fact that in some respects the old custom has been neglected and the decrees of canons have been violated, orders that no 'command of the sovereign, nor any other condition,' shall 'bring in' a bishop without (1) an election by people and clergy, expressing their 'fullest will,' (2) the 'will' of the metropolitan and comprovincials: and further, that any one who 'shall have presumed to enter upon this high office in virtue of a royal appointment' shall be disowned by the comprovincials as a person 'unduly ordained' (Mansi, ix. 746). Cp. Greg. Tur. ix. 23. Bede does not give us very full information as to the several appointments of bishops. In some of the earlier cases, it is probable that the affair was left in the hands of the king and the archbishop, as when Honorius consecrated Thomas for Dunwich, or Deusdedit consecrated Damian for Rochester. Kenwalch was likely enough to dispense with canonical forms in regard to Agilbert, and he must have done so in regard to Wini (Bede, iii. 7). Bede attributes the appointment of Wilfrid to Alchfrid, and that of Chad to Oswy, whom he describes on that occasion as 'imitating the activity of his son'; yet we know from Eddi (Vit. Wilf. 11) that Wilfrid was elected by the Northumbrian Witan, and may infer that this was also the case with Chad, as with the three prelates consecrated in 678 for parts of the diocese which Wilfrid had ruled, and, according to Bede's plain statement, with Cuthbert (iv. 28) and Oftfor (iv. 23). The same plan would be followed in other districts. Faricius, as we have seen, emphasises the point in regard to Aldhelm. In such elections the clerical voice was represented by that of the high ecclesiastics present among the 'Witan,' who acted together with those of the 'freemen' who attended that assembly (see Freeman, Norm. Conq. i. 102).

It need hardly be said that Bede's application of the term 'synodus' to a Witenagemot (iv. 28, v. 19; cp. iii. 7, end) proves nothing against the essentially episcopal character of the synods of Hertford and Hatfield. They were composed of bishops: the 'magistri' or 'doctores' who also attended them were simply advisers, and their 'votum' was merely 'consultativum,' not 'decisivum.' They were no more constituent members of the synod than Athanasius was of the Nicene Council, or than Thomas Aquinas would have been of the Council of Lyons, had he lived to attend it. (See Hefele, Councils, Introd. s. 11.) No laymen appear to have had anything to do with the synods of Hertford and Hatfield: although we find king Ethelbald of Mercia 'presiding,' like a Constantine Pogonatus, at the Council of Clovesho in 742, and present with his earldormen and 'duces' at the greater Council of Clovesho in 747, at which many clerics were present, and were consulted. It should be remembered that laymen might even be asked to sign the doctrinal canons of a Council, in token of their assent, without being at all regarded as members of the Council, or authors of its decrees;—as at the second Council of Orange, A. D. 529 (Mansi, viii. 718). The 'synod' of Whitby was rather a conference than a regular ecclesiastical council; but the persons named by Bede as present were all clerical, except Oswy, Alchfrid, and the abbess Hilda (iii. 25).

It may be observed, that the African rule as to one yearly synod referred, not to a provincial synod, but to the 'general council for Africa.'

NOTE E.

The Age of St. Aldhelm.

In p. 294, I have given the received date of 675 for Aldhelm's appointment as abbot of Malmesbury. It may not improbably rest on some better basis than the forged charter of bishop Lothere: there may have been an old tradition in the monastery that Aldhelm had ruled it thirty-three years when he died in 709 (Malmesb. Gest. Pont. v. 231). William of Malmesbury cannot have been unaware of the difficulties attaching to this date: for he cites Aldhelm's letter, describing Hadrian as the preceptor of his 'simple childhood' (*'rudis infantiae'*). Now Hadrian became abbot of Canterbury in 671 (Bede, Hist. Abb. 3). On Malmesbury's showing,

therefore, 'infantiae' must have been used very laxly, and with a sort of exaggerative modesty, by Aldhelm: and if he was, in fact, a youth of sixteen or seventeen in 671, he must have been ordained priest by Lothere, according to Malmesbury's date, when he was much below the canonical age, although Malmesbury rejects that supposition. The bishop might think the case exceptional. The difficulty, in fact, is one which reappears on a comparison of Aldhelm's language about his 'infantia' with Ethelwald's allusion to his 'white hair,' in verses written before he became a bishop: for these verses (see Lingard, A.-S. Ch. ii. 164, 188) were appended to a letter addressed 'sacrosancto abbati Aldhelmo': and although Aldhelm retained the abbacy until his death, he would have been addressed, after 705, as bishop. That his ordination to the presbyterate preceded his appointment to the abbacy, is affirmed both by Faricius (c. 1) and Malmesbury (v. 198).

NOTE F.

Growth of a Parochial System in England.

Bede tells us that Paulinus built no church in Bernicia, and in Deira only those of York and Campodonum; but that he built one at Lincoln, doubtless through the munificence of Blæcca. (Cp. Bede, ii. 14, 16; iii. 2.) Under Aidan 'churches were reared in different places' (iii. 3): some of these were adjacent to the royal 'villae,' as at Bamborough (iii. 17). Birinus 'built and dedicated' churches in Wessex (iii. 7): Cedd 'made churches in different parts' of Essex (iii. 22). This latter passage is the first which associates church-building with anything like a settled local ministry, for Bede adds, 'presbyteros et diaconos ordinavit.' But Aidan and Birinus may have done the like. The lack of district churches was largely supplied by the missionary activity of monks, as we learn from the early life of St. Cuthbert (iv. 27). We are not told whether Chad left any churches behind him as the result of his evangelical journeys through towns, country-sides, townships, and *castella*[1] in Yorkshire (Bede, iii. 28), but Wilfrid 'ordained presbyters and deacons in *all* places to assist him in his work' (Eddi, 21), and doubtless supplied them with churches for their ministrations. His energy as a founder of basilicas would not

[1] Fortified towns.

exhaust itself in great works, like that at Hexham or Ripon. The sites of his smaller churches would usually be the central points of the several 'vici' or townships (Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 260). Bede expressly observes that 'among the mountains' no church could be found to receive Cuthbert when he was making his rounds of 'visitation' (Vit. Cuthb. 32). In two instances 'comites' build churches, and ask bishop John to dedicate them (Bede, v. 4, 5; at 'South Burton and North Burton'; Lingard, A.-S. Ch. i. 157): and if any such chapels or private estates had cure of souls attached to them, a rule would be observed like that which was laid down in 541 by the fourth Council of Orleans, c. 33: 'Si quis in agro suo aut habet aut postulat habere dioecesim' (here 'dioecesis' means a district church,—comp. Council of Epaon, c. 8, 'presbyter qui dioecesim tenet,' and Greg. Tur. v. 5, 'dioeceses et villas,' and vi. 38) 'primum et terras ei deputet sufficienter, et clericos qui ibidem sua officia impleant' (Mansi, ix. 119). In other words, something like an endowment was necessary. On this class of churches, with or without districts attached, see Hatch in Dict. Chr. Antiq. ii. 1556. Once more, when Drythelm awakes out of his trance (or, as Bede would say, returns to life), he goes at once 'ad villulae oratorium' (Bede, v. 12). Gallican synods indicate a disposition to watch with some jealousy the use made of these outlying hamlet churches; we find them forbidding any citizen to keep the great festivals in a 'villa' unless he is known to be in bad health (1st Orleans, c. 25, a. 512), and ordering every cleric who officiates in the 'oratorium' of a 'villula' to keep the great feasts with his bishop in the city (1st Auvergne, c. 15). Compare Council of Agde, c. 21, which also distinguishes these 'oratoria' as external both to 'civitates' and to 'parochiae.' Gregory of Tours says of himself, 'In multis locis . . . et ecclesias et oratoria dedicavi,' Hist. Fr. x. 31. In Bede's last days, as we learn from an often-quoted passage, Ep. to Egb. 3, many of the smaller townships of Yorkshire were still without any resident clergy. But, as has been already observed, Theodore's Penitential, irrespectively of any 'capitula' wrongly ascribed to him, supposes such a ministry to be at work. Compare St. Boniface's activity in providing each of his few churches 'in Hessis et Thuringia' with 'custodes'; Willibald, Vit. Bonif. c. 9.

The late Lord Selborne has discussed the question minutely in his 'Ancient Facts and Fictions concerning Churches and Tithes.' I venture to think that he has a little understated the extent

to which the elements of a parochial system, as distinct from that system in full-formed development, were present in England in the latter part of the seventh and in the eighth centuries. Bede's words about Cedd, naturally taken, imply a certain amount of localized pastoral care, and need not be restricted to two central or 'baptismal' churches, such as are referred to in the Life of St. Anskar, c. 22, where a diocese is reckoned 'small' if it has only 'four baptismal churches' (Sidonius Apollinaris, late in the fifth century, uses 'baptisterium' in the same sense, Epist. iv. 15). The use of 'propria provincia' in Theodore's Penitential points also in the direction of localization; for the 'provincia,' though not called a 'parish,' is clearly a defined sphere of clerical duty. What Bede says of the remoter districts in Northumbria suggests that there were stationary pastors where population was less sparse. Ine's laws (56) distinguish a 'church' from a 'minster'; Wihtred's also contemplate some public 'church-altars': the canons of Clovesho distinguish 'monasteries' from 'ecclesiae,' and after providing for Sunday observance in the former, proceed ('sed et hoc quoque') to order that 'the priests of God shall invite the people to frequent the church.' If this synod contemplated no non-monastic clergy, the establishment of rural churches or oratories on estates must have come to an end, which is hardly conceivable.

NOTE G.

Miscellaneous.

1. The tradition about a great number of Roman-British martyrs during the 'great persecution' has had a legendary connexion with Lichfield, being represented in the sixteenth-century seal and modern arms of that city, and supported by the popular derivation of its name from 'lic' in the sense of a corpse (compare 'lich-gate,' 'lyke-wake'). But the 'Licetfelda' of the Chronicle (A.D. 716, 731), the 'Licitfelda' of a marginal statement in the 'Gospels of St. Chad,' an Irish MS. preserved in the cathedral library, is much more naturally explained to mean the 'watered field' (from 'leccian,' to irrigate), in allusion to the streams which feed its twin 'pools.'

2. Archdeacon Bevan, who is second to no living writer in knowledge of Welsh history and archaeology, has suggested to me

some further reasons against identifying Caerleon with the third see mentioned in the list of the Council of Arles. (1) The name 'Castra Legionum' was shared with Chester and Leicester; Caerleon would naturally in a formal record have been designated by its name of Isca. (2) The hagiological traditions of South Wales do not start from Caerleon westward, but come (as it were) to Caerleon from the west.

3. Reference has already been made (p. 160) to a statement which has been popularised by the great name of its author, by the charm of a pointed antithesis, and, one must also suppose, by its seeming usefulness in anti-Roman controversy. 'Apostle of England' is an ambiguous phrase. But, taking 'England' for 'South-Britain as occupied by the English people,' if 'apostle' means the first missionary to the English, the title belongs exclusively to Augustine: if it means the missionary who personally or by deputy evangelized the largest number of English, it still cannot be claimed for Aidan: it was Finan who, in compliance with a request, sent missionaries into the Midlands, and who consecrated a bishop for the East-Saxons.

4. It should have been observed that the opinion which places Augustine's Oak at Aust or Austcliff is supported by a charter of Ethelred of Mercia, which names together Henbury (north of Bristol) and a place called 'Aet Austin' (Cod. Dipl. i. 35). But if Augustine's Oak was in that district, Bede's information would seem to be inaccurate; for he understood the spot to be between the Hwiccian and West-Saxon territories: and, in his view, all Gloucestershire would be Hwiccian.

5. The general character and position of the original stone 'basilica' which Edwin began to build 'per quadrum,' so as to enclose the wooden 'oratory' in which he had been catechized and baptized, and which was completed by Oswald and repaired by Wilfrid, have been described, and illustrated by plans, in Browne's 'History of the Metropolitan Church of York.' I have also had the advantage of visiting the present crypt under the guidance of Dean Purey-Cust. On descending from the north aisle of the choir, one reaches a platform with steps on the left leading into the newer portion of the crypt, and, on the right, a well, which is exactly under the ancient site of the high altar. This platform

appears to represent the site of the 'oratory.' Browne (p. 7) understands 'per quadrum' in the general sense of 'rectangular,' and considers that the seventh-century cathedral had quasi-transepts very near the east end, and that its internal length, as extended westward, was about 106 feet.

6. The 'ancient British Church' has been credited with 'a considerable indirect share' in the conversion of Northumbrians and of Mercians, because it had contributed, in the preceding century, to a revival of Irish piety and learning. But although this revival would stimulate religious activities in a missionary direction as well as in others, we can hardly trace Columba's great enterprise in any special way to a Welsh impulse. His birth in 521 was probably subsequent to the return of one of his future teachers, Finnian of Clonard, from Wales. Between 546 and 562 he was founding monasteries in Ireland. He went to Hy two years before that visit of Gildas to Ireland which is mentioned by Haddan and Stubbs (i. 45, 115); and he died 38 years before the mission of St. Aidan, who seems never to have looked to 'Britons' for assistance in his own work. But it is curious to observe the tenacity with which unhistorical notions survive refutation when they serve a controversial interest. Some Anglican writers have little right to be severe on Roman Catholics for faults in this direction. A small anonymous work, 'The English Church and the Romish Schism,' published at Edinburgh in 1896, contains on the 84th page the following sentences: 'The indebtedness of England to Rome is *the purest fiction*. . . . The Saxons were *evangelized almost entirely through the efforts of the British Churches*.' The italics are mine. Criticism would here be superfluous for any one who knows the facts and has read Bede. As for Man, its church is an offshoot, not of the British, but of the Irish.

7. It is a somewhat ungracious task to note errors in Dean Hook's 'Lives of the Archbishops.' Haddan has complained of his deficiency in research, and also of his 'frequent inadvertencies.' (Remains, p. 300.) Not only does he repeat the old mistake about the foundation of the parochial system by Theodore, but his *animus* against what is Roman appears in the extraordinary statement, that whereas both Augustine and Theodore 'had to confer with bishops jealous of any encroachment upon their rights, when Augustine laid down the law, Theodorus invited discussion'

(i. 157); as if Augustine had not held two discussions with the British bishops, and used, according to Bede, 'entreaties' as well as 'fraternal admonition,' 'exhortations,' and 'rebukes'; ultimately he waived some of the points in debate. The remark in one of Hook's notes, that Theodore 'had so far condescended as to employ an agent at Rome to explain to the Roman court the real state of affairs,' indicates the same bias. The mistranslation in his report of Aldfrid's 'refusal of all concession' has been noticed in the text. See also above, p. 139.

8. 'If we consider how difficult, fatiguing, disagreeable, and even dangerous, a journey between the British islands and Italy must have been in those days of anarchy and barbarism, we can appreciate the intensity of Benedict (Biscop)'s passion for beautiful and costly volumes . . . His last words were of earnest entreaty to his successor to preserve and enlarge his *copiosissima et nobilissima bibliotheca*, of which the *chef d'œuvre* seems to have been a codex of geography, *mirandi operis*, . . . bought, like the others, in Rome.' Lanciani, Ancient Rome, p. 201. Cf. Hist. Abb. 11, 15.

9. A curious pictorial representation of the popular stories about St. Cuthbert will be found behind the northern stalls of Carlisle Cathedral. One scene exhibits him as forbidden 'layks' (i.e. games) 'and plays, As S. Bede i' hys story says.' 'Her saw he Aydn' sowl up go To hevyn blysse w^{t} angels two.' 'Her bosile teld hym y^{t} he must de, And after y^{t} he (prior) suld be.' In the death-scene, Cuthbert rests, with hands clasped, in the arms of an attendant (Herefrid), while another monk kneels in front of him: 'When bishop two yerys he had beyn, On Farne he died both holy and clene.'

10. An interesting paper on 'St. Wilfrith in Sussex,' by Mr. F. E. Sawyer, has been reprinted from the 'Sussex Archaeological Collections.' The author thinks it not improbable that the king of the South-Saxon heathen, mentioned by Eddi in his account of Wilfrid's peril in 666, was Ethelwalch, as yet unconverted. He suggests that the grant of Pagham to Wilfrid, set forth in a charter of Cadwalla, which Kemble marks as spurious, and of which the date is earlier than Wilfrid's arrival, may have been made 'shortly before he came into the country'; but this is surely very improbable. He quotes the eloquent tribute to Wilfrid's

memory rendered by the late Archdeacon Hannah in a sermon at St. Wilfrid's church, Hayward's Heath, in 1881: 'The happy work of first preaching the Gospel to the heathen worshipper of Woden in Sussex is the fairest passage in that troubled life, the purest of the rays of glory that have gathered round that great historic name. . . . Great as an administrator, as a ruler, as a founder of churches and monasteries, as a zealous promoter both of art and learning, he was greater by far in our regard as a missionary,' &c. Mr. Sawyer follows Dean Stephens (Dioc. Hist. Chich. p. 13) in accepting the story of St. Lewinna as a convert of Wilfrid, martyred by a heathen Saxon before 690.

11. In regard to Ine's connexion with Glastonbury, it may be well to refer to Mr. James Parker's published lecture on 'Glastonbury Abbey,' together with the late Professor Freeman's 'English Towns and Districts,' p. 98. Ine may be regarded as 'the first founder,' and Dunstan as the restorer, of the church of SS. Peter and Paul, built eastward of the 'lignea' or 'vetusta ecclesia' of St. Mary, which was superseded in the twelfth century by the 'lovely' building misnamed the 'chapel of St. Joseph.' 'There is no saying what Ine's church was like:' it 'may well . . . have been raised and enlarged some 200 years after.' It was succeeded by 'the church of Norman Herlwin, as that before long gave way to the mighty pile which still stands in ruins.' The spot, and the adjacent ground, are rich in manifold historical interest; but their incomparable charm consists in this—that they represent with a vividness which, as Freeman says, is 'unique,' the union of the British and English Churches.

TABLE OF PRINCIPAL EVENTS.

	A. D.
Martyrdom of St. Alban	304
British bishops at Arles	314
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First Mission of St. German	429
Second Mission of St. German	447
Arrival of St. Augustine; baptism of Ethelbert	597
Arrival of Mellitus; death of St. David	601
Conferences at Augustine's Oak	602–3
Sees of London and Rochester founded	604
Death of St. Augustine	605
Battle of Chester	613
Mellitus driven from London; Eadbald of Kent converted	616
Edwin king of Northumbria	617
St. Paulinus sent to Northumbria	625
Edwin baptized. Christianity in East-Anglia	627
St. Felix bishop of East-Anglians	631
Battle of Hatfield; death of Edwin	633
Battle of Heavenfield; St. Oswald king; St. Birinus in Wessex	634
St. Aidan at Lindisfarne; baptism of Kynegils	635
Battle of Maserfield; Oswy king of Bernicia	642
Conversion of Kenwalch	646
Agilbert bishop of Dorchester; deaths of Oswin and Aidan	651
Peada baptized; Mission to Mid-Angles; second Mission to Essex	653
Cedd bishop of East-Saxons; Wilfrid at Rome	654
Battle of Winwidfield	655
Diuma bishop of Mercia; foundation of Peterborough	656
Agilbert's quarrel with Kenwalch	660
Colman succeeds Finan at Lindisfarne; Wilfrid at Ripon	661
Conference of Whitby; pestilence; Wilfrid elected bishop	664
Consecrations of Wilfrid and Chad; third Mission to Essex	665
Theodore consecrated for Canterbury	668
Arrival of Theodore; Wilfrid bishop of York; Chad at Lichfield	669
Hadrian refounds the School of Canterbury	671
Death of St. Chad	672
Council of Hertford; division of East-Anglian diocese; St. Etheldred at Ely; birth of Bede	673
Benedict Biscop founds Wearmouth monastery	674
Aldhelm abbot of Malmesbury	675
First troubles of Wilfrid; division of his diocese; his appeal; his mission-work in Frisia	678

	A. D.
Council at Rome pronounces in his favour	679
Division of Mercian diocese	about 679
Return and sufferings of Wilfrid; Council of Hatfield; death of Hilda	680
Wilfrid evangelizes Sussex; monasteries of Jarrow and Gloucester and see of Abercorn founded	681
Cuthbert consecrated; battle of Dunnechtan	685
Mission to Isle of Wight; restoration of Wilfrid	686
Death of St. Cuthbert	687
Cadwalla's journey to Rome	688
Death of Benedict Biscop	689
Death of Theodore; Willibrord goes to Frisia	690
Renewed troubles of Wilfrid; he is expelled; acts as bishop at Leicester	691
Bertwald archbishop; death of St. Erkenwald	693
Witenagemot of Berghamstyde	696
Guthlac at Crowland	699
Council of Easterfield; Wilfrid's second appeal	702
Second Council at Rome on his case	704
West-Saxon diocese divided; Aldhelm bishop of Sherborne	705
Council of the Nidd; close of Wilfrid's case	706
Deaths of Aldhelm and Wilfrid	709

TABLE OF ROYAL AND EPISCOPAL SUCCESSION.

A.D. 597–709.

I.

1. Kent :—

	A. D.
Ethelbert	[560?]
Eadbald	616
Erconbert	640
Egbert	664
Lothere	673
Eadric	685
Wihtred	690–1

2. Sussex :—

Ethelwalch	

3 Essex :—

Sabert	
Sæward, Sexred, Sigebert	616
Sigebert the Little	about 617
Sigebert the Good	before 653
Swidhelm	about 657
Sebbi and Sighere	664
Sighard and Swefred	694
Offa	before 709

4. East-Anglia :—

	A. D.
Redwald	?
Eorpwald	617
Sigebert the Learned	631
Egric	634
Anna	636
Ethelhere	654
Ethelwold	655
Aldwulf	663

5. Northumbria :—

Ethelfrid	[593]
Edwin	617
[Eanfrid in Bernicia; Osric in Deira	633]
Oswald	634
Oswy in Bernicia; Oswin in Deira	642
Oswy sole king	651
Egfrid	670
Aldfrid	685
[Eadwulf	705]
Osred	706

6. **Wessex** :—

	A. D.
Ceolwulf	597
Kynegils	611
Kenwalch	643
Sexburga	672
Escwin (part of Wessex)	674
Kentwin	676
Cadwalla	685
Ine	688

7. **Mercia** :—

	A. D.
Cearl.	?
Penda	626
[Mercia under Oswy	655]
Wulfhere	658–9
Ethelred	675
Kenred	704
Ceolred	709

II.

[Sees in order of foundation as English bishoprics.]

1. **Canterbury** :—

Augustine	597
Laurence	605
Mellitus	619
Justus	624
Honorius	627
Deusdedit	655
Theodore	668
Bertwald	693

2. **London** :—

Mellitus	604
[Cedd, in Essex	654]
Wini	666
Erkenwald	675
Waldhere	693
Ingwald	704?

3. **Rochester** :—

Justus	604
Romanus	624
Paulinus	633
Ithamar	644
Damian	655
Putta	669
Cwichelm	676
Gebmund	678
Tobias	693

4. **York** :—

Paulinus	625
Chad	665–6
Wilfrid, consecrated 665, in possession	669
Bosa	678
Wilfrid again	686
Bosa again	691
John	706

5. **Dunwich** :—

Felix	631
Thomas	647
Boniface	652
Bisi	669
Acci	673
Astwulf	? [1]

6. **Lindisfarne** :—

Aidan	635
Finan	651
Colman	661
Tuda	664
Eata	678
Cuthbert	685
Eadbert	688
Eadfrid	698

7. **Dorchester or Winchester** :—

Birinus (Dorchester)	635
Agilbert (Dorchester)	651
Wini (Winchester)	662
Lothere (Winchester)	670
Heddi (Winchester)	676
Ætla (Dorchester) about	679? [2]
Daniel (Winchester)	705

8. **Lichfield** [the seat of the first four Mercian bishops not ascertained] :—

Diuma	656
Cellach	658
Trumhere	659
Jaruman	662
Chad	669
Winfrid	672
Saxulf	675
Hedda	691

9. **Elmham** :—

Badwin	673
Nothbert	693 + 706

10. **Hexham** :—

Eata (also holding Lindisfarne)	678

[1] The date of his accession is unknown. He may have been bishop in 709. See Stubbs, Registr. Sacr. p. 5.

[2] See p. 351.

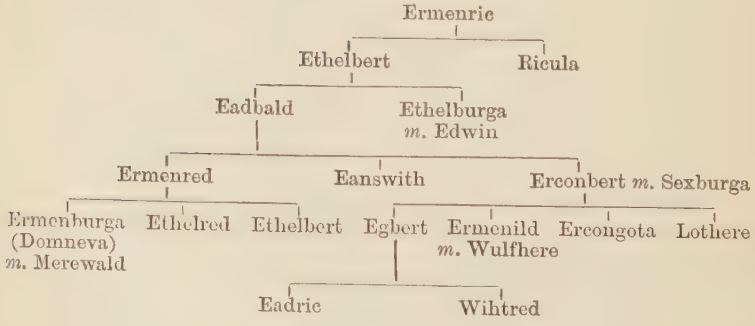
	A. D.
Hexham (continued)—	
Trumbert	681
Eata again	685
John	687
Wilfrid	706
11. **Sidnacester** (for Lindsey) :—	
Eadhed	678
Ethelwin	680
Edgar	before 706
12. **Worcester** :—	
Bosel	680
Offtfor	692
Egwin	693–4
13. **Leicester** :—	
Cuthwin	680
[Wilfrid administers	691–2]
14. **Selsey** :—	
Wilfrid	681–2
Eadbert	709
15. **Hereford** :—	
Tyrhtel	688
16. **Sherborne** :—	
Aldhelm	705
Forthere	709

This list excludes the ephemeral and extinct see of Abercorn, and—if it can be regarded as constituted in 679 for Eadhed—that of Ripon, and also passes over the brief administration, by Wilfrid (while holding York), of Hexham in 686, and of Lindisfarne in 687. On Hereford see p. 300.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

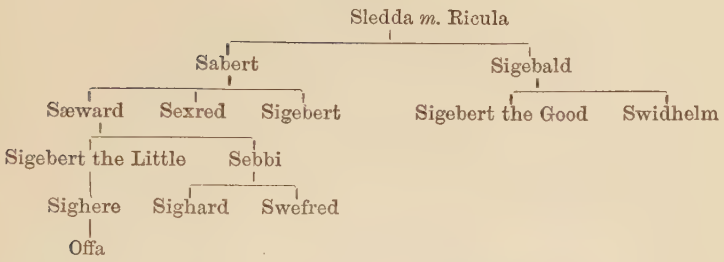
I.

KENT.



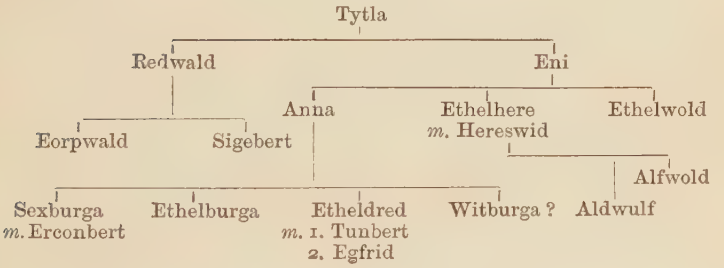
II.

ESSEX.



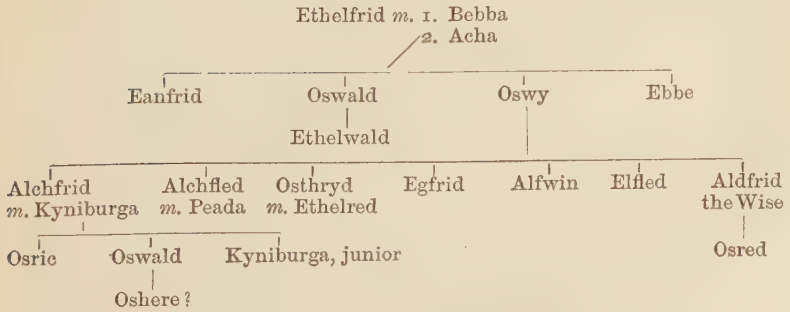
III.

EAST-ANGLIA.



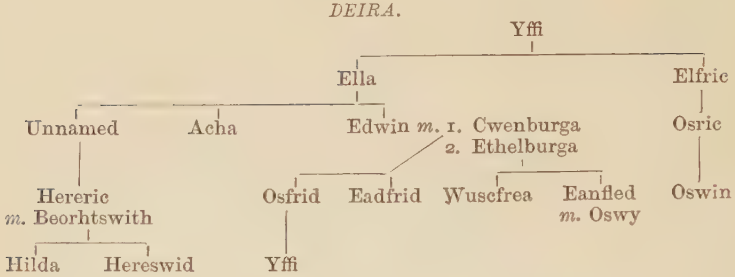
IV.

BERNICIA.



V.

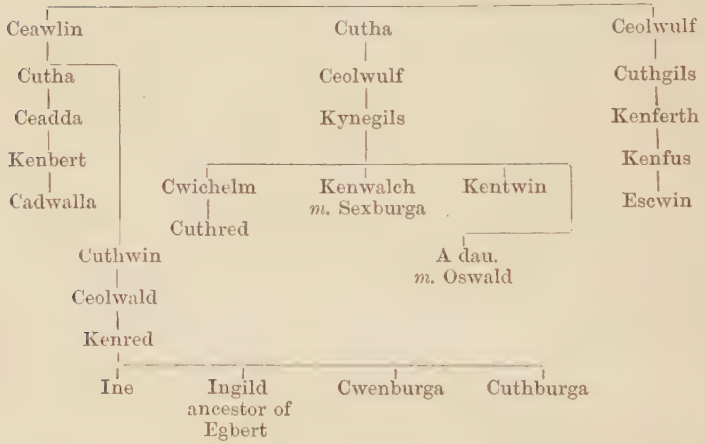
DEIRA.



VI.

WESSEX.

From Cerdic

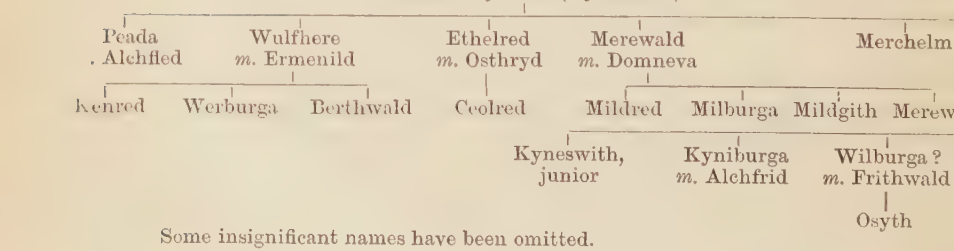


It should be added that Florence, after mentioning Sexburga's reign, adds, 'Deinde Kenfus duobus annis, *secundum dicta regis Ælfredi ;* juxta vero Chronicam Anglicam, filius ejus Æscwinus :' (App. to Chron.)

VII.

MERCIA.

Penda *m.* Kynwise (Kyneswith)



Some insignificant names have been omitted.

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,, 170, l. 15, *for* Sinodum *read* Sinodun
,, 236, note 3, *for* Wilfred *read* Wilfrid
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